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RERUM BRITANNICARUM MEDII ÆVI SCRIPTORES,

OR

CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS OF GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING

THE MIDDLE AGES.

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THE CHRONICLES AND MEMORIALS

OF

GREAT BRITAIN AND IRELAND

DURING THE MIDDLE AGES.

PUBLISHED BY THE AUTHORITY OF HER MAJESTY'S TREASURY, UNDER THE DIRECTION OF THE MASTER OF THE ROLLS.

On the 26th of January 1857, the Master of the Rolls submitted to the Treasury a proposal for the publication of materials for the History of this Country from the Invasion of the Romans to the reign of Henry VIII.

The Master of the Rolls suggested that these materials should be selected for publication under competent editors without reference to periodical or chronological arrangement, without mutilation or abridgment, preference being given, in the first instance, to such materials as were most scarce and valuable.

He proposed that each chronicle or historical document to be edited should be treated in the same way as if the editor were engaged on an Editio Princeps; and for this purpose the most correct text should be formed from an accurate collation of the best MSS.

To render the work more generally useful, the Master of the Rolls suggested that the editor should give an account of the MSS. employed by him, of their age and their peculiarities; that he should add to the work a brief account of the life and times of the author, and any remarks necessary to explain the chronology; but no other note or comment was to be allowed, except what might be necessary to establish the correctness of the text.

The works to be published in octavo, separately, as they were finished; the whole responsibility of the task resting upon the editors, who were to be chosen by the Master of the Rolls with the sanction of the Treasury.

The Lords of Her Majesty's Treasury, after a careful consideration of the subject, expressed their opinion in a Treasury Minute, dated February 9, 1857, that the plan recommended by the Master of the Rolls "was well calculated for the accomplishment of this important national object, in an effectual and satisfactory manner, within a reasonable time, and provided proper attention be paid to economy, in making the detailed arrangements, without unnecessary expense."

They expressed their approbation of the proposal that each Chronicle and historical document should be edited in such a manner as to represent with all possible correctness the text of each writer, derived from a collation of the best MSS., and that no notes should be added, except such as were illustrative of the various readings. They suggested, however, that the preface to each work should contain, in addition to the particulars proposed by the Master of the Rolls, a biographical account of the author, so far as authentic materials existed for that purpose, and an estimate of his historical credibility and value.

Rolls House,
December 1857.

POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN MONACHI CESTRENSIS;

TOGETHER WITH THE

ENGLISH TRANSLATIONS OF JOHN TREVISA AND OF AN UNKNOWN WRITER OF THE FIFTEENTH CENTURY.

EDITED

BY

REV. JOSEPH RAWSON LUMBY, D.D.,
NORRISIAN PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY, VICAR OF ST. EDWARD'S, CAMBRIDGE :
FELLOW OF ST. CATHARINE'S COLLEGE, AND LATE FELLOW
OF MAGDALEN COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE.

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CONTENTS.

	Page
Introduction - - - - - -	vii
Summary of Contents - - - -	xlix
Polychronicon Ranulphi Higden, Liber Sextus, Cap. x. - - - - - -	2
—— Liber Septimus - - - -	248
Appendix - - - - - -	501

INTRODUCTION.

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INTRODUCTION.

THE history in this volume commences with the death of Odo archbishop of Canterbury, which happened in A.D. 959. After mentioning the archbishop's nationality, and his previous occupation of the see of Wilton,[1] Higden tells how, before he was advanced to the primacy, Odo took upon himself monastic vows, because all his predecessors in the archiepiscopal seat had been monks. On this Trevisa observes that Odo was "lewdly (*i.e., ignorantly*) moved" in what he did, seeing that neither Christ nor any of his apostles had ever been monk or friar. Several of Odo's good deeds and miracles are narrated, and especially how when he was consecrating Dunstan to the bishopric of Worcester he employed the form of words for the consecration of an archbishop of Canterbury, and, when reproved by some for what he had done, declared that it was done by the prompting of the Holy Ghost. Higden notices that Elsinus bishop of Winchester aspired to be archbishop after Odo's death, as did also his immediate successor in the bishopric of Winchester, Brithelm. The former died before his plans succeeded, and the latter was found unequal to the duties.

Book vi. Cap. x. Death of Odo archbishop of Canterbury.

[1] The see of Wilton is now comprehended in that of Salisbury. The first seat of the bishopric was at Sherborne in Dorsetshire, and the see then embraced not only the present diocese of Salisbury, but also Bristol, Wells, and Exeter. Wells and Exeter were first separated A.D. 905, and soon after another see (of Wilton) was formed out of part of the diocese of Sherborne. This new see had a succession of eleven bishops from A.D. 906–1056, at which latter date Sherborne and Wilton were united and the see removed to Salisbury.

Dunstan his successor.

Thereupon Dunstan was appointed, and much praise is bestowed upon that prelate's energy and noble example. And in his time the land was blessed.

Archbishops of York.

In this chapter is mentioned the death of Asketill (or Osketill) archbishop of York, and that his successor, Oswald, held the see of Worcester *in commendam*. Oswald invited learned men into his diocese, among whom was Abbo, the writer of the life of St. Edmund, king and martyr.

We are also told how King Edgar, in the twelfth[1] year of his reign, caused himself to be anointed king at Bath by Dunstan and Oswald, which ceremony seems to have been omitted for all that time, though no reason is given for it. The story of Edgar being rowed on the Dee by eight "under" kings is also told.

Succession of popes.

The other events noticed in the chapter are the succession to the papacy of Leo VIII., Benedict V., John XIII., Benedict VI., and Boniface VII., but the order of the first two is reversed. Little more than the names of these pontiffs is mentioned, except that we are told of the last named in the list that he plundered the see of Rome, and for a time had in consequence to flee to Constantinople.

Nicephorus Phocas.

The "Nicoforus rex Græcorum," mentioned on p. 12, is Nicephorus II., surnamed Phocas, who was emperor of Constantinople, A.D. (963–969). He was slain through the treachery of his wife, who was widow of his predecessor and was afterwards the wife of John Zimisces, the successor of Nicephorus.

The only authority whom Higden cites in this chapter, and, it may be added also, in the large portion of the history contained in this volume, is William of Malmesbury.

Cap. XI. Edgar king of England.

The next chapter is almost entirely devoted to the life of King Edgar, who is compared with Cyrus, Romulus,

[1] Some authorities say *sixteenth*. See Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 142.

Alexander, and Charles the Great. The stories are given of his riotous and licentious life, but there can be no doubt that there must have been many good qualities in a monarch who, with so much said against him, found some one to write an epitaph such as is preserved on p. 22.

It is interesting to note that the old name of the district now known as Harewood in Yorkshire was Warewell or Werwell.

The succession of Otho II. (A.D. 973) to the German empire, and of Benedict VII. to the pontifical throne, are the only other events which Higden chronicles.

Cap. XII. Edward the Martyr.

This chapter contains the story of Edward called the martyr king. We find a short notice of the expulsion of the monastic (or regular) clergy by Alferus, the Prince of Mercia, and a relative of the late king, and it was this struggle concerning the regular and the secular clergy which formed the great subject of agitation at this period, and which, by Dunstan's influence, was settled in favour of the monks. The fall of the floor of the house where Dunstan was presiding at the council at Calne is called by Higden a miracle, though perhaps it was only an accident.[1] The manner of the king's murder and the monastic foundations erected by Queen Elfrida as tokens of her penitence are mentioned, as are also the honours which were subsequently paid to the murdered king's body. A short notice is given of Fulbert[2] bishop of Chartres, and the hymns which he composed in the honour of the Blessed Virgin, to which

Fulbert bishop of Chartres.

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[1] Cf. for a notice of a like accident, Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 147, note 2.

[2] Fulbert, who was called by his contemporaries the "Socrates of "France," died in 1029. In addition to the compositions mentioned in the text he wrote a famous sermon on the nativity of the Virgin. His writings were long held in high favour by the English Church, and this no doubt accounts for the mention which Higden makes of the bishop at so much greater length than are his notices of other similar persons.

is added a story of a miraculous cure which the Virgin wrought on the bishop when sick, in recognition of the devotion which he had shown to her by his writings.

Cap. XIII. Reign of Ethelred.

In the next chapter we have a portion of the history of Ethelred (whose name the majority of Latin MSS. write *Egelredus*) the son of Edgar and Elfrida, best known as Ethelred the Unready.[1] This prince had the misfortune to earn the bad opinion of Dunstan at a very early age, and all went ill in England as long as he was king. His reign in Higden is made up of landings of Danish pirates, and burnings of the various towns along the coast. The king besieged the city of Rochester on account of some quarrel between himself and the bishop of that see, and refused to raise the siege at the request of Dunstan, and so greater evils than ever came on the land, especially after Dunstan was dead. Some few anecdotes of Dunstan's piety and labours are recorded, and it is manifest from all the history of the period that this great archbishop was in his time the mighty power in the land. His successor, Siricius, tried the effect of bribery to get rid of the Danish invaders, but the sums of money had to be continually increased in amount, and at length could no longer be borne. The baptism of Anlaf king of the Danes, for whom Ethelred was sponsor, seems to have brought about no relief from Danish devastations.

Death of Archbishop Dunstan.

Popes of Rome.

In addition to the notices of English affairs this chapter contains a mention of the succession of Otho III. to the empire of Germany (A.D. 983–1002), and of the pontificate of John XIV. (A.D. 984) and John XV. (A.D. 985), who both together held the papal throne little more than a year. After this the chronicle of the papacy, as given

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[1] The title *Clito*, which is given to Ethelred, p. 40, is a common one in mediæval Latin writings for the sons of kings. Cf. Ducange, s. v. *Clitones*. It has been conjectured that it is connected with the Greek κλειτὸς = renowned, famous, but so little was known of Greek at the time when this title was most common that the derivation appears doubtful. In Ælfric's Saxon Glossary we find, Clito = Æþeling, *i.e.* noble. Cf. infra, p. 98.

by Higden, is in some confusion.[1] He mentions next John XVI., but makes his pontificate last for ten years, whereas he filled the throne for hardly eight months. After him (on p. 62) Higden mentions Gregory V. as pope for three years, then John XVII., without stating the length of his occupation of the see. Then follows (p. 66) Silvester II. for four years and two months; and (on p. 84) we find John XVIII. mentioned as pope for six months. On p. 53 the Harleian MS. appears to have been derived from a somewhat fuller Latin text than that from which Trevisa translated.

This chapter mentions but little of the events of English history, the death of Oswald archbishop of York and Worcester, and the translation of the see of Lindisfarne to Durham, being the only occurrences which are chronicled. Cap. xiv.

It opens with the death of Lothaire, the son of Louis IV., called Louis D'Outremer, in whom, as Higden says, the Carlovingian line terminated.[2] The length of the reign of Hugh Capet is correctly given from A.D. 987–996. Concerning the affairs of Normandy, we are told of the death of Richard the Fearless (A.D. 996) and the succession of Richard the Good (A.D. 996–1026), who was the grandfather of William the Conqueror and uncle of Edward the Confessor. But very little is said of the life and only a few words about the character of this French affairs,

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[1] See *Platina de vitis Pontificum*, where the order and duration of the various Pontificates are—

John XVI. 7 months.
John XVII. 9 years and 6 months.
Gregory V. 1 year and 5 months.
John XVIII. 10 months.
Silvester II. 3 years and 1 month.

[2] Louis d'Outremer died A.D. 954, and his son Lothaire was made king at the age of 14 years, and, reigned till A.D. 986. His son Louis V. succeeded him, but was only king in name, the whole power being in the hands of Hugh Capet, the son of the first duke of that name. Louis died mysteriously, after a reign of little more than a year, and then the Count of Paris, Hugh Capet, was elected to the French throne, and became the founder of the Capetian dynasty He was crowned July 1, A.D. 987.

prince,[1] the larger portion of the chapter being occupied by a narration of the wicked deeds and magical powers of Gerebertus, who afterwards became pope Silvester II. He was first a monk at Fleury, we are told, but tired of the monastic life fled to Seville, where he became learned in all sorts of forbidden lore, and afterwards made a compact with Satan. He seems to have been a man who was far in advance of his contemporaries in scientific knowledge, and from this the legends arose which circle round his name. The whole story is much akin to what we read of Roger Bacon, who from a similar cause gained a like reputation. Another portion of the story reminds us of what is told of Henry IV. king of England, who fulfilled the prophecy that he should die in Jerusalem by dying in the Jerusalem Chamber in Westminster Abbey. So of Gerebertus it is said to have been foretold that he should not die till he had said mass in Jerusalem, and the fulfilment came about by his saying mass in a church in Rome which bore the name of Jerusalem.[2]

Of Pope Silvester II.

[1] For a longer history of Richard and of the events in which he was concerned, Cf. Freeman, *Norman Conquest*, vol. 1, pp. 281, *seqq.*

[2] There is a singular gap in the copy of Trevisa's translation contained in the MS. Add. 24,194, which we quote as α. The gap commences on p. 79 of the present volume, and continues to p. 203. The story in the latter place is of a certain Palumbus, a priest who had some uncanny powers, and was familiar with evil spirits, and who, like Gerebertus in the present chapter, is said at last to have mutilated his own body. It is just about the point where this mutilation is mentioned that the gap alluded to above takes place, and it would seem as though the scribe had been misled by the similarity of the two narratives, and having gone so far in the story of Gerebertus had turned accidentally to the like narrative concerning Palumbus, and thought he was going on with the original tale, though he had omitted from chap. xiv. to chap. xxvi. It would almost seem that the omission had been made first of all in a Latin MS. For when we compare the English versions β., γ, and Cx. with our printed text of Trevisa, it appears as though we were reading an entirely different version. The editor is therefore inclined to the opinion that some Latin scribe omitted the large portion of Higden's text which lies between the end of the history of Gerebertus and the end of that of Palumbus, having mistaken the one passage for the

Cap. xv. Kings of France.

The death of Hugh Capet (A.D. 996) is now recorded, and the succession of his son Robert, known as the Pious, and who had been the pupil of the famous Gerebertus mentioned in the preceding chapter, and by his good character may vouch for the excellence of the lessons he had received, and redeem the character of his teacher from the obloquy which monkish legends have heaped upon it.

Events in English history.

We next come to a few brief notices of our own land. The devastation of Dublin by the Scots, and the wasting of Cumberland and the Isle of Man by king Ethelred [1] himself. On the authority of William of Malmesbury the story is told of the discovery of the body of St. Ivo, near Ramsey, and of the marvellous well which sprang forth in the spot where he had been buried. King Ethelred's marriage with Emma of Normandy is next noticed, and his treacherous slaughter of all the Danes in England on St. Brice's day. At this time the monastery [2] of Burton-on-Trent was founded by Ulric Spot. Of course, the murder of the Danes brought vengeance after it, for the Danish king Swein [3] made a descent upon England

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other from the similarity of the incidents. English versions like *α.* were made to correspond with this mutilated text, and when the omission was discovered some later translator filled up the English copies without searching for Trevisa's version, and so of this long passage we have an independent translation. This is the only explanation which suggests itself, and the version of the English as given by *β.* *γ* and Cx. seemed so peculiar that it has been thought worth while to give the text of *β. in extenso* in an Appendix, and to collate with it *γ.* and Cx. This will account for the paucity or entire absence of notes under the English text until we come to p. 203.

1 This seems to have been done by him because some smaller states which were in alliance with the Cumbrian King, Malcolm III., had refused to contribute their share of the Danegelt. See Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 162.

2 This was a monastery of the Benedictine Order, and an account of its foundation and endowments may be seen in Dugdale, *Monast. Angl.* i. 265–276. The will of the founder is there printed, and he said to have been "minister Æthelredi regis."

3 Gunhild, the sister of Swein, was among those who were treacherously murdered. *Wm. of Malmesbury*, ii. 10.

and devastated a large extent of the south coast, and in the year after ravaged the county of Norfolk; Kent and the Isle of Wight suffered at the hands of other Danish plunderers. The death of Ulric (or Aluricius) archbishop of Canterbury is mentioned, and the election of Elphegus bishop of Winchester in his stead; but the history of the latter prelate is given in more detail in the next chapter.

The chronicle of the succession of the German emperors is continued by the mention of the reign of Henry II.[1] after that of Otho III. (A.D. 1002). In this chapter Henry of Huntingdon is cited as the authority for some of the statements connected with English history.

Cap. XVI. This chapter opens with an account of the cruelties exercised by the Danes in their attack on Canterbury,

Archbishop Elphegus. and dwells specially on the sufferings and martyrdom of the Archbishop Elphegus. Higden copies from Malmesbury some account of the piety and self-denial of this holy man, and mentions his government of his monastery at Bath before he was made a bishop.

Again the order of the popes given by Higden differs from that given in Platina. John XX. is placed after Sergius IV. and Benedict VIII. instead of before them. A story is told on the authority of Petrus Damianus concerning the punishment of Pope Benedict after death for his rapacious conduct while alive.

Notice is taken of a great tidal wave in the thirty-sixth year of the reign of King Ethelred, but it is not said where its destructive effects were felt.

Danish ravages. From Henry of Huntingdon, Higden takes his account of Swein's descent upon England by way of the Humber and the Trent. His advances and success so paralysed King Ethelred that he first sent away Emma his wife

[1] He is called Henry I. both in the text and in the margin of Higden, but the *first* Henry was Henry called *The Fowler*, who began to reign A.D. 920. Higden's own words show that he had some doubt about the numbering of these emperors. See p. 84.

and his two sons to Richard duke of Normandy, his wife's brother, and then himself fled after them. Swein died suddenly in this full tide of his success, and his son Canute succeeded him. The story told of the punishment of Swein for his threats against Bury St. Edmunds finds its place also in the Norse histories. It is there said [1] that kind Edmund slew Swein in the same way that St. Mercurius slew Julian the Apostate. After this Canute his son might be expected to deal more mildly with the holy town, and to fear the wrath of so potent a champion.

Death of Swein.

When Swein was dead the English invited Ethelred to return, which he did, but Canute still continued to hold some parts of England, and Ethelred dying soon after Canute was chosen king by a body of clergy and nobles at Southampton. Another party in the nation adhered to Edmund surnamed Ironside, Ethelred's eldest son, and the chapter narrates the struggles between these two princes until the death of the latter, on which event Canute became king of England. The treachery of duke Edric all through this reign is a curious feature in the history, and it is difficult to understand how one who had played the traitor so often should ever again be trusted by one side or the other.

Cap. XVII.

Death of Ethelred.

This chapter gives first an account of the accession of Canute, and of the council which he held in London to secure the sanction of the nobles to the exclusion from the throne of the brothers of Edmund Ironside. We are next told how he sent away the sons of that king to Olaf king of Sweden, with the hope that they would be slain by him. Olaf sent them, however, to the king [2] of

Cap. XVIII.

Reign of Canute.

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[1] Knytlinga Saga, p. 184.

[2] This king is called by Higden and by Florence of Worcester, *Salomon*. But the King of Sweden from A.D. 997–1038 was named Stephen, so that there is some error in the name. Some authorities say the youths, Edmund and Edward, were sent to Russia. Cf. Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 198, *note*.

Hungary, by whom they were well treated. The elder son, Edmund, died young, but Edward married Agatha, a kinswoman of the German emperor, Henry II., and became the father of Margaret, who was afterwards queen of Scotland, Christina, who became a nun, and Edgar Atheling.

Canute's reign.

Higden tells of Canute's marriage with Emma, the widow of Ethelred, of the way in which he put the traitor Edric to death, and that he was able to go away to Denmark, and take with him a body of English who routed his enemies the Vandals. On the authority of Henry of Huntingdon[1] he tells how it was Godwin (afterwards so famous) who, on the night before the day fixed for the battle, fell upon the foe with his English troops and routed them before Canute was aware of what he was doing.

The last bishop of Lindisfarne, Aldune or Aldwin, died in A.D. 1018, and as the see was about that time removed to Durham there was a vacancy in the episcopate for nearly three years,[2] when in A.D. 1020 Edmund was made first bishop of Durham.

First bishop of Durham.

A marvel.

A marvellous story is next told of fifteen men and three women who in Saxony danced on Christmas night in the churchyard of St. Magnus the Martyr, and were not able to stop their dance, but went on for a whole year without eating or drinking, till St. Herbert, the bishop of Cologne, took the curse off them by his prayers, which curse had been pronounced upon them by the priest of the church which the dancers had ventured so to profane.

English affairs.

Brithwold, a monk of Glastonbury, is told in a vision that Edward, son of Ethelred (afterwards Edward the Confessor), will be king of England.

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[1] On the authority for this story, and on the different account given by Matthew of Westminster, cf. Lappenberg, ii. 206.

[2] The bishopric of Lindisfarne lasted from A.D. 635–883. Then the see was removed to Chester-le-Street, and it was in 995 that Aldwin removed it to Durham. See Freeman, *Norm. Conq.*, i. 320.

Egelnotus archbishop of Canterbury brings the body of the murdered Bishop Elphegus from London to Canterbury, and enriches his cathedral with relics from Italy, which he procured at a great price.

The succession of Conrad II. after Henry II. in the German empire is chronicled.[1]

Cap. xix. History of Normandy.

This chapter is wholly devoted to the history of Normandy, and, as is very common in this volume, William of Malmesbury is the only authority cited. The first event mentioned is the death of Richard II.,[2] the fourth duke. He was succeeded by his son Richard III., but this duke was poisoned by his younger brother Robert [3] in the second year of his reign. The character given of this prince Robert in Higden's text, and the anecdotes related of him, justify the title of Magnificent by which he was known. There is much uncertainty about the relations between this duke and the English king Canute,[4] of which Higden takes no notice, only telling us that in a fit of penitence Duke Robert made a pilgrimage to Jerusalem, and died in Bithynia [5] on his way back. The narrative of William the Conqueror's birth is taken by Higden from William of Malmesbury, as is also the account of such pledges as the Duke Robert, when departing on his pilgrimage, exacted from his nobles that after his death they should place his son William in the dukedom as his successor..

Cap. xx.

The chronicle of the papacy is here resumed, and pope John XVIII.[6] is mentioned as the successor of

[1] As in the case of Henry II., so with Conrad II., Higden ignores the first Emperor Conrad, who reigned from A.D. 912–920, immediately before Henry the Fowler.

[2] He had reigned 30 years, and died A.D. 1026.

[3] This is the Robert surnamed the Devil, and sometimes the Magnificent, and who was the father of William the Conqueror.

[4] For a discussion of this part of the history of Duke Robert, cf. Freeman, *Nor. Conq.*, i. 520, *seqq.*

[5] The place of his death was Nicæa in Bithynia, and the date A.D. 1035.

[6] He is called John XX. by Higden and Trevisa, and John XXI. by Platina.

Benedict VIII. Then follows Benedict IX., who was deposed for a short time,[1] and then restored, and afterwards was succeeded by Gregory VI. But soon the Emperor Henry III. of Germany, who had succeeded his father-in-law, Conrad II., interposed, and in place of Gregory elevated the bishop of Bamberg, to the papal throne with the title of Clement II. But Higden returns to the history of Gregory VI. in a later chapter, and from his account, and also from the history in Platina, it is evident that Benedict IX., Silvester III., and Gregory VI., must all have been alive and rival popes at the same time, and that all three were set aside by the Emperor Henry[3] in favour of Clement II. The birth of Marianus Scotus, the chronicler and historian, is mentioned A.D. 1025. The death of Robert king of France (A.D. 1031) is noticed, though his son and successor is wrongly called *Hugo*[4] by Higden. Canute's pilgrimage to Rome, and the good deeds he did both there and on his return are mentioned in such language as indicates that Canute, when his conquest of England had become complete, cared for the land as a wise and fatherly prince. His disposition of his realms of Norway, Denmark, and England among his sons is described, and a brief mention made of his death at Shaftesbury, and the succession, not altogether unopposed,[5] of his son Harold, called Harefoot. The

Papal succession.

Harold Harefoot

[1] Platina says for 49 days during which Silvester III. was pope.

[2] Platina gives the name of this prelate as Syndegerus.

[3] Platina's words are, "Henricus "secundus in Italiam veniens ha- "bita synodo cum Benedictum no- "num, Silvestrum tertium, Gre- "gorium sextum tanquam tria "teterrima monstra abdicare se "magistratu coegisset Syndegerum "Bambergensem episcopum cui "Clementi II. appellatio fuit pon- "tificem creat."

[4] The next King of France, A.D. 1031–1060, was Henry I. He was much aided in the beginning of his reign by Duke Robert of Normady, for which aid he afterwards ceded some portions of his territory to that dukedom.

[5] The will of King Canute had assigned the English kingdom to Hardicanute, but the support of

king of England.

story that this Harold was a supposititious son is mentioned, and also his behaviour towards the widowed Queen Emma.[1] Of his reign, which lasted four years, very few words are said.

Archbishops of Canterbury.

The death of Ethelnotus archbishop of Canterbury is recorded (A.D. 1038), and his successor Edsius is mentioned, and omitting archbishop Robert of Jumièges (A.D. 1050–1052) (though he speaks of him afterwards, p. 162), Higden next mentions Stigand who, like Edsius, had been chaplain to king Harold.

Cap. xxi. Reign of Hardicanute.

Hardicanute's reign lasted three years, but did not fulfil any of the expectations of the people who had chosen him. The body of Harold was taken out of its grave and cast into the Thames, but was afterwards recovered by fishers and buried. Out of a tax laid on the nation the new king rewarded the sailors who were dear to his Danish feelings and who had brought him to England; but the tax was so galling to the people that two of the collectors[3] were killed at Worcester while engaged in their unpopular duty. The story which, follows in Higden (p. 138), though placed in the reign of Hardicanute, shows by its conclusion, in which Godwin says that what he had done was done by the command of Harold, that it took place in the previous reign. The elder son of Ethelred and Queen Emma, Alfred, brother to Edward (afterwards the Confessor),

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Leofric earl of Mercia and the seafaring population of London was powerful enough to override Canute's intention and bring in Harold as king. Cf. Freeman, *Nor. Conq.* i. 534–536.

[1] The treasures of which Emma was despoiled must have been restored to her by Hardicanute, for we find that she was again deprived of them by Edward the Confessor. Thorpe's Lappenberg, ii. 222.

[2] In London in the cemetery of St. Clements. Alfric archbishop of York is evil spoken of for the share he took in the insults heaped on Harold's body. Wm. of Malmesbury, *De Pont.* iii.

[3] These men were named Feader and Thurstan, and were slain in the tower of the cathedral to which they had fled for refuge. Cf. Lappenberg, ii. 230.

came for some cause into England, where he and his companions were cruelly tortured and murdered, and suspicion fell on Godwin as the author of the crime.[1] The death of Conrad II. and the succession of Henry III. his-son-in law to the German imperial crown is noticed; but these, in order to preserve the numbering which Higden has adopted, are styled Conrad I. and Henry II.

Henry III. emperor.

The death of Conrad took place in A.D. 1039. Many anecdotes are given of this emperor Henry, and he is said to have interfered in the settlement of the rival claims to the papacy to which at this date there were three persons elected and living at the same time.[2] A wonderful story is narrated of the finding of the body of Pallas the son of Evander at Rome, the story of whose death is told in Virgil's Æneid.[3] But the epitaph which was said to have been found with the body is declared by the chronicler not to be the composition of any Latin writer contemporary with Pallas.

Cap. xxii. Pope Gregory VI.

This chapter opens with the accession of Gregory VI. to the papal throne, and the story tells how disturbed was the condition of Italy at this time and how unsafe it was for any to attempt to travel. Gregory appealed to the emperor for help, and when an excuse of the Vandal war was made by him, the pope took the field himself against the robbers, for which course he was afterwards blamed by his cardinals, and his speech in his own defence is recorded by Higden at some length, and the demonstration which was given after his death that he had acted rightly is also mentioned.[4] A few words

[1] There are several versions of this story, some of which state that the coming of Alfred into England was with hostile intentions, and that the slaughter of the invaders was in defence of Harold's throne. But Cf. Freeman, *N. C.* i. pp. 544–559, where all the evidence is recited and discussed, and the conclusion arrived at is that Godwin was probably innocent of the crime laid to his charge.

[2] See the quotation from Platina on cap. xx. above.

[3] Book viii. 104, *seqq.*

[4] Platina gives the substance of Higden's story but doubtfully: Hæc fere sunt quæ a variis

concerning Hardicanute's death and character conclude the chapter.

Cap. xxiii. Edward the Confessor.

Hardicanute was succeeded by Edward the Confessor, to whom Godwin, that he might secure his power over the new monarch, after a time gave his daughter Editha in marriage.[1] Edward proceeded to deprive of her treasures his mother Emma, who had never shown any regard for her children by Ethelred. The story of the ordeal by which the Queen established her innocency of a charge laid against her is apparently without any foundation in fact.

Episcopal and papal successions.

The retirement from the see of London of Elfword in A.D. 1044 and the succession of Robert of Jumièges, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury, is next noticed, and also the successive Popes Benedict IX.,[2] Clement II., Damasus II., and Leo IX.

The wars between Denmark and Norway are briefly alluded to, and the context shows that Godwin was at this period a person of the greatest power in the realm of England. Another influential person was lost to the nation by the death of Lyvingus,[3] bishop of Worcester, who was succeeded by Alured or Aldred. The fifth year of King Edward's reign is mentioned as one in which there was a long continuance of snow in the west of England, and great mortality of men and cattle followed the severe winter.

France and Normandy.

Henry king of France takes the part of the young William duke of Normandy, and compels[4] the nobles to abide by the oath of fealty which

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"auctoribus de Gregorio scri-
"buntur quem quidem constat in
"pontificatu sedisse annos ii. men-
"ses vii. durante schismate."

[1] It was apparently in the year 1045 that Edward married the daughter of Godwin. See Freeman, *N.C.* ii. p. 78.

[2] The text of Higden in mistake here calls him Benedict X., but it is evident from what is said of his papacy that Benedict IX. is intended.

[3] This prelate was also bishop in Devonshire and Cornwall.

[4] But see Freeman *N. C.* ii. 202, *seqq.*, where a change of the friendly relations between France and Normandy, soon after William's accession to the dukedom, is noted.

they had sworn before Robert, William's father. The foundation of the famous abbey of Bec in Normandy is mentioned. From this monastery came Lanfranc and Anselm, successively primates of England. The rebellion of Baldwin count of Flanders against the emperor Henry is next noticed. The pope Leo IX. took the part of the emperor, and Swein king of Denmark was summoned to give help, while the English fleet of king Edward kept watch over the channel from Sandwich in case Baldwin should attempt to escape by sea.[1] The story of the tender conscience of Leo IX. on account of his having been placed on the papal throne at the bidding of the emperor is alluded to, but is not completed by the statement that it was the afterwards famous Hildebrand who aroused the pope's conscience by reproaching him for accepting such a dignity without canonical election.[2]

Baldwin count of Flanders.

English affairs.

Irish pirate vessels make their way at this time into the Severn, and are aided by Griffin (or Griffith) king of South Wales, so that they commit great ravages along the course of the Wye.[3] Swein, the eldest son of Godwin, made an endeavour to return from his exile to England again, but his lands had been bestowed on his brother Harold and his cousin Beorn, and they naturally did not wish to resign their possessions and so opposed his return. The latter was ultimately murdered[4] by Swein, who again became an outlaw, and was

[1] Baldwin made due submission to his superior lord, and thus there was no use made of the English fleet.

[2] For the whole story, *see* Freeman, *N. C.* ii. 96, *seqq.*, and the authorities there given.

[3] This was in the summer of A.D. 1049, and the ships were in all probability Danish ships which had sheltered in Ireland.

[4] Swein appears to have beguiled his cousin on board one of the vessels in which he and his followers had come to England, and there had him murdered. This deed was looked upon with much abhorrence in England, and Swein was stigmatised henceforth as *Niðing*.

only restored afterwards by the efforts of Aldred archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester.

This chapter is mainly occupied with the outlawry of Godwin and his family. It is, however, first noticed that Edward the Confessor relieved the nation from the tribute of Danegelt which had been instituted by his father. Again, mention is made of the death of Edsius archbishop of Canterbury and the appointment of Robert of Jumièges to succeed him. No doubt this appointment of a foreigner to such a dignity was irritating to Englishmen, and this may account for the frequency of its mention. Next are noticed some outrageous acts of Count Eustace of Boulogne on his visit to Dover. For what had been done Eustace blamed the people of Dover, and went to Gloucester to complain to king Edward, on which Godwin was ordered to take measures for their punishment, which he declined to do. For this offence he and his sons were banished from the realm.[1] Some of them took refuge in Flanders, and others sailed over to Ireland where they were gladly welcomed. Editha, Edward's queen and Godwin's daughter, was at this time sent into a convent at Wherwell. During the time of the exile of this powerful English family William duke of Normandy paid a visit to king Edward in England. About the same time Emma the king's mother dying was buried at Winchester. After two years' absence a reconciliation was effected between Edward and Godwin, and all the sons were allowed to return, with the exception of Swein, who afterwards in penitence for the murder of his cousin Beorn, and for his other wrongdoings, under-

Cap. xxiv.

Danegelt abolished.

Banishment of Godwin.

[1] The proceedings which led to the declaration of their outlawry were first their gathering their forces together as if for a warlike purpose, and refusing to come to the parliament in London before which they were to be heard. Their excuse for not coming was that they could not be secure among their opponents with only the twelve unarmed companions which were allowed them as a body guard.

took a pilgrimage to the Holy Land, and on his way back died somewhere in Lycia, A.D. 1052.[1]

On the return of Godwin the Norman party, and especially Archbishop Robert, fell into disfavour, and the archbishop went back to his monastery at Jumièges. In his stead Stigand is made archbishop of Canterbury, but, as we shall afterwards find, he appears to have had no great favour either with his own people or with foreigners after his election, and the way in which his services in consecration of other bishops and on other solemn occasions were avoided or declined shows that he was for some reason or other looked upon as hardly a veritable bishop. A notice of the death of the last bishop of Sherborne, Alfwold, concludes the chapter.

Stigand archbishop.

Cap. xxv. Victor II. became pope after Leo IX. (A.D. 1054), and Higden notices his endeavour by a council at Florence to establish more morality and regard for sacred offices among the clergy.

Siward earl of Northumberland.

The expedition of Siward earl of Northumberland against Scotland (A.D. 1054) is next mentioned, with the story of the death of the earl's son, and his father's refusal to indulge in overmuch sorrow when he saw that all his son's wounds were received in front.

Ulsius bishop of Lichfield dying is succeeded by Leofwyn. After this we have the story of Godwin's death at the king's table, but the other and more probable version of the tale which Marianus preserves and which only states that the great earl was seized with sickness at the table and died three days afterwards, is also given.

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[1] The history of Godwin's restoration is most briefly given by Higden. He says nothing of how the English people desired his return, or of the advance of the earl and his sons with their ships along the coast of Sussex and Kent, and up the Thames to Southwark, nor how at London in a great council the assembly listened to Godwin's appeal and voted for his restoration. Cf. Freeman, *N. C.* ii. 308–337.

The description of the changes caused by Godwin's death follows next, and an account of Edward's desire to recall the descendants of Edmund Ironside.

Death of Siward.

The death of Siward and his burial in the monastery which he had founded at Galmanho are the next events which Higden chronicles. Then after a notice of changes in the bishoprics of Wilton and Sherborne he gives an anecdote which shows that there was ill feeling between Harold and Tosti, the two sons of Earl Godwin.

The chapter concludes with a marvellous story of a woman who had sold herself to do evil, and of the vain attempt that was made to save her body from the foul fiend. All which narrative the reader is asked not to discredit because he will find many such things in the book of Dialogues of St. Gregory.

Cap. xxvi.

Henry IV. emperor of Germany.

This chapter opens with the accession of Henry IV. (whom Higden, to be consistent with his previous numbering of the emperors, calls Henry III.) to the throne of Germany, and his opposition to pope Hildebrand is just noticed, and how he afterwards joined the expedition to the Holy Land, about which more is said in a future chapter.

Popes Stephen IX. and Benedict X. are just mentioned, and next the resignation of Egelric bishop of Durham, which took place A.D. 1056, and his brother Egelwine [1] was appointed in his stead. In the next year (August 31, 1057) died the great earl of Mercia, Leofric, at Bromley in Staffordshire. The bounty of this noble man and his wife Godgiva, and their munificent outlay in the building of monasteries and churches, is duly chronicled by Higden as is also the absurd legend of Godgiva's ride through Coventry that she might redeem the town from the payment of certain tolls. We are told, too, how Algarus son of Leofric was afterwards exiled by king Edward.

Death of Leofric earl of Mercia.

[1] Egelwine was expelled from the see in A.D. 1070 by William the Conqueror and imprisoned

The chapter is continued with a long story of a Roman youth who lost his wedding ring on the day of his marriage, and how it was restored to him by the magic art of a priest named Palumbus.[1]

Of English matters we are told how Aldredus bishop of Worcester made a visit to Jerusalem, which no English bishop is ever recorded to have done before.

Scottish monasteries at Cologne.

The burning down of two monasteries of the Scots at Cologne is mentioned, and how one of the monks called Paternus refused to save himself, deeming that it was true martyrdom to allow himself to be consumed in the ashes of his abbey, which notion Trevisa turns aside from his translation to ridicule, and utters a prayer that God may grant Paternus not to be damned for his blind devotion.

The concluding sentences of the chapter are occupied by a story of a marble statue, which mysteriously indicated by an inscription on its head the place where a great treasure was buried. A Saracen had the wit to interpret the sentence, and was in consequence rewarded for his pains.

Cap. XXVII. Berengarius and doctrines.

Nicholas II. is pope after the expulsion of Benedict VIII., and Higden relates the trouble which in his time came upon the church by the heretical teaching of Berengarius. This teaching was a denial of the real presence in the sacramental elements. We are told that the heretic was convinced and abjured his erroneous opinions, and that Lanfranc prior of Bec, the future archbishop of Canterbury, was one of the most powerful writers against the new teaching. Much is said also of the many virtues and great piety of Berengarius.[3] He had

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[1] It is at this point that the MSS. β. and γ. begin once more to accord with the printed text of Trevisa, and α. continues the history after a long gap.

[2] Berengarius, who died A.D. 1088, seems only to have revoked his opinions under great pressure, and after he had done so retired broken down in spirit to a monastery.

been a disciple of Fulbert bishop of Chartres, and that prelate is said to have desired that Berengarius should be sent away from his room when he was dying and Berengarius had come to visit him, for that there was a demon following him who polluted the air.

English affairs.

Kynsius archbishop of York dies and is succeeded by Aldred, who went in company of count Tosti, of Northumberland, to Rome to receive the pall, but was not well accepted there, until the remonstrances of Tosti brought a change over the papal policy.

Wulstan becomes bishop of Worcester, and Higden dwells on the fact that he was consecrated by Aldred and not by Stigand who was held in very small esteem.

Papal succession.

Alexander II.[1] succeeds Nicholas II. in the papacy, but there was an attempt made by the Italians to substitute Cadulus in his stead. To this Alexander offered a stout resistance. We learn from Platina that in a battle which ensued Cadulus was defeated and fled. He afterwards submitted himself to the authority of Alexander, and was pardoned for his previous opposition.

Harold in Wales.

We next come to a mention of the great campaign of Harold into Wales.[2] Along with his brother Tosti Harold at this time[3] subdued the whole principality,[4] and in the end Griffin the Welsh king was slain by his own people,[5] and his head sent to Harold. When the

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[1] Alexander II. was before he became pope called Anselm, and was bishop of Milan. Platina speaks of the party who opposed him as the "Cisalpini," and Cadulus (or Cadolus), whom they would have liked to put into the papacy, was bishop of Parma, and therefore belonged more to what Higden calls "the paradise of Italy."

[2] This expedition was undertaken in consequence of the ravages which king Griffin had recently committed in the English territory.

[3] The date of the expedition was Christmas $106\frac{2}{3}$, and Harold marched first to Rhuddlan on the north-east frontier of Wales.

[4] For praise of this campaign of Harold, which was a proof of that prince's ability as a general, see *Johan. Sarisb. Polycrat.* vi. 6.

[5] Griffin was slain August 5, 1063, and so died the last British chief whose name was terrible to the ears of Saxons.

conquest was complete king Edward granted Wales to the two brothers of Griffin[1] who swore fealty to him.

We are next told, on the authority of Henry of Huntingdon, the story of Harold's detention in Normandy, and of the oath which he is said to have taken to William. The version given here of the cause of Harold's voyage to Normandy is that he went to visit his brother[2] and nephew who were under the care of William duke of Normandy, having been given to king Edward as hostages by earl Godwin when he was reinstated in his English possessions in A.D. 1052. But the exile from England of a son and grandson of the great earl is somewhat inconsistent with the full restoration which was granted both to him and his family with the exception of Swein. However the story continues that Harold was wrecked on the territory of the Count of Ponthieu[3] who delivered him up to the duke of Normandy, and he was not allowed to return to England until he had sworn to support the claims of William to the crown of that country when king Edward should die.[4]

Harold's voyage to Normandy.

We next come to a confused account of the rebellion of the Northumbrians against duke Tosti, and how Harold sent by king Edward to punish the rebels deemed it more wise and patriotic to take the side of the subjects against their lord, though the lord were his own brother, and how he procured the election of Morkar[5] to the northern earldom in the place of Tosti, who was afterwards banished and took refuge in Flanders.

Rebellion in Northumberland.

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[1] Their names are given as Bleddyn and Rhiwallon. See *Chron. Wigorn.* Ann. 1063.

[2] These are said to have been Wylnotus (Wulfnoth), son of Godwin, and Hakun, the son of Swein, Harold's brother.

[3] This was Count Guy, one of the vassals of William of Normandy.

[4] For a full discussion of the various stories which are told concerning the relations of these two great princes the reader may consult with advantage Freeman's *Norm. Conq.* iii. 215–254.

[5] Called *Malcherus* by Higden and the versions.

In this chapter is chronicled the death of Edward the Confessor. The narrative is preceded by one of those legends which circle round the figure of this sainted king. He is seen to smile while at a banquet, and when afterwards the cause of his smiling is asked for, he tells how the seven sleepers of Ephesus had turned from one side to the other, and this was a token of evils about to come on the world. Ambassadors sent to Constantinople bring word that what the king had said was true, and his sanctity is extolled more than before. The misfortunes came and proved the portent true. Edward died on the vigil of the Epiphany, and was succeeded by Harold, to whom the chronicler gives much praise as one who made good laws, defended the church and the land, and punished evil doers, but yet he looks upon his accession as a misfortune.[1] Harold was consecrated by the archbishop of York, Aldred. His troubles at the commencement of his reign by the opposition of his brother Tosti and by the invasion of England from Norway by Harold Hardrada[2] in co-operation with Tosti are recorded. A few words are said about the famous battle of Stamford Bridge, and about the bravery of the nameless Norwegian hero who held the bridge long against all comers and slew more than 40 Englishmen with his own hand, and was at last wounded by one who came in a boat beneath the place where the champion was standing. The chapter concludes with the statement that Harold was deserted by some of his men at Hastings because he had not equitably divided the plunder at this earlier battle.[3] The authority for almost all that is found in this chapter is William of Malmesbury.

Cp. xxviii. Death of Edward the Confessor.

Harold king.

[1] Haraldus . . . . sinistro omine regnum occupavit (p. 226).

[2] Called by Higden Harfagus and by the translators Harfage and Harefagus.

[3] It is pointed out (Freeman, *N. C.* iii. 423) that this story is of no great authority, and if there were any defection among the troops it cannot have been serious enough to affect the issue of the conflict between Harold and William.

Cap. xxix. Death of Harold.

Here Higden gives some particulars of the battle of Hastings and of the death of Harold, but his account is very meagre. He mentions again Harold's oath to William, and also how he was betrothed to William's daughter, but these pledges Harold now disregarded. The authorities are Henry of Huntingdon and William of Malmesbury as usual. A curious story is told of William Fitz-Osbert,[1] how at first he dissuaded the duke from going against England, and, when the other nobles made him their spokesman, turned round and expressed his readiness to take his share in the expedition. We are next told of the delay at St. Valery, and of the religious ceremonial of bringing out the shrine of the saint in a solemn procession, and the change of the wind from west to south. William crossed and landed at Pevensey. His stumbling on landing is mentioned, and the ready words of the soldier[2] who told him that by the mud which he had clutched he had taken possession of England.

Landing of William.

Harold hastens southward, and though dissuaded from risking his life in the battle by his brother Gurth, he arranges for the coming struggle. William's three proposals to Harold are noticed, and Harold's refusal of them. We are also told how the English camp spent the night in revelry, while the Normans fell to their prayers.[3]

We have also the account of Taillefer's exploits as champion in front of the Norman host, and then in a few words mention is made of Harold's death, the burial of the

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[1] This man was the most ardent supporter of the invasion, and himself supplied 60 ships, a number exceeded by no other contributor. See Freeman, *Nor. Conq.*, iii. 379.

[2] According to other accounts the remark was made by William himself, and what the soldier did was to run forward and pluck a handful of thatch from a cottage and place it in William's hand as earnest of his approaching victory.

[3] When we remember Harold's visit to Waltham on his road from the north, and his prayers there, we can hardly attach much credit to stories such as these. See Freeman, *Nor. Conq.* iii., 428–430.

slain Normans and Englishmen, the recovery of Harold's body, and its burial at Waltham;[1] and the chapter closes with a notice of the strange legend which makes Harold escape wounded from the fight and retire to Chester, and there live as a monk until his death.[2] After the battle both the dukes, Edwin and Morkar, and Aldred, archbishop of York, came and gave in their submission to the Conqueror.

Victory of Senlac.

Higden commences this his last book with the coronation of William.[3] This ceremony was performed by Aldred archbishop of York. It appears that Stigand was present at the ceremony, but did not take any active part in it, probably on account of the small esteem in which he appears to have been held by all who sided with the Conqueror.[4] But it is to be noticed that in some MSS. of Higden, though not in any of those collated for this edition, the words which speak of Stigand as being not suffered to take a share in the service are omitted.[5] William's visit to Normandy is mentioned, and the reluctance of Stigand to be one of those who formed a part of the retinue which went with him. He was taken out of England, lest he should practise some treachery during William's absence. But William was only waiting for papal warrant that he might remove Stigand from his archbishopric,[6] which he

Bk. VII. Cap. I. Coronation of William.

[1] The body of Harold appears to have been first buried near the battlefield, but afterwards removed to Waltham. See Freeman, iii. 518.

[2] Harold's escape is just such a story as was likely to arise at such a time, especially as there was certainly some difficulty in finding his body, but the testimony to his death on the field is abundant.

[3] The coronation took place on 25 December 1066.

[4] Cf. Bk. vi. 27. That Stigand stood at the side of William is attested by Guy of Amiens. The passage is quoted by Freeman, *N. C.* iii. 558.

[5] The words "declinato Stigando Cantuariensi" are not found in MSS. Harl. 1707, Harl. 1751, nor in Cott. Nero D. viii. (all of which are in the British Museum), nor in many others.

[6] It was in April 1070 that Stigand was deprived of his office. He was charged with various offences against canon law, as having held two bishoprics at the same time, having taken the arch-

ultimately did, and kept him in some sort of custody at Winchester. After his return William besieged and took Exeter, where the widow of Earl Godwin was established.

Family of Edgar Atheling.

The history of Edgar Atheling is noticed, and those events which led to the marriage of Margaret, the sister of Edgar, to Malcolm king of Scotland, one of whose daughters afterwards was the wife of Henry I. of England. Matilda, the wife of William, came over from Normany and was crowned as queen of England.[1] The Danish fleets make their appearance in the Humber, where they are joined by Edgar Atheling, and we are told that grief on this account caused the death of Aldred the archbishop of York.[2] The Normans in their desire to deprive the approaching force of all means wherewith to fill up the ditch round the city, and so

Burning of York.

make a way to approach, set fire to all buildings in the suburbs, and the fire spreading consumed a large part of the city and the minster. The Danes made good their entry and slew more than three thousand Normans.[3] For this it was that William afterwards devastated the whole tract of country between York and Durham, with the exception only of the lands which were attached to the city of the canonized St. John of Beverley. Marvellous stories are told how the saint interfered in defence of his city and its territory, but of these Higden makes no mention, except that one soldier who tres-

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bishopric while Robert of Jumièges was alive, and having obtained the *pallium* from Benedict X., an usurper of the popedom.

[1] This event took place in May 1061. Archbishop Aldred was the officiating prelate on this occasion also.

[2] There are many legends connected with the death of this great prelate (*see* Freeman, *N. C.* iv. 260–266), but we may well fancy that dread of what he saw was coming on the land hastened his end.

[3] Neither the Danes nor their English companions made any use of this victory. The former went back to their ships, and the latter scattered themselves through the country.

passed on the sacred ground met with a terrible fate for his audacity.[1]

While William was devastating the country from the south, Malcolm king of Scotland laid Northumberland waste from the north and took the inhabitants for bondsmen.

Deposition of Stigand.

The deposition of Stigand and the grounds for it are given at length by Higden from William of Malmesbury. The Conqueror had waited to carry out this deposition until such time as he could show papal authority for his act, and he took advantage of the council, which was held at Winchester for this purpose, to remove several other English prelates and put Normans in their stead. Wulfstan bishop of Worcester sought to recover some of the possessions of his see which, having been held by Aldred along with the archbishopric, the king retained still in his own hands, as a new archbishop was not appointed. Presently afterwards Thomas canon of Bayeux was made archbishop of York, and another Frenchman, Lanfranc, was made archbishop of Canterbury. Higden relates how for some time the northern prelate refused to own the jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury; but at last, through the king's intervention, Thomas made his profession of obedience,[2] and Lanfranc was acknowledged by all the English bishops as their head.

Cap. II.

This chapter deals mainly with the ecclesiastical affairs of England. Mention is, however, made first of the fate of the two great earls of Mercia and Northumberland,

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[1] The name of this man is recorded as *Turstinus* (*see* Alfred of Beverley, v. 29). He is said to have been about to plunder an Englishman, who to avoid him took refuge in the minster. Thither Turstinus followed on horseback. The horse fell down dead with its neck broken, and the rider was smitten and crippled in every limb.

[2] It was only for himself that Thomas made this submission, and he stipulated that his successors should not be bound by what he did, unless on examination it was found that the claim of Lanfranc was right. Freeman, *N. C.* iv. 354.

Edwin and Morkar.[1] The former was traitorously slain by his own men. The latter took refuge in the isle of Ely, and was captured when William reduced that retreat.

We next are told of the succession of Walkerus in the bishopric of Durham.[2] Lady Edith, the widow of king Edward, being present at his consecration, and seeing what a fine form the new bishop had, called him a "goodly martyr," as in truth he proved.

English ecclesiastical affairs.

The see of Hereford passed from Walter, who was a Lotharingian,[3] to another of the same nation, Robert, by name, in the year 1079.

Next is mentioned the chronicler Marianus Scotus, a monk at Mainz, and a brief notice is given of his labours. This is followed by a long account of the visit of the two archbishops, Thomas of York and Lanfranc of Canterbury, to Rome to receive the *pallium* at the hands of the Pope.[4] We have a full report of a debate on the authority which belonged to the see of Canterbury over other bishoprics in England, and have recorded (p. 282) the terms on which the two archbishops in England were to stand to each other. The chapter closes with a notice of William's victories over King Malcolm of Scotland,[5] and the return of Edgar Atheling from Scotland and his reconciliation with William.

Cap. III.

The next chapter opens with a notice of pope Gregory VII.[6] (better known as Hildebrand) and his vigorous measures during his pontificate. We next come

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[1] The revolt of these two nobles against William took place in 1071. The death of Edwin is alone mentioned by Higden. Morkar was imprisoned in Normandy till the death of William.

[2] Walkerus (Walcher) was a Lotharingian of Liege, and was appointed to the see of Durham in 1079.

[3] Robert was bishop 1079–1095.

[4] The pope was Alexander II., 1061–1073, and the visit was made in 1071.

[5] William's invasion of Scotland took place in August 1072.

[6] Gregory VII. was pope 1073–1086.

upon certain revolts against the authority of William, and their defeat, and then there is mentioned an Ecclesiastical Council held by Lanfranc in St. Paul's Cathedral, and the ordinances thereat enacted. The death of Hermann bishop of Salisbury is noticed, and his successor Osmund is celebrated for many clerkly qualities. Some unfilial behaviour of Robert, eldest son of the Conqueror, is recorded, as is also the murder of Walkerus bishop of Durham by the people of Northumbria.[1] His successor was William of St. Carilef[2] (1080–1096), who first established monks at Durham. Next is narrated the foundation of the monasteries of Shrewsbury and Wenlock by Warin[3] earl of Shrewsbury. Next follows an account of the troublesome conduct of Thurstan abbat of Glastonbury, who outraged the feelings[4] of his whole monastery till at last the society came to blows, and Thurstan was removed by William, but afterwards, in the reign of William Rufus, found means to return. The chapter ends with a notice that the taxation on each hyde of land was six shillings, and with the briefest possible mention of the death of Pope Gregory VII. (A.D. 1086).

Council in London.

This chapter opens with a mention of the order of the papal succession, Victor III.[5] coming after Hildebrand. Next follows a mention of the intention of Canute[6] king

Cap. IV. Papal succession.

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[1] The date of the murder of Walkerus was 1080. He was slain at the door of the church at Gateshead.

[2] This is now St. Calais, in the diocese of Maine.

[3] This was Warinus, named Calvus or the Bald, who commanded at Shrewsbury for Roger earl of Montgomery, whose nephew he was by marriage, and whose instrument he was in the foundation of the monasteries mentioned above.

[4] One point on which the abbat offended all his monks was that he discarded the Gregorian mode of singing, and introduced modern music by one William of Fécamp.

[5] The papacy of Victor III. lasted from 24 May 1086 to 16 September 1087.

[6] This Canute was the son of King Swein (or Swend), who died A.D. 1076. An elder brother of Canute called Harold reigned from 1080 to 1086. Canute was

of Denmark to invade England in William's absence, which was prevented by the king's return. After the mention of William's parliament at Gloucester, held in the winter between 1085 and 1086, and which is famous as the assembly by which the Domesday Book [1] was ordered, Higden passes to a detailed notice of the founding of the Cistercian order of monks and of the rule under which they lived. The accession of Urban II. to the pontificate is recorded, and some little note is taken of the trouble which he underwent by reason of the opposition of an antipope who had formerly been bishop of Ravenna. Then after the notice of a plague in England,[2] and the burning of the minster of St. Paul's in London, and similar fires occurring in various towns in England, the chronicle passes to the death of William. The jest of the king of France on William's sickness and the dear price he paid for his wit are duly recorded, and the character given of the first Norman king is drawn from William of Malmesbury and Henry of Huntingdon.

Domesday Book.

Death of William.

Cap. v. William Rufus.

This chapter deals with the reign of William Rufus. We are told how he was favoured by the bishops Lanfranc and Wulstan, and how he pacified his elder brother Robert for the loss of the kingdom of England. The deeds of Odo [3] bishop of Bayeux in England are noticed, and the revolt of the Normans against Rufus while the English were loyal to him. Mention is next made of the summoning of a council at Claremont by Pope Urban II. This was A.D. 1095. The only thing

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murdered by his own subjects in the church of Odensee and was afterwards canonized, and is known as Canute the Martyr.

[1] On this see Freeman's *Norm. Conq.* iv. 691.

[2] On this dreadful year of 1087 the records of all the chronicles are very full. Every horror that could befall the nation seems to have had its turn. Cf. Earle's Saxon Chronicles, *sub anno*.

[3] Odo, who had been released from prison and restored to his earldom of Kent, revolted against Rufus, because the king had taken William bishop of Durham as his chief counsellor. *See* Freeman, *N. C.* v. 76.

specified as done by this Council [1] is the institution of the Hours of the Blessed Virgin as a daily service. A short notice is given of the way in which Rufus obtained possession of some of his brother's possessions in Normandy, and of the quarrels between the three brethren, and the chapter concludes with a notice of their reconciliation.

Cap. VI. Lanfranc's death.

The next chapter is devoted to an account of Archbishop Lanfranc, whose death took place 24 May 1089. The history of this prelate is derived from William of Malmesbury.[2] He was a Lombard by birth, but educated at Bec. His learning was recognised by the pope Alexander II. He had great influence over the Conqueror, nobody more. He was bountiful to an extreme, using continually the verse, as his motto, "Give alms and all things are pure "unto you."[3] He cared much for the improvement of

[1] The council of Clermont was that which decided that the Christian world of the West should undertake the first Crusade.

[2] De pontificibus, *lib.* i.

[3] This verse was evidently connected with Lanfranc's name for a long period. In illustration of this custom of distinguishing the prelates by various scriptural mottoes, I subjoin a list relating to a long array of the English bishops. It is taken from a Latin MS. of Beda (Trin. Coll. Camb. R. 75). foll. 250*b* and 251*a*.

Prognostica archiepiscoporum et episcoporum Angliæ.

Lanfranci archiepiscopi. Date eleemosynam et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis.

Anselmi archiepiscopi. Et vocavit multos et misit servum suum hora cenæ, *et reliq.*

Radulfi archiepiscopi. Equales sunt angelis Dei, cum sunt filii resurrectionis.

Willelmi archiepiscopi. Exultavit in gaudio infans in utero ejus.

Thomæ archiepiscopi Eboraci primi. Hic est discipulus qui testimonium perhibet de his.

Thomæ ii. archiepiscopi. Et janitori præcepit ut vigilet.

Turstini archiepiscopi. Et animam meam pono pro ovibus meis.

Mauricii Lundoniæ. Et erat secus mare et multi veniebant ad eum.

Ricardi. Surgent pseudoprophetæ multi et seducent multos.

Super Willelmum Wintoniensem. Si licet homini uxorem suam dimittere quacunque ex causa.

Super Rogerum Salsburiensem. Ligatis manibus ejus et pedibus mittite eum in tenebras exteriores.

churches, and especially fostered the monastic bodies. As a confessor he was distinguished by great mildness.

Super Robertum Lincolniensem. Et quod in aure auditis prædicate super tecta.

Alexandri ejusdem loci episcopi. Ego autem hic fame pereo.

Willelmi Norwicensis episcopi. Non hunc sed Barraban.

Hereberti ejusdem loci. Amice quomodo hic intrasti non habens vestem nuptialem.

Evrardi item ejusdem loci. Deus meus, deus meus ut quid me dereliquisti.

Gundulfi Roffensis ecclesiæ episcopi. Et erat quasi unus ex prophetis.

Ernulfi, ejusdem loci. Malos male perdet, et vineam suam locabit aliis colonis.

Hervei Eliensis episcopi. Venit tremens et procidit ad pedes Jesu.

Willelmi Exoniensis. Cum facis prandium aut cenam noli vocare divites sed pauperes.

Roberti Cestrensis i. Mensuram bonam et confertam et coagitatam, &c.

Roberti ii. Qui vult venire post me abneget semetipsum, &c.

Wulstani Wigornensis episcopi. Ecce vere Israhelita in quo dolus non est.

Samsonis ejusdem sedis episcopi. Quia non erat eis locus in diversorio.

Theodwaldi ejusdem loci. In eadem domo manete edentes et bibentes quæ apud illos sunt.

Walteri Herefordensis episcopi. Factum est gaudium magnum in illa civitate.

Roberti successoris ejus. Surge tolle lectum tuum et vade in domum tuam.

Girardi ejusdem loci episcopi. Relicto Zebede patre suo.

Rainelmi ejusdem sedis episcopi. Si crederetis Moysi crederetis forsitan et mihi.

Gaulfridi successoris ejus. Non dico vobis in qua potestate hæc facio.

Ricardi ejusdem loci. Jesus autem plenus Spiritus Sancti regressus est a Jordane.

Johannis Badionensis episcopi. Assumpsit eum diabolus in sanctam civitatem.

Godefridi successoris illius. Hi qui viderant eum resurrexisse non crediderant.

Ranulfi Dunelmensis episcopi. Mirabantur omnes de doctrina ejus.

Turoldi de Sancto Andrea de Scotia. Sequar te quocunque ieris.

Bernardi de Sancto Dewi. Attendite a fermento Phariseorum et ab Herode.

Urbani episcopi de Clamorgan. Et erat expectans regnum Dei.

David de Pangor. In verbo autem tuo laxabo rete.

He busied himself with reforms among the clergy of the monasteries, and his reforms were gradual in their introduction. Special mention is made of his appointment of Gundulf of Caen to the see of Rochester. His death happened in the manner in which he had prayed that it might occur, so that his mind was clear as long as life lasted. His character.

This chapter opens with a notice of the Council of Clermont in which Pope Urban roused men to go forth and recover the Holy Land.[1] Among the warriors who responded to the call was Robert of Normandy, who pledged his dukedom to Rufus that he might raise means for the holy war.[2] William taxed his English subjects to find the money for the loan. Cap. VII. First crusade.

We next read of the ravages of the Scotch King Malcolm in Northumbria, and of the terms on which a temporary peace was made between the English and the Scotch. Next follows a notice of severe storms with destructive lightning at Winchcombe, and in London, and at Salisbury. We are then told of the transfer of the episcopal see from Dorchester to Lincoln by Bishop Remigius, who was succeeded by Robert Bloet. Turning again to the affairs of Scotland Higden next records the restoration of the city of Carlisle which was intended to be a barrier[3] against Northern invasion. Episcopal affairs.

Henrici Wintoniensis. Si quis dixerit vobis quod hic est Christus nolite credere.

Similiter Gilleberti episcopi Lundoniensis.

Odonis episcopi Baiocensis. Qui intingit mecum manum in paropside hic me tradet.

Ricardi successoris ejus. Omnia possibilia sunt credenti.

[1] The first crusade was in 1096. The date given in the margin of Higden is 1090, but this probably refers to the movement preceding the expedition.

[2] St. George's arm, mentioned as the place where the rendezvous and passage of the Crusaders took place, was the Bosphorus or Hellespont, so called from the temple of St. George built outside Constantinople on the shores of the strait See Ducange, s. v. *brachium*.

[3] For an account of the English and Flemings, whom Rufus sent to occupy the town and surrounding country, see Freeman, *N. C.* v. 119.

A severe illness is said to have made Rufus more mindful of his duty to the church, and Anselm was appointed to the archbishopric of Canterbury.[1] But from what follows in the narrative it would seem that the penitence of Rufus was not of long duration. The superstition of the time is evidenced by the record of the death of Roger earl of Shrewsbury, who was made a monk as he lay on his sick bed in the hope to help his soul thereby; a proceeding on which Trevisa adds a severe comment.[2] The death of the Welsh King Rees[3] at Brecknock is mentioned (A.D. 1093), and then the history passes to the visit of Malcolm the Scotch king to William at Gloucester. The demand of the English monarch provoked Malcolm, and he returned home and again invaded England and was killed.[4] Then Malcolm's brother Donald is made king, but William Rufus supports Duncan,[5] Malcolm's son, who expels his uncle, A.D. 1094. Higden records a story of the way in which Malcolm dealt with one whom he was told was about to turn traitor, and how the traitor became his faithful servant. A notice of a visit of Anselm to England concludes the chapter.

Affairs of Wales and Scotland.

Cap. VIII. Opening with a brief mention of some distress and revolts in Normandy, Wales, and Scotland, in which latter country King Duncan was expelled and Donald recalled, the story turns to an account of the famous Bishop Wulstan[6] of Worcester and York, with whose history the rest of the chapter is filled.

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[1] This was in 1093, and the death of Lanfranc took place in 1089, so that the king had kept the revenues in his hands for four years.

[2] See p. 355.

[3] This was Rees ap Tudor, the king of South Wales, after whose death the Welsh had no kings, but only princes.

[4] This was in November 1094, Malcolm reached Alnwick in his invading journey. The "Count Robert" of the text (p. 356) was Count Robert of Mowbray.

[5] Duncan was residing at the English court whither he had been sent by his father as a hostage.

[6] This is the famous prelate whose discourses are still preserved in the original language and are known

Cap. IX. Quarrels between Rufus and Anselm.

At the opening of this chapter, under the correct date 1096, is noticed the first Crusade and its leaders, and how the Crusaders took Acre, and brought the head of St. Stephen to Caen. Then follows an account of the dispute between William Rufus and Anselm concerning the right of investiture, and the great exactions which the king made upon the clergy. Anselm eventually retired to the continent and was present at a council at Bari in Apulia where he defended the *Filioque* clause in the Nicene Creed against the Greeks.[1] Ralph [2] bishop of Chichester is mentioned as a reformer who aimed at the same changes which Anselm desired, and was a bold supporter of the archbishop until his departure. Next we have the story of how Rufus heard of the revolt of Maine (Cenomannia) while he was hunting in the New Forest, and made his way to the shore as quickly as he could, crossed the sea amidst a storm, assuring the sailors that kings were not drowned. Such bravery causes the chronicler to suggest that the spirit of Julius Cæsar had taken up its abode in William Rufus. Some prodigies are next recorded, and after them the conquest of Anglesey by the earls of Chester and Shrewsbury, the latter of whom was soon after killed fighting against Magnus king of Norway, who sailing round the north of our island had continued his conquests and ravages as far as the Isle of Man. Herbert Losinga [3] and his foundations

Reduction of Maine.

Conquest of Anglesey.

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as "Sermones Lupi," Lupus being a Latin attempt at rendering the name Wulstan (*i.e.* Wulfstan). For an account of this energetic prelate, and especially of his sermons (which it is proposed some day to print among the volumes of the Early English Text Society), the reader is referred to Wanley's Catalogue appended to Hickes' *Thesaurus*, pp. 140 *seqq.*

[1] There is still extant a special treatise by Anselm, entitled "De Processione Sancti Spiritus." Anselm would fain have resigned his archbishopric but Pope Urban declined to allow him to do so.

[2] Radulphus was bishop of Chichester from 1091 to 1125.

[3] On the Scriptural verses applied to Herbert Losinga in the text (p. 394), cf. the note given above on chap. vi. p. xxxviii.

Founding of Norwich cathedral.

at Norwich and Thetford are next mentioned, and the concluding words of the chapter contain a trace of the record of Rufus' fondness for great buildings.[1]

Cap. x. The Cistercians.

This chapter is entirely devoted to an account of the establishment of the Cistercian monks, first in Burgundy and afterwards, A.D. 1135, in England. Their rule is described, and the monks are said to have been a pattern to those of all other orders. The last sentence of Trevisa's version is an addition of his own, and it is difficult to conjecture what the word was which suggested his explanation.

Cap. x. Papal changes.

The chapter opens with the death of Pope Urban II. and the succession of Paschal II. to the papal throne.[2] The imprisonment of this pope and his cardinals by the Emperor Henry is mentioned, and how the pontiff at a subsequent Lateran Council revoked all the oaths which under coercion he had taken to Henry.[3] The chronicler then turns to English affairs, and mentions the death of William bishop of Durham, and the succession of Bishop Ralph[4] to that see. He is said to have obtained it by purchase from the king, and in many ways to have been an objectionable prelate, but he is praised for his care of the relics of St. Cuthbert. Osmund[5] bishop of Salisbury died at this time. Terrible portents are related which had reference to the bad end which should befal the

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[1] For further notices of William Rufus' great building works cf. Wm. of Malmesbury, iv. 320. This king built the wall round the Tower of London, a bridge over the Thames, and the New Hall at Westminster alluded to in the text.

[2] This was in 1099. Urban had been made pope in 1088.

[3] Platina says of this proceeding: "Satius itaque visum est retractare male acta violenter præsertim, quam pati exemplo pernicioso ut id quoque reliquis principibus licere videatur quod Henricus ab invito pontifice extorserat."

[4] The bishop Ralph of Durham was Ralph Flambard, Lord Treasurer and Lord Chief Justice. The see had been kept vacant by Rufus for four years before Ralph was appointed to it in 1099.

[5] This was St. Osmund de Sees, who was also Lord Chancellor and Earl of Dorset. He died in 1099, and the see was then vacant for eight years.

avaricious king; and then we are told of his death by the chance shot of Walter Tyrrel, and his burial at Winchester. His character is given at some length, and one or two good traits are related amid many bad ones. Death of William Rufus.

In England Henry I. succeeded his brother Rufus. He imprisoned Ralph bishop of Durham, and recalled Archbishop Anselm. Henry married Matilda, daughter of Malcolm, king of Scotland. The death of Thomas archbishop of York is noted, and that Gerald[1] was the next occupant of the see. Robert, the brother of King Henry, returned from the Crusade when he heard of the death of Rufus, but found his brother already on the throne of England, and consented at last to receive a pension in lieu of the kingdom. Many stories are told of Robert's doings during the Holy War. But his indolence caused even his Norman subjects to despise him, and at last he was imprisoned[2] by Henry at Cardiff, and died in prison. Cap. XII. King Henry I.

This chapter opens with an insurrection against Henry, at the head of which was Robert de Belesme, son of Roger earl of Shrewsbury. But he was soon reduced, and had to flee into Normandy; and like banishment was the portion of William of Mortoun. Henry went over to France, and by his presence brought about a state of peace there. Pope Calixtus II., who held a council[3] at Rheims, intended to chide Henry for his conduct towards his brother Robert, but was convinced in some way that what the king had done was right. The next event of importance which is chronicled is the council held by Anselm in London, and the decrees there made. Some Flemings were about this time allowed to Cap. XIII. An insurrection in England.

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[1] Gerald, who was translated in 1100, had previously been bishop of Hereford. He held the see for nine years.

[2] His imprisonment lasted from 1106 to 1134.

[3] This council was held in October 1119, and the interview between Henry and Calixtus took place at Gisors.

Foreigners in England.

settle in England, near the Tweed, because their own country had been rendered uninhabitable by a flood of sand. The text of C. and D. mentions that these Flemings were afterwards removed into Wales, near Ross and Haverford.

Next are mentioned certain portents which were seen in the heavens, and the chapter closes with an account of Anselm's return [1] into England.

Cap. XIV.

Henry V.[2] (whom Higden calls Henry IV., in accordance with his previous numeration) succeeds his father as emperor of Germany, and subsequently marries a daughter of Henry of England. Anselm on one day consecrated five bishops in London, but the king still followed the example of his father and brother, and kept the revenues of the bishops largely in his own hands.

Of Anselm.

Higden gives some particulars of the life of Anselm from William of Malmesbury, though a life of Anselm had been written by Eadmer, a monk of Canterbury. These particulars fill nearly all the rest of the chapter, only at the conclusion are related certain portents, an earthquake, a comet, a severe winter, and a plague. It is also recorded that Henry built the monastery of Hyde, near Winchester.

Cap. XV.

Ecclesiastical affairs of England.

In 1114 the water in the Thames was so low that it could be forded near the Tower of London. In a council at Windsor the king intended to promote Faricius abbat of Abingdon to the long vacant see of Canterbury, but by the efforts of the clergy Radulphus (Ralph) bishop of Rochester was appointed. Next follows an account of Thurstan[3] archbishop of York, and his refusal to acknowledge the authority of the archbishop of Canterbury. The matter was referred to the pope, but found no satis-

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[1] This second expatriation of Anselm terminated in 1100.

[2] Henry V. came to the throne in 1106, and married the English princess in 1114. Her name was Adeliza, but it was changed to Matilda on her marriage.

[3] Thurstan was appointed archbishop of York in 1119, and eventually resigned the see.

factory settlement. When Henry's first wife[1] died he married a daughter of the duke of Lothringen. We then have an account of the anger of Ralph the archbishop of Canterbury, because the marriage ceremony had been performed by the bishop of Winchester instead of by himself. A hard winter in England, a plague of flies in Jerusalem, the death of Pope Paschal II., and the succession of Gelasius, against whom[2] the Emperor Henry set up a rival pope, who was called Gregory VII.,[3] are the events next recorded in the briefest manner. Then follows a notice of the death of the chronicler Florence of Worcester, of the marriage of Henry's son William with the daughter of Fulk count of Anjou, who committed Anjou to the care of the English king, while he went to the Holy War. The drowning of Prince William is just mentioned, but more is said of it in the next chapter.

Second marriage of King Henry.

Calixtus II. was the next pope (1119–1124). He imprisoned the anti-pope Maurice (or Gregory), and inflicted many indignities upon him. The order of the Præmonstrensians began at this period. Some details of the life and character of Henry's late queen Matilda are here inserted from William of Malmesbury, from whom also comes the account of the drowning of Prince William and his companions in the English Channel. One or two things are told of the character of the prince and his fellows, which show that in the chronicler's mind their fate was heaven-sent for their evil doings. King Henry's park at Woodstock is just mentioned, and the death of Ralph the archbishop. The next archbishop was William,

Cap. xvi. Papal succession.

Drowning of Prince William.

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[1] Queen Matilda died in 1118, and the second wife of Henry was Adelaide or Adeliza, daughter of Godfrey count of Löwen, and duke of Lower Lothringen. *See* Freeman, *N. C.* v. 196.

[2] Gelasius II. held the papal chair only a year; he was advanced to it in 1118.

[3] He is called Gregory VII. in all the MSS., but as Hildebrand had already been so called, it is clearly an error for Gregory VIII. Platina merely says he was called Gregory without mentioning any number.

called Canonicus.[1] The Knights Templars were founded at this time. They were the remnant of the Knights Hospitallers. Higden knows of the suppression of the order in 1312. From Henry of Huntingdon is taken next a notice of some attempts made at a reform of the clergy, not before it seems to have been needed. Mention is made of the death[2] of the Emperor Henry V.; another story is also told how he retired into a monastery at Chester. The marriage of his widow the Empress Matilda to Geoffrey Plantagenet is the last event recorded in the chapter.

Death of Henry V.

Cap. XVII. English affairs.

Lothaire duke of Saxony succeeded Henry V. as emperor. A council was held in London for the reform of the clergy, and in it the nobles swore to preserve the succession[3] to the English throne for the Empress Matilda, now that Henry had no son to succeed him. The body of St. Matthew is discovered at Treves. The papacy of Honorius II. (1124) and of Innocent II. (1130) are next chronicled, and the troubles of the latter from an anti-pope named Anacletus. The death of the count of Flanders gives that country to Henry of England, whose daughter Matilda, separating from her husband, came to her father in Normandy. Then follows an account of some visions of King Henry which seemed to foretell evil to the land. Robert the king's brother dies at Cardiff. Norton Priory and the monastery of Cumbermere are founded. Then is recorded the death of Henry and his epitaph. The character of the king is copied from Henry of Huntingdon. The chapter is closed with a narrative concerning Simon dean of Lincoln, his pride and its fall.

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[1] He has this name because he was prior of St. Osyth in Essex. His full name was William Corbois or Corboil.

[2] The emperor died in 1125. Matilda returned to England in the next year, and was married again before a year expired.

[3] The notion of a female succession was at this time unheard of, and Henry took this means of making sure of his new plan.

After Henry's death [1] Stephen [2] count of Blois came to the English throne. Higden records that the archbishop who consecrated Stephen had previously taken the oath to preserve the succession for Matilda, but he soon died, and all Stephen's adherents came to a bad end. The new king gave his nobles permission to strengthen the land by building castles, and he made peace with the king of Scotland. The German Emperor Lothaire dying, he is succeeded by Conrad of Bavaria, who afterwards joined the Crusades. Next from Giraldus we have an epitaph on Theobald the holy count of Campania. A raid of David the king of Scotland is checked by Thurstan archbishop of York. Stephen retaliates by an invasion of Scotland, and in his return home troubles the bishops greatly by arrests and imprisonment. The next record is of the various monastic foundations begun by Archbishop Thurstan. Soon we are told how Robert earl of Gloucester encouraged the Empress Matilda to come from Anjou into England and lay claim to the throne. She lands at Portsmouth and at first is successful, and Stephen falls into her hands, but by her pride she turns the feelings of the people against her. So she is forced to flee from London, and first at Winchester and subsequently at Oxford her party is defeated. Stephen in the meanwhile had obtained his liberty. The flight of the Empress from Oxford is the last event in the struggle that is recorded in this chapter.

Cap. xviii. King Stephen.

Conrad III. emperor of Germany.

War between Stephen and Matilda.

The mention of the preaching of Amaldus at Rome and of the death of John de Temporibus who had lived 361 years are the closing notices of this chapter.

Through the kindness of the Rev. G. W. Kitchin, of Christ Church, Oxford, I have been informed of a MS. of Higden, which is in the library of that College, but which

[1] Henry died in Normandy, Dec. 1, 1135, and was buried at Reading.

[2] Stephen was a nephew of Henry, being son of Adela, daughter of William I.

was not included in Coxe's Catalogue of College MSS. It is now entered in a separate catalogue of the Codices in Christ Church made in 1876. It is No. LXXXIX., and the account of it is on p. 41. of the catalogue. Mr. Kitchin has kindly furnished me with such particulars concerning the MS. that I am able to judge to what class it belongs, but I propose to reserve any detailed account of it until I have been able to visit Oxford and make a full inspection of it.

J. Rawson Lumby.

Cambridge,
12 Nov. 1879.

SUMMARY OF CONTENTS.

BOOK THE SIXTH—(*continued*).

Cap. X.

Of the church history of England, and mainly of archbishop Dunstan.

Death of Odo, archbishop of Canterbury. His friendship with king Athelstan. He becomes a monk. Dispute concerning the burialplace of bishop Wylfrid. Odo excommunicates king Edwyn. The king's revenge. A miracle wrought by Odo. When Odo consecrated Dunstan bishop of Worcester, he used the form for consecration of an archbishop of Canterbury. This was prophetic. Elsinus succeeds Odo. He insults Odo's tomb. His miserable end. Brithlinus is the next archbishop, but not being equal to the charge, he returns to Winchester, and Dunstan is made archbishop. Dunstan's control over king Edgar. The blissful state of England in these days. A two-headed woman. Benedict V. is pope. Of Nichoforus king of the Greeks. Leo VIII. is pope. He enacts that no pope shall henceforth be chosen except with the consent of the emperor. John XIV. is pope. His exile and restoration. Benedict VI. is pope. He is succeeded by Boniface VII. Evil deeds and death of Boniface. St. Oswald is made archbishop of York. He holds the bishopric of Worcester at the same time. He builds a church to the Virgin near the cathedral at Worcester. Effect of his life there upon the regular clergy Oswald encourages literary men, and among them the monk Abbo, who afterwards wrote the life of the martyr-king St. Edmund. Death of Abbo. Death of St. Oswald. Great estate and sway of king Edgar. - - - - pp. 2–18.

Cap. XI.

Of king Edgar and of the Roman Pontiffs.

The fame of king Edgar as great as that of Cyrus, Romulus, and other mighty monarchs. He is buried at Glastonbury. His body found in great preservation when his tomb was opened. Violent death of Abbot Aylward, who profanely opened the

tomb. Of the bell of St. Eltutus. Laudatory verses on king Edgar. Certain stories told to his discredit. Of his murder of the knight Ethelwold. How Edgar married the widow of Ethelwold. This was queen Elfrida. Other stories of Edgar's incontinent life. But he was a sincere penitent. Benedict VII. is pope. Otho II., son of Otho I., reigns in Germany. How he quelled a rebellion of the Roman nobles. - - pp. 18–30.

Cap. XII.

Of the kings of England.

Edward, son of Edgar, is made king. Elfrida, his stepmother, wishes to place her son Ethelred on the throne. Portents in the sky. Alferus, prince of Mercia, favours the secular clergy. Dunstan resists his measures. A synod is held at Winchester on this matter, when a crucifix on the wall spake in favour of Dunstan's plan. At another council at Calne, the floor of the room gave way and let down all the company except Dunstan. King Edward is stabbed while drinking of a cup given to him by his stepmother, and falling from his horse is dragged till he is dead. He is first buried at Wareham, and his murderess tries to visit his tomb, but is not able. His body is afterwards removed to Shaftesbury, and in later times one part was at Leominster, and another at Abindon. Elfrida builds two monasteries as a sign of her penitence. Elfricus, her agent in her crimes, dies a terrible death. Bishop Fulbertus lived at this time. His compositions. The Virgin Mary appears to him in a sickness, and miraculously restores him to health.

pp. 30–40.

Cap. XIII.

Of king Egelred and of St. Dunstan's death.

Egelred, son of Edgar, crowned at Kingston. The duration and character of his reign. Stories of him. Dunstan prophecies bad things for him. A reason why he was afraid of tapers. His children. A marvel in his times. Pirates ravage Southampton, the Isle of Thanet, and part of Cornwall. London is burnt. Ethelwold, bishop of Winchester, dies, and is succeeded by Elphegus, who afterwards became archbishop of Canterbury. Reign of Otho III. in Germany. He is called *Mirabilia Mundi.* An account of the electors to the German throne. Of Otho's queen, and his justice done upon her. John XIV. is pope. Then John XV., and next John XVI. King Egelred besieges Rochester. Dunstan's messages to him. Plague in England

among both men and cattle. Death of Dunstan. His life written by Osbern, monk of Canterbury. Stories concerning Dunstan. The Danes invade England after his death. They are bought off from time to time by the advice of archbishop Siricius. Treachery of Elfricus. Further inroads by the Danes. Anlaf, their leader, is baptized and departs, but others come in his stead. Sad condition to which England was reduced. Behaviour of the king both in his public and private character. - - - - - - pp. 40–60.

Cap. XIV.

Of the kings of the Franks.

Lothaire, son of Louis, died without children. Some say he had children, but they were put aside by the power of Richard, duke of Normandy, and Hugh Capet was made king. Death of St. Oswald, archbishop of York and bishop of Worcester. Pontificate of Gregory the Vth. He was a kinsman of the emperor Otho. Troubles of his papacy. Transference of the bishopric from Lindisfarne to Durham. The body of St. Cuthbert was translated at the same time. Of Richard II. who was fourth duke of Normandy. His children. Stories of his liberality and popularity. Silvester II. is made pope. He was formerly called Gerebertus, and was famous for his mathematical studies and his knowledge of magic. He was skilled in augury. Anecdotes concerning him. Of his royal pupils. His mechanical inventions. He is made bishop of Rheims, then archbishop of Ravenna, and then pope. Of a statue in the Campus Martius, and the treasure which Gerebertus found near it. Stories of similar hidden treasures. Death of Gerebertus. The manner of his burial. - - - pp. 60–78.

Cap. XV.

Of the kings of France, England, and Germany. Also of the Papacy.

Hugh Capet dies. His son Robert succeeds him. Story of a monkish vision. Prayers for the dead instituted. Of Robert's attainments and religious devotion. His musical compositions. Dublin devastated by the Scots. The Danes invade Normandy. King Egelred invades Cumberland and the Isle of Mona. Body of St. Ivo found. History of St. Ivo. King Egelred marries Emma of Normandy. Slaughter of the Danes in England. Foundation of the monastery of Burton-on-Trent. Henry I. Emperor of Germany. John XVIII., pope. Sweyn

ravages England and takes Exeter. Elphegus, bishop of Winchester, made archbishop of Canterbury. Another Danish invasion. King Egelred buys off the Danes. Further Danish inroads. - - - - - - pp. 80–88.

Cap. XVI.

Of St. Elphegus and of Sweyn, king of Denmark.

The Danes besiege Canterbury, and inflict great cruelties on the inhabitants. The archbishop Elphegus is amongst the captives, and is at length stoned to death. His body was buried in St. Paul's at London, but afterwards removed to Canterbury. History of Elphegus. Benedict VIII. made pope. Story related concerning his torments after death. Invasion of England by Sweyn. He comes to Gainsborough. Leaves there his son Canute. Further ravages in the west of England. Sweyn demands tribute from St. Edmundsbury. His visitation and death in consequence. Canute deals more mildly with this sacred town. - - - - - - pp. 88–96.

Cap. XVII.

Of the coronation of king Canute and the death of Egelred.

Canute made king of Denmark. Egelred invited by the English to come from Normandy. He sends his son. Conflict between Canute and Edmund Ironside. Death of Egelred. Edmund Ironside chosen king. Canute repulsed by him. Treachery of duke Edric. Successes of Edmund Ironside. Peace between the two kings. Council at Deerhurst on the Severn. Single combat between Edmund and Canute. Reconciliation and agreement between them. Story of the treacherous murder of Edmund by duke Edric. This story contradicted by some historians. - - - - - pp. 96–106.

Cap. XVIII.

Of Canute. Of the Vision of Brithwold, and of the emperors of Germany.

Canute sole king of England. Governors whom he appointed. His treatment of the sons of Edmund Ironside. Their after-history. Edgar Atheling. Canute marries queen Emma. He puts to death duke Edric. Visits Denmark, taking some English nobles with him. Their brave behaviour. Death of

Aldelm, bishop of Lindisfarne. Anecdote concerning the choice of his successor. Punishment miraculously inflicted in Saxony on some dancers in a churchyard. Of Brithwold, a monk of Glastonbury. His visions concerning the English succession. Egelnotus, archbishop, brings the body of St. Elphegus to Canterbury. Of other relics which the archbishop procured. Death of Henry, emperor of Germany. Of his successor Conrad. Of a law which he made and the result thereof. - - - - - - pp. 106–118.

Cap. XIX.

Of the affairs of Normandy.

Richard II. of Normandy dies. He is succeeded by his son Richard III., who is poisoned by his brother Robert. Of Robert's pilgrimage to Jerusalem and his death. Character of Robert and instances of his great liberality. He was the father of William the Conqueror. Dream of William's mother concerning his future greatness. Pledge taken from the nobles before Robert went to Jerusalem for their support of his son William. Of the death of Robert and the behaviour of the Norman nobles. Further anecdotes concerning the liberality of duke Robert. His death took place in Bithynia.

pp. 118–128.

Cap. XX.

Of the popes of Rome.

John XX. is made pope. Birth of Marianus Scotus the chronicler. The Norwegians revolt from Saint Olave, and choose Canute for their king. Hugh, son of Robert, king of France. Of Canute's pilgrimage to Rome and of his almsdeeds. Benedict IX., pope. Silvester substituted for him. Benedict recalled and again ejected. Gregory VI., pope. Of the interference of Henry, emperor of Germany, in the matters of the papacy. William, duke of Normandy. Canute appoints his son Sweyn king of Norway, and Hardicanute king of Denmark. Death of Canute. He is buried at Winchester. Three notable things which he did. Contest concerning the succession in England. Supporters of Harold and of Hardicanute. Harold made king. Ethelnotus, archbishop of Canterbury, dies. Edsius is made archbishop, and he is succeeded by Stigand. Death of Harold and succession of Hardicanute. - - - pp. 130–136.

Cap. XXI.

Of king Hardicanute and of the emperor Henry.

Hardicanute reigned three years. Of his severe exactions of tribute. He gives his sister Gunnylda in marriage to Henry the emperor. Of the sons of Egelred and Emma. Notice of earl Godwin. Of Henry the emperor of Germany. Anecdotes concerning him and his dealing with church patronage. Of a papal schism in the time of this Henry. Of the discovery of the body of the giant Pallas. Epitaph of Pallas. - pp. 136–150.

Cap. XXII.

Of the papacy and the affairs of England.

Gregory VI. made pope. His efforts to improve the condition of the pope and the Roman church. He appeals for help to the emperor, and then himself puts down offenders by the strong arm. He incurs the hatred of churchmen by his warlike deeds. His speech in his own defence. At his death they object to his interment in St. Peter's. A miracle wrought to prove his worthiness. Sudden death of king Hardicanute. Character of this king. Prince Edward invited from Normandy. pp. 150–160.

Cap. XXIII.

England under Edward the Confessor.

Edward crowned king at Westminster. Reigned twenty-four years. Marries a daughter of earl Godwin. He brings over some Normans into England. Exiles earl Godwin and his family. Harsh treatment of his mother Emma. She defends herself in a trial by ordeal. The king's repentance. Of Edward's expedition against Harold, king of Norway. How he laughed during mass service and his reason. Benedict X. made pope. He is deposed by Henry the emperor. Clement II. elected, who is succeeded by Prosper, and he by Damasus II., and he by Leo IX. Harold, king of Norway, conquers Denmark. Sweyn, king of Denmark, seeks help from England, and recovers his kingdom. Aldred made bishop of Worcester. Of a great snowstorm in the west of England, followed by a pestilence. War between Henry, king of France, and the nobles of Normandy. William established in the dukedom of Normandy. Foundation of the monastery of Bec in Normandy, whence afterwards came Lanfranc and Anselm. Alliance

against Baldwin, earl of Flanders. Leo IX. resigns the papacy but is re-elected. Irish pirates in the Severn. Of Sweyn, the son of Godwin. - - - - - pp. 160–172.

Cap. XXIV.

Of earl Godwin and of the papacy.

King Edward freed the English from the Danegelt. Edsius, the archbishop, dies. Robert, bishop of London, made archbishop of Canterbury. Eustace, count of Bononia, lands at Dover. A fight between his men and the men of Dover. Earl Godwin ordered to punish the English, but excuses himself. A council of the nobles at Gloucester. Fault found with the large amount of earl Godwin's forces. Godwin and his three sons sail to Flanders. He and his family are declared outlaws. Edward's queen Edgitha sent to a monastery. Visit of William of Normandy to England. Death of Emma, the king's mother. Marianus Scotus becomes a monk at Cologne. Accord made between the king and earl Godwin. The king's Norman counsellors banished. Stigand archbishop of Canterbury. His want of learning and other failings. Of the state of learning in Ireland. Death of Alfwold, the last bishop of Sherborne. Of a quarrel of the bishop with earl Godwin. Alfwold's visit to Cuthbert's tomb. - - - - - pp. 172–184.

Cap. XXV.

England under Edward the Confessor.

Victor II., pope. Synod of Florence, and its enactments. Siward, earl of Northumberland, invades Scotland. Siward's son slain. The father's speech over the dead body. Death of Wulsius, bishop of Lichfield. A reproach of king Edward to earl Godwin. Story of Godwin's death. Harold, son of Earl Godwin, succeeds his father. An embassy from king Edward to the emperor Henry II. about the family of Edmund Ironside. Algar, son of Leofric, exiled. He joins the king of Wales, and ravages Herefordshire. Death of Siward, earl of Northumberland. Disposal of his power. Of Herman, bishop of Winchester. Of Harold and Tostius, sons of earl Godwin. Of earl Godwin's wife, the sister of Canute. Of his second wife, the mother of his children. A wonderful story of a woman at Berkely, whose body fiends carried away.

pp. 184–196.

Cap. XXVI.

Of the German emperors.

Henry III. is emperor for fifty years. He troubled holy church. He visits the Holy Land. Stephen IX. [X.] pope. He is succeeded by Benedict X. Agelric, bishop of Durham, resigns his episcopate. Death of earl Leofric. His piety and good deeds towards the church. Of his wife Godgiva, and how she freed Coventry from all tolls. Algarus duke of Mercia after Leofric. Of Lucian, a Roman citizen, and how he lost his ring on his marriage day, and through the magic power of Palumbus recovered it again. Palumbus confesses his evil deeds. Aldredrus, bishop of Worcester, makes a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Burning of two abbeys of the Scots at Cologne. Trevisa's opinion about true martyrdom. Of a wondrous statue of marble, and a treasure found under its shadow. - pp. 196–206.

Cap. XXVII.

Of the popes of Rome.

Nicholas II., pope. The church of Gaul much disturbed by Berengarius. His heresy was concerning Christ's body in the sacrament. A council on this matter at Vercelli. Berengarius recants, but after his death the error spread. Lanfranc wrote against the error of Berengarius. Laudatory verses concerning Berengarius. Bishop Fulbert could not endure the visit of Berengarius. Prayer of Berengarius on his death-bed. Marianus Scotus, a monk at Fulda. Aldredus, bishop of Worcester, translated to York. The pope refuses him the pall, but through the influence of earl Tostius he obtains it. Stigand, archbishop of Canterbury, is little esteemed. Alexander II., pope. Strife about his election. Duke Harold wars upon Griffin, king of Wales. Griffin is outlawed by his own people, and his lands given by Edward to his brothers. Harold visits Normandy. He is said to have sworn to help William to the throne of England. Savage conduct of earl Tostius. Tostius departs from England to Flanders. - pp. 206–218.

Cap. XXVIII.

Death of Edward the Confessor. Harold takes the kingdom.

Of king Edward's laughter at a banquet. His explanation of the cause. On investigation his story is found true. Of the Saracens and Turks in Syria and Asia Minor. Death of

Henry III., emperor of Germany. Appearance of a comet. Address thereto by Oliver, a monk of Malmesbury. Account of this Oliver, and of his attempts to fly. King Edward sick at Westminster. Of his visions and prophecies concerning England. Stigand calls his utterances an old man's dotage, but their truth was found out. Death of king Edward. Of the writer of his life. Harold seizes the kingdom. Marianus says that king Edward appointed him to reign. He is consecrated, and takes the oaths of consecration. Tostius, Harold's brother, makes a descent on England. Harold, king of Norway, also does the same. Of the battle of Harold at Stamford bridge. Of the valour of a Norwegian soldier there. Harold refuses to part the spoils of the Norwegians amongst his soldiers. Many desert him in consequence. - - - pp. 218–230.

Cap. XXIX.

William's plea against Harold. The death of Harold.

Harold neglects his oath to William, saying such an oath ought not to be kept. William prepares to invade England. Pope Alexander favours the cause of William. Behaviour of the Normans on William's expedition. The winds are contrary at their starting. The body of St. Valericus brought out of the church and the wind changes. William lands at Pevensey. He stumbles. Speech of a soldier near him. Harold hastens from the north. The report of his spies concerning William's army. Gurth Harold's brother advises him to keep out of the fight. William's proposals to Harold. The battle fought where William afterwards erected an abbey. Preparations of English and Normans. Of a Norman named Taylfer. The Normans sing the song of Roland as they go into the battle. Harold is killed and the English routed. William sends Harold's body to his mother. It is buried at Waltham. Giraldus Cambrensis says that Harold was not killed but retired to a monastery near Chester, where he died. On the death of Harold the English nobles submit to William. - - - pp. 232–246.

BOOK THE SEVENTH.

Cap. I.

Of William I., king of England.

William was crowned at Westminster by Aldred, archbishop of York. He would not be crowned by Stigand archbishop of Canterbury. He soon visits Normandy, taking many English nobles with him. Stigand is deposed from the archbishopric and kept prisoner at Winchester. William returns to England. He lays a heavy tribute on the English. He besieges the city of Exeter. Githa, wife of earl Godwin, passed over to Flanders. The lords of Northumbria take refuge in Scotland, and take with them Edgar Atheling and his two sisters. Another story is that Edgar Atheling was driven by storm into Scotland. Malcolm, king of Scotland, marries Edgar's sister. Of their family and alliances. William builds castles at Nottingham, Lincoln, and York. Matilda, wife of William, is crowned queen of England. The Danes invade England, landing at the mouth of the Humber. William ravages the north of England, sparing only the district of John of Beverley. Even Bede's monastery was burnt. Malcolm, king of Scotland, invades Northumbria. King William seizes the money of the monasteries. Council of Winchester. Stigand degraded from the archbishopric. Reasons for his degradation. Of the character of Stigand. Deposition of other Saxon prelates. Normans are placed in their stead. Wulstan, bishop of Worcester, asks from the king the episcopal possessions of the see of York, but fails to get them. Thomas, canon of Bayeux, made archbishop of York. His character and labours. Lanfranc summoned from Normandy is made archbishop of Canterbury. Dispute about authority between the archbishops of York and Canterbury. Interference of the king. Submission of the archbishop of York, and soon after of all the other bishops. pp. 248–264.

Cap. II.

Of ecclesiastical affairs in England.

Earls Edwin and Morcar flee from the court. Edwin is killed by his own men. Morcar takes refuge in the Isle of Ely. Of Walkerus, bishop of Durham. Prophecy of the queen concerning him. Death of Walter, bishop of Hereford. He is succeeded by Robert, a Lotharingian. Of Marianus Scotus and his chronicle. Lanfranc and Thomas, archbishop of York, both

visit Rome. Of their reception there. A debate before the pope on the supremacy of Canterbury over York. Arguments of Thomas and Lanfranc. End of the dispute. William goes to Scotland. Sigfred, bishop of Mayence, goes on a pilgrimage to St. James of Compostella. Edgar Atheling is reconciled to William. - - - - - - pp. 264–286.

Cap. III.

Of England under William the Conqueror.

Hildebrand is made pope under the title of Gregory VII. Synod summoned by him. Its decrees. History of Gregory before he was pope. He excommunicates the emperor, Henry III. Penance of the emperor. He afterwards besieges Rome and imprisons the pope. Roger, earl of Hereford, gives his sister in marriage to Ralph, earl of East Anglia against the king's commands. A conspiracy against William. Council summoned by Lanfranc at London. Ordinances thereof. Death of Herman, bishop of Salisbury. Osmond, his successor, builds a new church there. He was the composer of the *Consuetudinary*. He also wrote the life of St. Aldhelm. Robert Curthose rebels against his father. Walkerus, bishop of Durham, slain by the Northumbrians. Of William his successor. Foundation of monasteries of Salop and Wenlock. Of a nobleman attacked by mice. Other similar stories. Troubles among the monks at Glastonbury. Of Thurstan, abbot there, and his misdoings. Of the tax which king William laid on the English land. Sickness and death of pope Hildebrand. - - pp. 286–302.

Cap. IV.

The Carthusian order. Death of William I.

Victor III., pope. Canute, king of Denmark, raises a fleet to invade England. Preparations of William against him. New bishops of London, Thetford, and Chester. Of the doings of Robert, bishop of Chester. Of the rise of the Carthusian order. Of its founder Bruno. Strict observances of the brethren. Of the Doomsday Book. Edgar Atheling passes over to Apulia. His sister Christine is a nun at Ramsay. Urban II., pope. His previous history. Great murrain in England. St. Paul's and a large part of London consumed by fire. The Danes kill their king Canute. Jest of the king of France on the sickness of William of Normandy. William's revenge. Disposition of his

kingdom. His death. Disturbance at his burial. Character of William. Of the New Forest. William's personal appearance and great strength. Of his manner of life. Some anecdotes of his early life. His foundation of monasteries at Bermondsey and Battle. In his reign there was scarcely a noble who was an Englishman. - - - - - pp. 302–318.

CAP. V.

The reign of William Rufus.

William II. crowned on the feast of Cosmas and Damian. Behaviour of his elder brother Robert. William proffers to pay him three thousand marks a year, and Robert accepts the proposal. Of Odo, bishop of Bayeux, and his doings in England. Norman conspiracies in England. William favours the English rather than the Normans. Body of St. Nicholas brought to Apulia. Council at Claremont summoned by pope Urban. William gains some castles in Normandy. Of prince Henry, William's brother. He is besieged in Mount St. Michael by Robert and William. An agreement brought about between the brothers. - . - - - pp. 318–328.

CAP. VI.

Of Lanfranc, archbishop of Canterbury.

Lanfranc dies after an episcopate of eighteen years. He was a Lombard, but educated at Bec in Normandy. Praise of his learning. Compliment of pope Alexander thereto. Lanfranc's dealings with William the Conqueror. Liberality of Lanfranc. His piety. His tenderness towards penitents. His dealing with refractory monks. His management of the church in England. His troubles under William Rufus. Of his death, which occurred in the manner for which he had prayed.
pp. 330–344.

CAP. VII.

The first crusade. Affairs of Scotland.

The first crusade promoted by pope Urban. Of those who joined it. The Holy Land thus recovered. Robert, duke of Normandy, among the crusaders. He mortgages his dukedom to William Rufus. Malcolm, king of Scotland, invades Northumbria. The English invade Scotland. Peace is made. Of a violent thunderstorm at Winchcombe, and a whirlwind in London, and another at Salisbury. Of Remigius, bishop of

Lincoln, and of the church which he built. His death. Character of his successor, Robert Bloet. King William restores Carlisle. Sickness of the king. How he kept church property in his own hands. Death of Roger, earl of Shrewsbury. Rees, king of Wales, killed at Brecknock. Meeting at Gloucester between Malcolm, king of Scotland, and William II. Proposals for agreement. Not accepted by Malcolm. War between Scotland and England. Of the Scotch succession. Anecdote of king Malcolm. Visit of Anselm, abbot of Bec, to England. Objects of his visit. - - - - pp. 346–360.

CAP. VIII.

War with Wales. Of Wulstan, bishop of Worcester.

England and Normandy afflicted by heavy tribute and by pestilence. The Welsh break into rebellion. Duncan, king of Scotland, killed by his subjects. Dunwald made king. Celestial portents. Expedition of William into Wales. Death of Wulstan, bishop of Worcester. He appears to the bishop of Hereford and bids him care for his funeral. Punishment for neglect thereof. Of Wulstan's sermons to the English. Of his birth and education. His self-denial. His troubles from the appearances of Satan. He is made bishop of Worcester. His consecration. His conduct as a bishop. His fondness for religious services. Some jests of his. He builds a monastery. His sermon on peace. An anchorite Alwyn consults him about a pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Wulstan's counsel. Of Sewulf a trader and how he became a monk. Wulstan's tomb unconsumed and unblackened in the burning of the church at Worcester. Of his answer to king William. His crozier fixed in king Edward's tomb could only be removed by himself.
pp. 360–380.

CAP. IX.

Banishment of Anselm. Herbert Losinga.

A crusade. Robert, duke of Normandy, joins it. He pledges Normandy to his brother William. Aco is taken. Signs in the skies. The head of St. Stephen brought to Caen. Differences between king William and Anselm. Of Ranulphus the king's procurator. Anselm leaves England. He appeals to pope Urban. Is present at a council in Apulia. Of Ralph, bishop of Chichester, and his support of Anselm. Praise of his character. Of William's determined crossing into France. His behaviour to a prisoner. Comparison of him to Julius

Cæsar. A well of blood. Conquest of Anglesea and Wales, Magnus, king of Norway, visits the Orcades. Of Herbert Losinga, abbot of Ramsay. His visit to Rome. Founds a monastery at Norwich. Introduces the monks of Cluny at Thetford. Penitence for his many errors. Remark of king William about the hall at Westminster. - - pp. 380–324.

CAP. X.

Of the beginning of the Cistercian Order.

The Cistercians or white monks began in Burgundy. Stephen Harding, an Englishman, after a pilgrimage to Rome, settled in Burgundy in the abbey there. He finds fault with the Benedictine rule there, and gains many to his side. He and his comrades leave their order and found the Cistercian order which was brought into England by Walter Espec, their first seat being at Rivaulx. Of the Cistercian rule. Spread of the Cistercians, and their exemplary life. - - pp. 394–404.

CAP. XI.

Of the Papacy. Death of William II.

Paschal II. is pope. His doings. Death of William, bishop of Durham. Walter, a chaplain of William I., succeeds. His evil character. Death of Osmond, bishop of Salisbury. Floods in the Thames. Warnings given to king William. He is shot in the New Forest. His body carried to Winchester and buried there. Character of William II. One remarkable act of goodness. - - - - pp. 406–414.

CAP. XII.

Reign of Henry I. Of Robert, duke of Normandy.

William II. had no children. His younger brother Henry succeeds. He is crowned by the bishop of London. A prophecy of his father that he should be king. Of Henry's presence at his father's funeral. He bargains for the kingdom with his brother Robert. Recalls Anselm. Corrects the weights and measures of the land. Character of Henry. Reconcilement with Anselm about investitures. He marries Matilda, daughter of the king of Scotland. Death of Thomas, archbishop of York. He is succeeded by Gerald, an evil man

and a reputed wizard. Robert, Duke of Normandy, returns from the Holy Land. Many of William's friends desert to him. Account of the person and character of Robert. His deeds in the Holy Land. He had a son named William. He lands at Portsmouth, but is bribed to leave the kingdom to Henry. The Frenchmen were annoyed at his conduct. - pp. 416–428.

CAP. XIII.

Rebellion in England. A council at London.

The English nobles rebel against Henry, but are overcome. The king visits Normandy. His laws against thieves and forgers. He subdues the Scots and the Welsh, and is victorious over the king of France. Pope Calixtus rebukes him for imprisoning his brother. Death of Hugh, earl of Chester. Council of London and its enactments. Quarrel between the king and Anselm. Some Flemings settle near the Tweed, and afterwards in Wales. St. Cuthbert's body found uncorrupted. Portents in the sky. Anselm and the king reconciled. - - - pp. 428–434.

CAP. XIV.

Henry IV., emperor of Germany. Death of Anselm.

Henry IV. was emperor nineteen years. He had married Maud, the daughter of Henry, king of England. Settlement of the dispute about investiture. Gerald, archbishop of York, makes submission to Anselm. Anselm consecrates five bishops in one day. Laws of king Henry. Death of Philip, king of France. Some alterations in the extent of English sees. Death of Anselm. The see of Canterbury vacant for five years. Some particulars about Anselm's life. Of certain wonders in England at this time. King Henry built the monastery of Hyde, near Winchester. - - - - - pp. 436–446.

CAP. XV.

English ecclesiastical affairs. War between the English and French.

A dry season. Men could wade across the Thames. A council at Windsor. Election of a new archbishop of Canterbury. Thurstan made archbishop of York. He refuses submission to the see of Canterbury. An appeal to the pope. Unsatisfactory nature of his decision. Henry marries for a second wife a

princess of Lotharingia. A severe winter. Plague of flies in the following May. Great earthquake in Italy. Death of pope Paschal. Gelasius II., pope. Troubles about the papacy. Florence of Worcester, the chronicler, dies. William, son of king Henry, marries the daughter of the duke of Anjou. The duke of Anjou goes to Jerusalem. King Henry made guardian of the dukedom. - - - - - pp. 446–456.

CAP. XVI.

Of the popes of Rome.

Calixtus II. was pope five years. The Premonstrensian order founded at this time. Death of Maud, queen of England. Her character and bounty to churchmen and musicians. King Henry returns from Normandy to England, but his son William, with many of the court, is drowned. Note of the character of prince William. King Henry makes the park of Woodstock. Death of Ralph, archbishop of Canterbury. Foundation of the order of the Templars. A notice of the reason for their suppression. Visit of a Roman cardinal to England. Death of Henry IV. of Germany. Other stories of his retirement from the world. - - - - - - pp. 458–468.

CAP. XVII.

Council of London. Death of Henry I.

Lothaire, duke of Saxony, is made emperor. Council of London and its decrees. Discovery of St. Matthew's body in the city of Treves. How it had been brought thither. Innocent II., pope. Other claimants of the papal chair. Death of Ralph, earl of Chester. Visions seen by king Henry. His conduct in consequence. Great drought in France. Death of Robert, earl of Normandy, at Cardiff. Foundation of the abbey of Cumbermere. Death of king Henry. Verses in his praise. Of his character. His burial. Of Simon, son of Robert, bishop of Lincoln, and his behaviour in the king's court. - pp. 468–478.

CAP. XVIII.

Stephen, king of England. War between Stephen and Matilda.

Stephen, count of Blois, reigned seventeen years. Of his character. His behaviour on his coronation. He makes peace with the king of Scotland. William, archbishop of Canterbury,

dies. Also Lothaire, emperor of Germany. Conrad, duke of Bavaria, made emperor. Of Theobald, earl of Campania. Invasion of England by the Scots. Thurstan, archbishop of York, checks their inroad. Stephen marches against Scotland, but soon returns. Abbeys founded by Thurstan, archbishop of York. Matilda comes to England. Movements of king Stephen. Successes of Matilda. Haughty behaviour in consequence. She has to flee from London to Oxford. Siege of Oxford by Stephen. Flight of Matilda. Death of John de Temporibus.
pp. 478–496.

APPENDIX.

Another English version of chapters xv–xxvi of Book vi.
pp. 499–536.

ERRATUM.

On p. 436, line 1, *for* Cap. XV. *read* Cap. XIV.

POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN MONACHI CESTRENSIS.

POLYCHRONICON RANULPHI HIGDEN MONACHI CESTRENSIS.

LIBER SEXTUS.

Cap. X.

[*De rebus Angliæ ecclesiasticis præcipue de Dunstano Archiepiscopo.*]

Circa hæc tempora Odo archiepiscopus Cantuariensis obiit. Hic quidem natione Danus, sed tandem [1] feritate deposita aliquando Edwardo seniori militaverat. Nec multo post clericaliter attonsus Wyltoniensis præsul effectus est, regem Adelstanum [2] amicum sibi fecerat,[3] [4] potissime per elapsum [5] gladii amissi in regiam [6] vaginam; ita ut Cantuariensis [7] sortiretur; quam ut sanctius subiret, cum omnes antecessores [8] sui monachi

Omnes predecessores

[1] *tante* (sic), A.

[2] *Ethelstanum*, B.

[3] *effecerat*, A.B.

[4] C.D. add.: Quem cum semel contra regem Hiberniæ Anlaf progredientem ensem suum ex nimia securitate amississe cerneret, precibus ad Dominum fusis vidit gladium celestem vaginæ regiæ illapsum divinitus. Qua de causa factus est regi de reliquo amicior, sedemque Cantuariensem adeptus est. Quam ut sanctius, &c.

[5] *regii*, add. B.

[6] *regiam*] om. B.

[7] *Cantuariensem sedem*, A.B.

[8] *prædecessores*, B.

Trevisa's Translation.

Capitulum decimum.

Trevisa.

Aboute þat tyme deide Odo, archebisshop of Caunterbury; þis was of þe nacioun of Danes, but he dede[1] awey his wyldenesse at þe laste, and servede kyng Edward at þe laste[2] in chivalrie; and nou3t long þerafter he took þe tonsure of clerk, and was i-made bisshop of Wynchestre. He hadde i-made[3] Athelston[4] his frend by þe comynge of þe swerd þat was i-lost into þe scaberge[5] a3en; so þat he was i-made archebisshop of Caunterbury; and for he wolde take þat dignytee þe more holyliche, for al his predecessoures [hadde y-be monkes, he passed

Anonymous Translation of the Fifteenth Century.

Capitulum decimum.

Item Willelmus ubi supra.

MS. Harl. 2261.

Odo the archebischop of Cawnterbery diede abowte þis tyme. This Odo was a Dane by nativite and nacion, but cruellenes putte aweye, he was in servyce with kynge Edwarde the senior, and after that made preste, and soone after bischop of Worcestre. Which made kynge Ethelstan his specialle lorde and frende for the restorynge of his swerde that was loste, as hit is schewede afore in the tyme of kynge Ethelstan, in so moche that he was made archebischop of Cawnterbery. Whiche willenge to take that benefice in grete perfeccion, perceyvynge alle his predecessours to have been monkes, passede

[1] *dide*, β.; *dude*, γ.
[2] *at þe laste*] þe elþere, α.; þe elder, γ.
[3] *kyng*, add. β.
[4] *Adelston*, γ
[5] *scabarge*, β. and γ.

fuissent, ipse mare transito apud Floriacum juxta Aurelianum monachalia induit; rediit,[1] regi adhæsit; tandem cum Edredo rege Northimbriam profectus, sacros cineres Wylfridi episcopi advexit Cantuariam. De qua re inter Cantuaritas et Eboracenses jugis adhuc[2] concertatio vertitur,[3] utrum ossa majoris Wylfridi apud Ripensem[4] ecclesiam tumulati,[5] aut[6] minoris Wylfridi, qui presbyter et successor Johannis in Eboracensi sede fuerat, sint ossa antedicta. Hic etiam Odo Edwynum regem præcipitis luxus infamem a Christianitate suspendit. Ob quod Edwynus in omnes Angliæ monachos vicem reddidit, dum nemo regi præter Odonem et Dunstanum in tota Anglia resistere auderet, quia, ut ait Seneca, " Gallus[7] in proprio sterquilinio plurimum valet." Itaque[8] Odo templum suum aliquando discoopertum, toto quo tectura parabatur tempore, ita[9] precibus operuit

Odonis monachi fuerant.

Translatio sancti Wylfridi de Eboraco ad Cantuariam.

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[1] *et*, add. B.
[2] *adhuc*] om. B.
[3] *habetur*, C.D.
[4] *Ryponensem*, B.
[5] *quondam sepulti*, C.D.
[6] *et*, A.
[7] *præter . . . Gallus*] om. B.
[8] *Iste etiam*, C.D.
[9] *itaque*, A.

þe see, and took[1] monk his wede at Floriacensis][2] besides Aurelian. *Trevisa.* Odo was lewedliche[3] i-meoved þerfore to make hym a monk, ffor Crist, ne non of alle his postles, was nevere monk nor[4] frere. Þan it foloweþ[5] in þe storie: Odo com aȝen, and was nyh[6] þe kyng, and wente at þe laste wiþ kyng Edredus into Norþhomberlond, and brouȝte wiþ hym to Caunturbury þe holy axes of seint Wilfrede[7] þe bisshop: þerof is ȝit contynual strif bytwene hem of ȝork and of Caunturbury, wheþer þe more Wilfridus bones, þat was i-buried in þe chirche of Rypoun, beeþ þese forseide[8] bones, oþer þe bones of þe lasse Wilfrede, þat was seint Iohn his[9] preost, and his successour in þe see of ȝork. Also þis Odo suspendede[10] kyng Edwynus of Cristendom, for he was to fervent in leccherie, and out of a good fame. Þerfore Edwynus took wreche of alle þe monkes of Engelond, [for in al Englond][11] was no man þat hym dorste[12] wiþstonde[13] outtake Odo and Donston. For, as Seneca seiþ, a cok[14] is most myȝty on his dongehille.[15] Also in a tyme Odo his temple was unheled, and al þe tyme þat þe helynge was in makynge[16] of þe temple[17] he heled it so wiþ his bedes þat þere

Trevisa.

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the see, and goynge to the monastery Floriacense, nye unto Aurelians, toke the habite of a monke, and returnynge from that coste, come and drawede to the kynge of Ynglonde. Whiche goynge at the laste with kynge Edredus into Northumbrelonde, brouȝhte the holy powdre of the body of seynte Wilfride the bischop unto Cawnterbury with hym: wherefore a grete stryfe is hade at this tyme betwene men of Cawnterbury and of Yorke, wheþer þose boones were the boones of seynte Wilfride beryede at the churche of Ripen, or the boones of yonger Wilfride, that was the preste and the successor of Iohn in the seete of Yorke. This Odo suspende kynge Edwyne for excesse in the synne of lecchery, wherefore Edwyne rewarded that to the monkes of Ynglonde, when hit was so that noo man in the realme durste resiste the kynge, but Odo and seynte Dunstan. Also the chirche of this Odo beynge uncoverede, was coverede thro his preyer while the churche was in coverenge, f. 308 b.

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *touk*, γ.
[2] From α., β., and γ.
[3] *lewidlich*, β.
[4] *ne*, β.
[5] *volweþ*, γ.
[6] *neiȝ*, β.
[7] *Wilfride*, β.
[8] *þues vorsede*, γ.
[9] *Joones*, β.
[10] *suspendide*, β.; *suspendedd*, γ.
[11] From α., β., and γ.
[12] *þurste*, γ.
[13] *wistonde*, β. and γ.
[14] *kok*, β. and γ.
[15] *donghulle*, γ.
[16] *was a makyng*, β.
[17] *of þe temple*] and þe temple an helynge, α.; in heliyng, β.

ut nec pluviæ stillicidium loci madefaceret ambitum, cum tamen plurima vis imbrium et turbinum illis diebus totum concuteret mundum. Alio quoque tempore dum Odo Dunstanum Wygorniensem consecraret præsulem, ita consecrationis egit ordinem ac si Cantuariensem consecrasset archipræsulem. Et cum a suis super hoc culparetur, "Scio," inquit, "filii, quid in me agat Spiritus "Sanctus;" nec vero præsagio matura defuit fides, quamvis[1] Elsinus Wentanus præsul interpolate sedem illam palpasset. Nam defuncto Odone Elsinus prædictus paratis advocatis quorum manus palpaverat, surrepto regis edicto, Cantiam[2] intrusus est, primoque exceptionis die non abstinuit quin conceptas furias mente confotas evomeret, tumbam beati Odonis pedibus pulsans, animamque ejus tali voce lacessens:[3] "Pessime senex, animam effudisti "sero satis, te[4] meliori locum fecisti.[5] Itaque quod diu

Miraculum per preces sancti Odonis.

Consecratio sancti Dunstani in Cantuariensem ecclesiam providentia Spiritus Sancti.

Successor Odonis Elsinus. Cui successit Brithlinus.

[1] *licet*, C.D.
[2] *Cantuariam*, B.; *Cantuariensi*, C.D.
[3] *ait*, add. C.D.
[4] *de*, A.
[5] *dedisti*, B.

fil nouȝt oon drope of reyn in al þe place[1] aboute, and ȝit þat tyme was so greet tempest[2] and reyn of weder þat it semede þat al þe worlde[3] schulde goo to giders.[4] Also in anoþer tyme, whanne he[5] sacrede seint Donston bisshop of Worcestre,[6] he dede so þe ordre of þe service as þey he[7] hadde i-sacred þe archebisshop of Canturbury; and whanne his clerkes blamede hym þerfore "I wote, sones," quod Donston, "what þe Holy Gost "worcheþ on me." And into[8] þe trewe forbedynge lakkede no sobre fey, þeigh Elsynus bisshop of Wynchestre evere among fondede to have þe[9] see.[10] For whanne Odo was dede þis Elsinus ordeyned hym advoketes,[11] and groped here hondes, and gat slyliche a maundmente of þe kyng, and was i-put[12] in at Caunterbury. In þe firste day þat he was in þere he sparede nouȝt, but he caste out of his woodnesse þat he hadde longe i-kept in his herte, and putte wiþ his feet[13] on sent Odo his tombe, and despisede[14] his soule, and spak to hym in þis manere: "Þou worste olde man, thy soule is a goo late inow; þou hast "i-made a place to a betre þan þou were. What I[15] have longe "desired now I have it maugre þyn teeth.[16] Þerfore I kan þe

TREVISA.

in so moche that oon drope of reyne felle not into the churche, a grete reyne contynuynge alle moste thro alle the worlde. In an other tyme this Odo doynge the ministery at the consecracion of seynte Dunstan, that tyme bischop of Worcestre, schewyde as grete solemnite to seynte Dunstan as and if he scholde have consecrate the bischop of Cawnterbery; whiche reprovede in manner þerfore seide, *Y knowe what the holy*[17] *dothe in me.* But this Odo archebischoppe of Cawnterbery dedde, Elsinus bischoppe of Wynchestre ȝiffenge grete ȝiftes to his advocates, and gettynge the favor of the kynge, was electe to the archebischop of Cawnterbery. Whiche goynge to the towmbe of blissede Odo after his eleccion, and tredynge on hit violentely with his feete, seide, "O thow wickede olde man, "thow haste loste thy sawle; þow hase made over late a place "to thy bettyr; that y have desyrede longe y have nowe

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *plas*, γ.
[2] *tempast*, γ.
[3] *worl*, γ.
[4] *togidres*, β.
[5] *þe*, β. and γ.
[6] *Wircetre*, β.
[7] *a*, γ.
[8] *in*, α. and β.
[9] *þat*, α. and β.
[10] *vondede to habbe þat se*, γ.
[11] *avokatis*, β.; *avoketes*, γ.
[12] *y-pot*, γ.
[13] *veet*, γ.
[14] *dispised*, β.
[15] *ych*, γ.
[16] *maugreþ þi teeþ*, β.; *magre þyn teþ*, γ.
[17] Sic in MS.

" concupivi te invito jam teneo, unde tibi malas grates ago." Sed illo die exacto[1] cum hujus rabiei efflator cubili se dedisset, vidit beati Odonis effigiem improperare convicium, minari exitium.[2] Ille autem, qui[3] volatico phantasmate se putabat derideri, nihilominus ad recipiendum pallium Romam pergens per Alpes transivit, ubi nivali frigore congelatus, exenteratorum equorum spirantibus extis[4] pedes, quibus tumbam Odonis pulsaverat, involutus obiit. Cui[5] successit in Cantuariensi sede Brithlinus[6] Wyntoniensis præsul. At quia[7] ad tantum pondus minus sufficiens erat, jussu regis ad Wyntoniam rediit, et sanctus Dunstanus ad Cantuariam transiit Romamque[8] profectus[9] pallium a Johanne papa recepit. Inde rediens a rege obtinuit ut[9] sanctus Oswaldus fratruelis Odonis[10] sedem teneret Wygornensem. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.*[11] Dunstanus[12] igitur primo Glas- Dunstanus.

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[1] *transacto*, B.

[2] *exitium*, from B.; *exitum*, MS.

[3] *qui*] om. B.

[4] *adhuc exteris*, C.D.

[5] *Cum igitur Elsinus dimissa Wintonæ sede ad Dorobornensis transiret, Brithelmus Dorsetensis episcopus succedens sede Cantuariensis audita Elsini morte nancisci satagebat, undique ad tantum pondus minus sufficiens erat, jussu regis ad primam sedem, relicta Cantuariensi, rediit. Dehinc beatus Dunstanus sedem patriarchalem suscepit, Romam profectus*, &c., C.D.

[6] *Brthelmus* (sic), A.; *Brightelynus*, B.

[7] *Atque*, B.

[8] *a Wigorniensi et Londoniensi sedibus transiit Romamque*, B.

[9] *et*, A.

[10] *quem sanctum noverat virum*, add. C.D.

[11] C.D. omit reference. Scriptores post Bedam, p. 20.

[12] *Hic autem Dunstanus indefessis proficiens virtutibus cor regis*, C.D.

" ful evel þonk at þis tyme." Bote whan þat day was a goo and þis blowere of woodnesse i-brouȝt on his bedde, he sigh þe schap of seynt Odo, and blamed[1] hym and despised[2] hym, and manassed[3] þat he schulde deie. But he wende þat he[4] were i-scorned of a fleynge[5] fantasye, and spared nouȝt þerfore but he wente toward Rome to fonge þe palle[6] of þe pope, and passede by þe hilles Alpes, and was i-frore[7] in a colde snowe; and in hors bowels, þat were i-oponed for to have som hete, he wrapped his feet[8] þat he hadde with i-putte[9] seint Odo his tombe, and deide so þere. After hym Brythelynus,[10] bisshop of Wynchestre, was archebisshop of Caunterbury; and [for][11] he was nouȝt suffisaunt to so grete a charge,[12] he went aȝen to Wynchestre by heste of þe kyng, and Donston, bisshop of London and of Wircestre, was i-made archebisshop of Caunterbury, and wente to Rome, and fenge[13] the pal of pope Iohn. He com aȝen, and gat of þe kyng þat Oswold, þat was Odo his broþer sone, schulde be bisshop of Wircetre. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Donston was first abbot of

TREVISA.

" ageyne thy wylle; y thonke not þe þerof." That day paste, Elsinus goynge to bedde, and at reste, see an ymage of blissede Odo to rebuke hym and manassenge hym to dye. But this Elsinus, supposynge that to be a fantasticalle illusion, and goynge to Rome to receyve his palle by Alpes, congelede for colde, havynge his feete fixede amonge the bowells of dedde horses, with whom he did treyde the tumbe of blissede Odo, diede þer miserably. Whom Brinthelinus bischop of Wynchestre did succede; whiche inapte to so grete a cure returnede ageyne to Wynchestre by commaundemente of the kynge, and seynte Dunstan was made archebischop of Cawnterbery. Whiche goynge to Rome receyvid his palle of pope Iohn; and retürnede from Rome, obteyned of the kynge that Oswaldus, son of the broþer to Odo, scholde reioyce the seete of Worcestre. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Seynte Dunstan, firste abbot of Glaston, after þat bischop of Worcestre

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *blame*, α., β., and γ.
[2] *despise*, α.; *dispise*, β.; *despyse*, γ.
[3] *manace*, α. and β.; *manase*, γ.
[4] *þey*, α.; *he*, β.
[5] *vleyng*, γ.
[6] *fang þe pal*, β.
[7] *y-vrore*, γ.
[8] *veet*, γ.
[9] *y-put*, β.
[10] *Brihtelinus*, β.
[11] From α., β., and γ.
[12] *charche*, γ.
[13] *vyng*, γ.

toniæ abbas, deinde Wygorniensis et Londoniensis præsul, tandem Cantuariensem sedem[1] indefessis comens virtutibus, cor regis Edgari[2] ad consona salutis urgere, mores regis ad subditorum exemplum et speculum effigiare, et cum excessisset corripere studuit, unde et illum septenni pro illicito sanctimonialis concubitu pœnitentia multavit. Ex quo exemplari vulgus coercuit, milites composuit, fures refrenavit, ordo monasticus reviruit pro eo quod haberet rectores religiosos, scientia claros, quos nec desidia tardos nec audacia præcipites effecerat. Itaque inter hanc regis et archiepiscopi morum correspondentiam clericis optio dabatur ut aut animum mutarent aut locis suis valefacerent, melioribus habitacula relinquentes, ut sic non degenerarent a decore ædium mores inhabitantium. Agri tunc proventu[3] uberi respondebant cultoribus, omnis copia plenis effulsit cornibus, elementa

Penitentia regis Edgari septennis.

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[1] *sedem*] om. A.
[2] *Edgari*] om. B.
[3] *proventu*] om. B.

Glastyngbury,[1] and was alwey ful[2] of vertues, and made hym besy[3] to torne kyng Edgar his herte to dedes of savacioun, and to make þe kynges levynge to be a myrrour[4] and ensample to alle his sugettes;[5] and ȝif þe kyng trespased he studied fast[6] hym to amende, and so he made hym do penaunce seven[7] ȝere for unlaweful liggynge by a mynchoun.[8] By þat ensample he chastede[9] þe comynte, and mades kny3tes doo as þey schulde, and ferede þeves and refraynede [hem].[10] Þe ordre of monkes was prifty þat tyme, for it hadde religious rulers,[11] cleer of sciens and of clergy; and so bytwene þe accord of þe good lyvynge of þe kyng and of þe archebisshop, clerkes hadden choys whe̊r þey wolde amende here lyf o̊per bydde[12] here benefice farewel,[13] and leve wonynge places to bettre þan þey were. For so schulde be no discord bytwene þe fairenesse[14] of hous and þe levynge of hem þat woned þerynne. Þoo þe feeldes[15] answerde þe tiliers of plente of corn and of fruyt; everiche grove schoon[16] wiþ horten[17] treen [and o̊per tren][18] ful of fruyt. Þe elementes were cleer and likynge; unne̊þe þo was eny distemperynge of

Trevisa.

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and of London, and at laste the seete off Cawnterbery, movede kynge Edgare for the helethe of his sawle doynge correccion to the kynge for his excesses, to the ferefulle exemple of his subiectes, puttynge to þe kynge penaunce of vij. yere for the fleschely luste unlawefulle usede with that hooly woman Wilfritha: thro whiche exemple his men were as coacte to vertuous lyfe, and the peple of the realme. Then the ordre of the monkes wexede grene and florischede, in that hit hade religious governoures, noble men in connynge, whom slawthe caused not to be slawthefulle, and audacite neiþer causede theym to be over hasty. And so the corespondence of vertuous lyfe betwene the kynge and the archebischoppe ȝafe an eleccion to prestes and clerkes, other to sue vertu or to leve theire benefices and seetes, leste the membres scholde seme to discorde from the hedde. In whiche tyme was peas, reste, and tranquillite, the elementes ioyenge þerof ȝafe dewe temperaunce to

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 309 a.

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[1] *Glastenbury*, β.
[2] *vol*, γ.
[3] *busy*, β.
[4] *merour*, γ.
[5] *sugettis*, β.
[6] *vast*, γ.
[7] *seve*, γ.
[8] *monchon*, β.; *meynchen*, γ.
[9] *chastide*, β.
[10] From β.; *ham*, γ.
[11] *reulers*, γ.
[12] *bid*, β.
[13] *varwel*, γ.
[14] *feirnesse*, β.; *veyrnes*, γ.
[15] *veldes*, γ.
[16] *schone*, γ.
[17] *hurten*, β.
[18] From β.; *tren and o̊per tren*, γ.

Gratiæ IX°LXI. Edgari II.

læta, nubila vix ulla, procul pestis[1] et hostis. Circa hæc tempora fuit in Vasconia mulier quædam ab umbilico sursum divisa, habens duo capita,[2] duo pectora; unde una dormiente seu comedente, altera aliquando neutrum faciebat. Vixeruntque sic simul multo tempore, nec tamen ambæ simul mortuæ sunt.[3] Benedictus quintus post Johannem xii., sedit in papatu mensibus tribus. Nichoforus[4] rex Græcorum senex valde, cum timuisset per filios suos a regno expelli,[5] decrevit filios suos eunuchare. Regina vero suasit cuidam Johanni ut regem occideret et regnaret, quod et factum est. Leo octavus post Benedictum sedit papa anno uno mensibus quatuor; qui propter[6] maliciam Romanorum, qui suos passim intrudebant, statuit ut nullus papa efficeretur nisi de consensu imperatoris. Post quem Johannes quartusdecimus[7] sedit quasi octo annis. Qui tandem a præfecto urbis capitur et exilio traditur, sed ipse tandem

Gratiæ IX°LXII. Edgari III.

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[1] *abigebantur*, add. C.D.

[2] *corpora*, C.D.

[3] C.D. insert here: "Nichoforus "rex Græcorum senex valde, cum "timuisset a filiis suis a regno "expelli, decrevit eunuchare eos. "Regina vero suasit Johanni cui"dam regem occidere et regnare, "qui occulte, palam de nocte cum "similibus junctis, occiso rege im"peravit. Hoc anno etiam Ethel"woldus Wyntonæ et Oswaldus "Wygornæ, jussu regis Edgari, "expulsis clericis de majoribus "ecclesiis monachos instituerunt, "aut de eisdem clericis aut de aliis "monachos efficientes."

[4] *Nichorus*, A.

[5] *pelli*, A.

[6] *propter*, from A.B.C.D.; *post*, MS.

[7] *xiii*, A.B.

eder; pestilence and enemyes boþe were fer[1] þat tyme. w Aute þat tyme in Gascoyne[2] was a womman departed and to deled[3] from þe navel upward,[4] and hadde tweye hedes and tweie brestes,[5] so þat somtyme þe oon sleep[6] oþer eet whanne þe oþer dede nevere noþer; and þey lyvede so to giders[7] boþe longe tyme, and deyde nouȝt boþe attones.[8] After þe twelfþe Iohn þe fift Benet was pope þre monþes. Nichoforus, kyng of Grees, was an olde man, and dradde leste his owne sones wolde put[9] hym out of his kyngdom, and demede þat his sones schulde be i-gilded;[10] but þe queene counsaylede oon Iohn þat he schulde slee þe kyng and regne, and so it was i-doo. After Benet, þe eiȝteþe Leo was pope a ȝere and foure monþes; for þe malys of þe Romayns, þat made of hem self[11] unlaweful[12] popes, he ordeyned þat no pope schulde be i-made wiþoute assente of þe emperour. After hym þe þrittenþe Iohn was emperour,[13] as it were eiȝte ȝere. At þe laste he was i-take of þe prefecte of þe citee and excilede,[14] but þe emperour re- TREVISA.

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the erthe, plente of corne, pestilente aiers and corrupte expulsede. There was woman this tyme in Vasconia dividede from þe navelle, havynge ij. heddes and too brestes; and oon of theym eitenge or slepynge, that other did neither, or they lyvynge soe togedre a longe tyme, diede not togedre by the space of ij. dayes. Benedictus the v^the^ succedid pope Iohn iij. monethe. Nichophorus kynge of Grece, dredynge to be expulsede from his realme by his sonnes in his olde age, causede theyme to be gelded, but the qwene his wife movede oon Iohn, a prince longynge to hym, to sle the kynge, that he myȝhte reigne, and so he did. Leo the viij^the^ succedid Benedicte þe pope oon yere and vj. monethes; whiche made a decrete for the malice of the Romanes imprisonynge his men, that the pope scholde not be made withowte consente of the emperoure. Whom Iohn þe xiiij^the^ succedid as viij. yere, whiche was taken at the laste of the governoure of the cite of Rome, and putte to exile; but he was restorede to þat office MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *þere*, MS.; *ver*, γ.
[2] *Gaskoyne*, α.; *Gasquen*, γ.
[3] *dyvyded*, β.
[4] *opward*, γ.
[5] *brustes*, γ.
[6] *slup*, γ.
[7] *and a lyvede so to gedders*, γ.
[8] *at oones*, β.
[9] *potte*, γ.
[10] *gelded*, β.
[11] *silf*, β.
[12] *unlawfulich*, β.; *unlawefollyche*, γ.
[13] Sic in MS.
[14] *exiled*, β.

per imperatorem est restitutus, et ejus persecutores sunt trucidati. *De pontificibus Romanorum.*[1] Benedictus sextus post Johannem sedit papa anno uno mensibus sex; post quem Bonefacius septimus sedit annis tribus; qui in urbe Roma subsistere non valens, deprædavit ecclesiam beati Petri, et fugit Constantinopolim; tandem cum magna pompa Romam rediens, dum proficere[2] non potuit, oculos Johannis cardinalis eruit, et cito post obiit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.*[3] Defuncto Asktillo[4] Eboracensi archiepiscopo, sanctus Oswaldus præsul Wygorniensis suscepit archiepiscopatum, simul cum Wygorniensi illum regens. Qui [juxta][5] cathedralem ecclesiam Sancti[6] Petri Wygorniensis construxit aliam beatæ Mariæ, ubi cum monachis suis familiarius conversabatur, plebem[7] per hoc in sui favorem multum alliciens; unde et clerici de proxima ecclesia hoc videntes maluerunt monachari quam sic ludibrio relinqui. Sed et Oswaldus, postquam inthronizatus est in sede Eboracensi, advocavit in patriam[8] litteratos homines, ne illo bono[9] patriam fraudaret, sine quo cætera bona

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[1] A.B.C.D. omit heading.
[2] *perficere*, B.
[3] C.D. omit reference. Scrip. post Bedam, p. 269.
[4] *Asketillo*, A.
[5] *juxta*, from A.B.
[6] *Hic Oswaldus juxta ecclesiam Sancti*, C.D.
[7] *plebs*, B.
[8] *Provinciam*, C.D.
[9] *patriam . . . bono*] om. B.

stored hym aȝen, and slouȝ his enemyes. After Iohn, þe sixte Benet was pope on ȝere, and sixe monþes. After hym þe eyȝte[1] Bonefas was pope þre ȝere; he myȝte nouȝt abyde at Rome, but he spoylede Seynt Petir his chirche, and wente to Constantynnoble, and com aȝen to Rome with grete pompe and boost; and whanne he myȝte nouȝt have his purpos he took þe cardinal Iohn and putte out boþe his eyȝen,[2] and deide sone after. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Whanne Asketillus, archebisshop of ȝork, was dede, seynt Oswolde, bisshop of Worcetre,[3] fenge[4] þe archebisshopriche, and governed boþe þat and þe bisshopriche of Worcestre. [Bysides þe cathedral cherche of Seynt Peter at Wircetre][5] he bulde anoþer chirche of oure lady, þat he myȝte þere be þe more homeliche wiþ his monkes, and þerby he hadde greet love of þe peple.[6] Þe[7] clerkes of þe next cherche, whanne þey sigh þat, hadde levere be monkes þan be so despised and forsake.[8] Whanne Oswald was i-stalled[9] at ȝork he brouȝte lettred men into[10] contray, for þe contray schulde nouȝt be defrauded and be wiþ

Trevisa.

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ageyne by the emperoure, and his adversaryes were sleyne. Benedicte the vj^{the} succedid pope Iohn oon yere and vj. monethes; whom Bonefacius the viij^{the} succedid iij. yere; whiche havynge noo powre to tary in the cite of Rome, robbede the churche of Seynte Petyr, and fledde to Constantinopole. Whiche returnynge to Rome with grete pryde, and prevaylynge not, pulled owte the eien of Iohn the cardinalle, and diede soone after. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iij°*. Asketillus the archebischop of Yorke dedde, seynte Oswalde bischop of Worcestre was his successoure, havynge hit with the seete of Worcestre also. Whiche made a churche of oure blissede lady, nye to the cathedrall churche of Seynte Petyr, where he was conversante with the monkes, havynge grete favor with the peple þerby. But the clerkes of that oþer churche seenge theym as derision to the peple, hade lever have be made monkes then to have be lefte soo. This Oswalde stallede archebischop of Yorke, drawede to that cuntre mony noble clerkes, withowte

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *eyȝteþe, α.*
[2] *yene, γ.*
[3] *Wircetre, β.*, passim.
[4] *vyng, γ.*
[5] From *α.*, *β.*, and *γ.*
[6] *pupel, γ.*
[7] *þere, α.*
[8] *vorsake, γ.*
[9] *y-staled, γ.*
[10] Sic in MS.

mihi videntur pœne inania: de quibus litteratis viris fuit Abbo[1] Floriacensis monachus, qui præter multam scientiæ frugem quam Angliam[2] advexit vitam sancti Edmundi regis et martyris rogante Dunstano descripsit. Is Abbo postmodum domi reversus, et abbas constitutus, cum apud quandam cœnobii sui cellulam, quæ in Vasconia ad Regulam dicitur, religionis vigorem vellet exercere, Vasconia crudelitate[3] id non ferente, eliso gutture decessit. At[4] Oswaldus quinque annis supervivens, cum ad lotionem pedum pauperum incumberet, dicendo Gloria Patri[5] decessit.[6] Rex igitur Edgarus xii°. regni[7] sui anno a beatis Dunstano et Oswaldo apud Badonem inunctus in regem[8] et consecratus, circumnavigata septentrionali Britannia ad urbem Legionum, quæ nunc Cestria [dicitur,][9] appulit. Cui octo subreguli occurrerunt;[10] cum quibus die quadam ascendit scapham, clavum gubernaculi[11] per flumen Dee[12] ibidem decurrentis manu regens,[13] cæteris regulis ad remos locatis,[14] sicque ad ecclesiam beati Johannis[15] navigando pervenit;[16] qui dum pari[17] pompa remigando ad palatium suum per-

[1] *Albo*, A.; *Alba*, B.
[2] *Angliæ*, A.
[3] *Vasenica feritate*, B.
[4] *At . . . decessit*] om. C.D.
[5] *et filio*, &c., add B.
[6] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo*, add. A.B.
[7] *idibus Maii die Pentecostes a beato Dunstano et Oswaldo cæterisque præsulibus in urbem Athamanniæ, id est Badonis, inungitur rex et consecratur, ac cito post cum ingenti classe navium*, C.D.
[8] *inunctus in regem Badoniæ*, B.
[9] *dicitur*, from A.B.
[10] *fideles cooperatores terra marique permittentes sese fore*, add. C.D.
[11] *gubernalem*, A.
[12] *de Hee* (sic), B.
[13] *gerens*, A.
[14] *reliqua quoque procerum turba simili navigio comitante*, add. C.D.
[15] *Baptistæ orationis gratia*, add. C.D.
[16] *provenit*, A.
[17] *pari*] om. A.

oute suche[1] goodnesse, [wiþ out þe whiche[2] goodnesse, oþer goodnesse][3] semeþ me but a vanitee. Abbo, monk of Floriac, was oon of þilke lettred men: wiþ oute moche fruyt[4] of clergie þat he brouȝte into Engelond, he descreved and wroot þe lyf of seynt Edmond, kyng and martir, at þe prayer of seynt Donston. Þis Abbo tornede hoome after, and was i-made abbot. Þanne in a tyme in a celle of Gascoyne[5] þat hatte[6] Alkereul,[7] and longed to his abbay, he wolde have i-used þe strengþe of religioun, but þe cruelte[8] of Gascoyns wolde nouȝt suffre it, and kutte[9] his þrote, and so he deyde: and Oswold lyvede fyve ȝere after, and knelede adoun in a tyme to wasche pore men feet,[10] and seide, "Gloria Patri," and deide riȝt so. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. Kyng Edgar, in þe twelfþe ȝere of his kyngdom, was anoynt kyng and [y][11]-sacred at Bathe, and seillede aboute Norþ Britayne, and com alonde at Legioun,[12] þat now hatte Chestre, eiȝte hondred[13] kynges com aȝenst hym; wiþ þe whiche[14] kynges he wente into a boot in a day in þe ryver Dee, and took þe helme in his hond, and was steresman,[15] and þe oþere kynges were i-sette to rowe with oores; and so he com rowynge to Seint Iohn his chirche, and com rowynge wiþ a grete pompe and bost to his [owne][16] paleys, TREVISA.

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whom the cuntre was as voide; oon of whom was Albo, a monke Floriacense, whiche did write amonge other specialle labours the lyfe of seynte Edmund, kynge and martir, at the instaunce of seynte Dunstan. This holy bischop Oswalde waschynge the feete of poore men, dyede in that ministery in seyenge, "Gloria Patri." *Willemus de Regibus, libro secundo.* This kynge Edgare consecrate of seynte Oswalde and Dunstan in the xij^te^ yere of his reigne, at the cite of Bathe, compassenge the northe partes of Ynglonde, come to Westechestre, where viij. under kynges mette hym; whiche entrenge with theym into a schippe, governede the sterne of the schippe, the oþer kynges laborynge with oores, goynge soe by the water of Dee unto the churche of Seynte Iohn. Whiche goynge ageyne to his MS. HARL. 2261. f. 309 b.

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[1] *soche*, γ.
[2] *whoche*, γ.
[3] From α., β., and γ.
[4] *frut*, γ.
[5] *Gaskuyn*, α., and so below; *in Gaskoyne*, β.; *Gasquyn*, γ.
[6] *þat hatte*] om. γ.
[7] *Alereul*, α., β., and γ.
[8] *cruwelte*, β.
[9] *kitte*, β.
[10] *pour men veet*, γ.
[11] From α.
[12] *Legio*, γ.
[13] *under*, β. and γ. (correctly).
[14] *whoche*, γ.
[15] *stuerhysman*, γ.
[16] From α., β., and γ.

venisset, fertur suis dixisse,[1] tunc demum quemquam successorum suorum posse gloriari [2] quando [3] tali pompa potiretur.[4]

Cap. XI.

[*De Edgaro rege, et quædam de pontificibus Romanis.*]

Anglici orbis basileus, flos et decus Edgarus, non minus memorabilis Anglis quam Cyrus Persis, Romulus Romanis, Alexander Grœcis,[5] Karolus Francis, anno vitæ suæ tricesimo septimo, regni [6] sui cum fratre suo et post xxi., idus Julii obiit, apud Glastoniam sepelitur. [7] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secun-* Gratiæ IX^c^LXXV. Edgari XVI.

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[1] *optimatibus*, add. C.D.

[2] *se posse regem Anglorum fore*, C.D.

[3] *qui*, A.

[4] C.D. insert: "Idem quoque "Edgarus quatuor millia naves "congregaverat. Ex quibus omni "anno post festum Paschale mille "naves ad quamlibet Angliæ par- "tem statuit sicque æstate insulam "circumnavigavit, hieme vero ju- "dicia in provincia exercuit, et "hæc omnia ad sui exercitium et "hostium fecit terrorem. Illo ta- "men Dacorum petitioni incon- "sulte favente, vix fuit in Anglia "viculus in quo non habitarent "Daci cum Anglis. Negotium "hoc bono animo toleratum cala- "mitatis peperit eventum. Nam "Daci a natura potatores fortis- "simi hoc unum prædicabile "perpetuum reliquerunt Anglis ut "jam Anglorum probitas toti præ "judiciat mundo in calicibus epo- "tandis. Quamobrem clavos in "sciphis infigi fecit, ut per emen- "sos sciphorum terminos biberunt "ad mensam. Anglici orbis," &c.

[5] *Macedonibus, Arsaces Parthis*, C.D.

[6] *vero*, add. B.

[7] *Willelmus . . . obiit* (p. 22)] om. C.D., and substitute: "Tradunt "historiæ Britanniæ et vita sancti "Eltuti quod dum rex Edga- "rus regionem Glamorganensem "propter eorum obedientiam de- "vastaret ablata fuit nola Sancti "Eltuti et in colla cujusdam equi "suspensa. Qua de causa regi "Edgaro meridiana quiescenti "apparuit quidam pectus regis "percutiens lancea, unde post "sompnum jussit rex ut rapta re- "tituerent. Verumptamen post "novem dies obiit rex, post cujus "obitum status regni tradabatur. "Nam Alpherus princeps Mercio- "rum cæterique plures, ejectis mo- "nachis de magnis monasteriis,

and me seiþ þat he seide: þanne þat every[1] of his sucessours myȝte[2] ioyeful[3] and glad be[4] whanne he hadde so grete worschippe and pompe.[5] TREVISA.

Capitulum undecimum.

EDGAR, emperour, flour and fairenesse[6] of Engelond, deyde þe fifteþe day of Iuyl,[7] þe ȝere of his lyf sevene and þritty, and of his kyngdom wiþ his broþer and[8] after oon and twenty, and was i-buried at Glastyngbury. He is no lasse worþy to be in mynde to Englisshe men þan Cirus to þe Pers,[9] oþer Romulus to þe Romayns, oþer Alisaundre to þe Grees, oþer Charles to þe Frensche men. *Willelmus ubi supra.* At Glastyngbury,

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palice in lyke wise, seide to þe men presente, his successours myȝhte ioy when thei reioycede suche glory. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum undecimum.

THE floure and worschippe of men of Ynglonde, Edgarus, to be hade in remembraunce as worthy to men of þat londe as kynge Alexander of men of Grece, Cirus of men[10] Persida, Romulus to men of Rome, and kynge Charls of men of Fraunce, diede in the xxxvij^{ti} yere of his age and the xvj. yere of his reigne, the idus of Iulius, and was beriede at Glaston. *Willelmus ubi supra.* The body of this kynge Edgare was founde

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[1] *eny*, α., β., and γ.
[2] *be*, add. α. β., and γ.
[3] *joyful*, γ.
[4] *be*] om. α., β., and .
[5] *pompe and worschippe*, α. and γ.; *pomp and worschip*, β.
[6] *veyrnes*, γ.
[7] *Jul*, γ.
[8] *and*] om. γ.
[9] *Perses*, β.
[10] Sic. in MS.

do.[1] Ubi postmodum sub anno gratiæ millesimo quinquagesimo secundo, cum abbas Aylwardus tumulum ejus irreverenter effodisset, inventum est corpus incorruptum, et ita corpulentum ut in novo locello ingredi non posset, sanguisque recens de corpore ejus visus est ubertim distillare;[2] sicque corpus illud in scrinium quod ipsemet illi ecclesiæ contulerat, super altare locatum,[3] cum capite sancti[4] [5]Apollinaris et aliis reliquiis sancti Vincentii, quæ rex ille magno pretio empta domui[6] dederat. Abbas autem ille temerator amens effectus de ecclesia exiit, et fractis cervicibus expiravit. *Ranulphus.* Tradunt historiæ Britannicæ in vita sancti Eltuti quod dum rex Edgarus regionem Glammorganensium propter eorum contumaciam devastaret, ablata fuit

De corporis Edgari incorruptione.

" quos rex Edgarus nuper instituerat, clericos cum uxoribus reduxerunt, sed comes Estanglorum cum auxilio beati Dunstani restitit, congregato super hoc negocio celebre consilio apud Wyntonam, ubi imago crucifixi voce humana asseruit coram omnibus viam fore veram quam rex Edgarus cum Dunstano tenebat."

[1] *ubi supra,* B. Scrip. post Bedam, p. 55.

[2] *stillare,* B.

[3] *est,* add. B.

[4] *sancti*] om. A.

[5] *ipse,* A.

[6] *domui,* from B.; *domi,* MS.

þe ȝere of oure Lord a þowsand and two and fifty, whan abbot [1] Ayleward hadde i-digged up [2] unworþiliche [3] Edgar his grave, þe body was i-founde [4] hool and sownde, and so ful of flesche þat it myȝte nouȝte entre [5] into a newe cheste, also fresche [6] blood was i-seie droppe [7] out of the body. And so þat body was i-doo in a schryne þat he hadde i-ȝeve to þat chirche, and i-sette up [8] an auȝter [9] with Apollinaris his heed, and oþer relikes of seynt Vincent, þat þe same kyng hadde i-brouȝt [10] for greet pris, and i-ȝeve to þat hous. But þat nyse abbot werþe wood, and wente out of cherche, and brak his nekke [11] and deide. ℟. Þe Britisshe book [12] telleþ in seynt Eltutus his lyf, þat whanne kyng Edgar destroyed [13] þe contray of Glomorgan [14] for þe rebelnesse of þe peple, [15] seynt Eltutus his belle was i-take awey, and i-honged

TREVISA.

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clene and incorrupte of Ailwardus thabbot after the xlvij^{ti} yere of his beryenge. This abbot makynge a place overstreyte for the body of the seide kynge, presumede to kytte that hooly body that hit myȝhte be receyvyde more lyȝhtely into the place ordeynede for hit, and hit bledde þer with plentuously as and if a man in life hade be woundede. Thabbot fallen to maddenesse diede anoon. The glorious body of that noble kynge was taken with grete honour and drede, and sette in a regalle place, diverse signes of miracles folowynge. Where afterwarde in the yere of grace a m^{l}lij^{ti}, when Ailwardus thabbot diggede his grave irreverentely, his body was founde incorrupte, and so corpulente that hit myȝhte not entre into a newe schryne made for hit, and fresche bloode was seene to distille from his body. And þerfore that body was put in a schryne that he brouȝhte to þat churche with the hedde of seynte Appollinaris and oþer relikes of seynte Vincente, whom the kynge byenge for a grete summe of money ȝafe theyme to that monastery. The abbot made madde and goynge furthe of the churche brake his nekke and diede. ℟. The storyes of Britons reherse in the lyfe of f. 310 a seynte Elcutus that the belle of seynte Elcutus was taken awey and hongede aboute the necke of an horse when kynge Edga-

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *abboy*, MS.
[2] *up*] om. *α.* and *β.*
[3] *unworschipliche*, *β.*; *unworschyplyche y-dyegyged*, *γ.*
[4] *y-vounde*, *γ.*
[5] *intre*, *γ.*
[6] *vreysch*, *γ.*
[7] *seen droppe*, *β.*
[8] *uppon þe*, *α.* and *β.*
[9] *y-set oppon þe auter*, *γ.*
[10] *y-bouȝt*, *α.*; *brouȝt*, *β.*
[11] *neyke*, *γ.*
[12] *story*, *β.* and *γ.*
[13] *destruyed*, *β.*
[14] *Glonmorgan*, *β.*
[15] *pupel*, *γ.*

nola Sancti Eltuti, et in collo cujusdam equi suspensa. Qua de causa regi Edgaro hora meridiana in strato quiescenti apparuit quidam pectus ejus lancea percutiens, unde post somnum jussit rex ut rapta restituerentur. Verumtamen post novem dies ipse rex obiit.[1] In cujus laudem sic cecinit[2] quidam.

Versus de rege Edgaro.[3]

Auctor opum, vindex[4] *scelerum, largitor honorum*
Sceptriger[5] *Edgarus regna superna petit.*
Hic alter Salamon, legum pater, orbita[6] *pacis,*
Quod claruit bellis claruit inde magis.
Templa Deo, templis monachos, [monachis][7] *dedit agros,*
Nequitiæ lapsum, justitiæque locum.[8]

Willelmus de Regibus.[9]

[10] Sunt tamen qui ingenti gloriæ temptant Edgari venenum apponere, dicentes ipsum primis temporibus suis crudelem fuisse in cives, libidinosum in virgines, ut verbi gratia: Ethelwoldus quidam comes ei fuit a secretis,[11] cui[12] aliquando injunxerat ut Elfridam

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[1] See note [7], p. 18.

[2] *canitur*, C.D.

[3] A. has, instead of the title, *Henricus, libro quinto*, and this is correct, see Scrip. post Bedam, p. 356. Henricus has two more lines:

"Novit enim regno verum per-
" quirere falso,
"Immensum modico, perpetu-
" umque brevi."

[4] *judex*, C.D.

[5] *Septriger*, MS.

[6] *obita*, A.

[7] *monachis*, from A.B.C.D.

[8] *letum*, B.

[9] *libro secundo*, A.; *Henricus, libro secundo*, B.

[10] *Sunt . . . expiasse* (page 30)] om. C.D.

[11] *a secretis*, from B.; *assecretis*, MS.

[12] *qui*, A.

aboute a horses nekke.[1] Þerfore in an underentyde,[2] while kyng Edgar lay on his bed to reste [hym],[3] on appered to hym and smot hym on þe breest wiþ a spere. Þanne whan þe kyng was i-waked, he het[4] restore aȝen al þat was i-take, bote þe kyng deyde after nyne dayes. In preysynge of hym oon seide in þis manere. *Henricus, libro* 5°. Helper, punscher[5] of trespas, and ȝever of worschippe, kyng Edgar is a goo to þe kyngdom of hevene. Þis oþer Salomon, Loweys[6] fader, wey to þe pees,[7] nobel in batails, þanne more nobel he was temples.[8] Temples to good[9] monkes to the monk temples ȝaf he feeldes.[10] Al wrong þis putte awey so þis ȝaf place to [þe][11] riȝt. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. But some men fondeþ[12] to putte venym to þe ioye and goodnesse of Edgar, and telleþ þat he was cruel[13] in his bygynnynge to citeseyns, and leccherous to maydens, as in þis manere: Oon Ethewold, an eorle, was prive wiþ hym; and in a tyme he charged[14] þis eorle þat he schulde

Trevisa.

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rus wastede the londe of Glammorgan for theire contumacy. Wherefore kynge Edgarus takynge reste after his meite, a man apperede to hym smytynge his breste with a spere, and after that the kynge awakede he commaundid that thynges taken aweye scholde be restorede, but the kynge diede in the ix^the^ daye folowynge. Into the lawde of whom Henricus, libro quinto, rehersethe in thys wyse.

MS. Harl. 2261.

Versus.

" Auctor opum, vindex scelerum, largitor honorum,
" Sceptriger Edgarus regna superna petit.
" Hic alter Salomon, legum pater, orbita pacis,
" Quod claruit bellis claruit inde magis.
" Templa Deo, templis monachos, monachis dedit agros,
" Nequitiæ lapsum justitiæque locum."

Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo. But þere be mony men attemptynge to putte poyson to the grete glory of kynge Edgarus, sayenge that he was cruelle in his begynnynge, and usynge grete lecchery, as by exemple: Ethelwoldus the erle was somme tyme secrete with hym, whom he commaundid in

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[1] *an hors nek*, β.
[2] *hondertyde*, α.; *undertyde*, β. and γ.
[3] From β.
[4] *a hyt*, γ.
[5] *punyscher*, β.; *Helpour, punser*, γ.
[6] *lawes*, β. and γ.
[7] *pese*, γ.
[8] *temples*] om. α. and β.
[9] *gode*, β.
[10] *veldes*, γ.
[11] From α., β., and γ.
[12] *vondeþ*, γ.
[13] *cruwel*, β.
[14] *chargide*, β.

filiam Orgari comitis Devoniæ,[1] forma spectabilem, regiis nuptiis conciliaret,[2] si tamen[3] forma famæ consonaret et veritas famæ conquadraret.[4] [5] Ille viam celebrans suis potius usibus puellam applicuit. Rediens tandem quæ conducibilia suis forent[6] partibus allegans, dixit pusiolam illam vulgaris et quotidianæ esse formæ, nec regiæ majestati convenire. Nunciant[7] interim delatores quanta regem Ethelwoldus astutia emunxerit. Ille clavo clavum expellens,[8] fraude scilicet[9] fraudem eludens,[10] frontem serenam comiti ostendit, diemque quo dictam mulierem visitaret quasi joco[11] edixit.[12] Qui tam terribili ludo quasi exanimatus, [13] præcucurrit ad conjugem, rogans ut suæ saluti consuleret, ac[14] quantum posset veste ac cultu

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[1] *Devoniæ*, from B.; *Dovoniæ*, MS.

[2] *forma . . . consiliaret*] om. B.

ejus, B.

[4] *concordaret*, B.

[5] *protinus iret et videret ut si tam formosa et generosa esset sicut de ea prædicabatur rex eam in uxorem duceret. At*, B.

[6] *forent*] om. B.

[7] *Nunciavit*, B.

[8] *regem . . . expellens*] regem fraude delusisset Ethelwoldus; quod audiens rex, B.

[9] *scilicet*] om. B.

[10] *deludens*, B.

[11] *quasi joco*] om. B.

[12] *indixit*, B.

[13] *comes*, add. A.B.

[14] *et*, B.

goo to Ethelfrith,[1] Orgarus his douȝter, erle of Devenschire,[2] þat was a wonder faire[3] mayde, and counsailled[4] here, and brouȝte[5] here for to be i-wedded to þe kyng, ȝif[6] it were so þat þe fairnesse[7] of here were accordynge to þe lose[8] and to the fame, and þe sope accordynge to þe fame. Þe eorle went his wey, and took þe mayde to his owne store,[9] and com aȝen to þe kyng and alleyede hym[10] and for his side, as he trowed[11] wolde helpe hem,[12] and seide þat þat wenche[13] was but of comoun[14] fairenesse and schap, suche as me seeþ al day, nouȝt covenable to be a kynges wyf: bote in a tyme tale-tellers warnede þe kyng how gilfulliche Ethelwolde hadde i-served hym. Þanne þe kyng drof out on[15] nayle wiþ anoþer, and took wreche of a gyle by a[16] gyle, and made good face to þe eorle and semblant, and sette hym a day as it were in his game whanne he wolde visite þat womman. For so dredful a game þe kyng[17] erle was al comfortlees, and nyh[18] dede for fere, and ran home tofore, and prayed his wyf þat sche[19] wolde helpe for to save hym, and that as moche as sche myȝht sche schulde make her selfe foule[20] and unsemeliche in þe kynges siȝt wiþ cloþynge

Trevisa.

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a tyme to go to Elfrida doȝhter of Ergarus erle of Devonschire, a woman of grete beawte, that sche scholde mary with hym if beawte and her condicions were congruente. But the erle goynge to that woman made labour for his awne person, and returnede ageyne to þe kynge seide that sche was but as of a meane beawte, and not apte to the mariage of a kynge, and so the erle maryede that woman of beawte, Elfrida by name. The kynge perceyvynge his decepcion and untrawthe, thenkynge to rewarde hym in lykewise, schewynge a pleasaunte contenaunce to the erle, signede a day in whom he wolde see his wife, as in disporte. But the erle goynge afore to his wife, preide her as sche luffed his lyfe that sche scholde schewe as grete deformite in vesture as sche myȝhte with honoure in the pre-

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Elfrytha*, α.; *Elfritha*, γ
[2] *Deveschyre*, γ.
[3] *veyr*, γ.
[4] *counsayi*, α.; *counseyl*, β.; *consayle*, γ.
[5] *brynge*, α., β.; *bringe*, γ.
[6] *ef*, γ.
[7] *veyrnes*, γ., et infra.
[8] *loos*, β.
[9] *use*, β. and γ.
[10] *alleyde for hym*, β.; *alleyde vor hym*, γ.
[11] *trowide*, β.
[12] *hem*] om. β.
[13] *weynche*, γ.
[14] *comyn*, β.
[15] *oon*, β.; *o*, γ.
[16] *a*] om. γ.
[17] Sic in MS.
[18] *neiȝ*, β.
[19] *heo*, β., et infra.; *hue*, γ.
[20] *voul*, γ., et infra.

in conspectu regis se turparet: sed quid non audet femina? Illa vice versa speculo[1] se comit, nihil penitus omittit quod ephebi lumbos acuere possit. In visam feminam rex ardescens,[2] dissimulato odio comitem in silva de Warewelle,[3] quæ Harewode[4] dicitur, venandi causa accitum, jaculo trajecit; ubi cum nothus comitis filius accessisset, interrogatus est a rege qualiter talis venatio sibi complaceret,[5] respondisse fertur, "Bene, domine rex, quod enim tibi "placet, mihi displicere non debet." Quo dicto ita tumentis regis animum mansuefecit, ut nihil sibi carius postmodum rex haberet quam filium comitis interfecti. Pro hujus facti expiatione Elfrida illa postmodum monasterium sanctimonialium apud Werewelle construxit. *Ranulphus.* Immo potius propter homicidium privigni sui Edwardi, quem ea intentione occidi procuravit, ut filius suus Egelredus[6] regnaret.

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[1] *speciose caput comit*, B.
[2] *ardescit*, B.
[3] *Qwerwell*, B.
[4] *Herwode*, B.
[5] *placeret*, B.
[6] *Ethelredus*, B.

and foule aray, but what sche durste[1] nou3t; but sche dede[2] the contrarye, and took a myrour, and kembed[3] hire, and arrayed here body and heed as gay and as faire as he coupe,[4] and lefte no þing þat schulde make hir fayre and likynge to[5] manis sight. Þanne whan þe kyng si3[6] þe womman, he gan to brenne in here love, and made it as þey were nou3t wroþ, and hadde the eorle wiþ hym for to hunte in to þe wode of Werwelle, þat now hatte Horwode;[7] þere þe kyng smoot hym þorow[8] wiþ a schafte.[9] Þere þe kyng axed[10] of þe erle his bast[11] sone how hym liked suche hontynge, and me seiþ þat he answerde and seide "Wel, lord kyng, what plesep þe schal "nou3t displese me." By þat word he meked[12] so þe kynges herte, þat was to swolle for wrethe, þat no þing was afterward levere[13] to þe kyng þanne þe sone of þe erle þat was i-slawe.[14] Afterward for clensynge of þis dede þis[15] Elfritha bulde[16] an abbay of mynchouns[17] at Werewell. Ꝛ. Bote more verrayiche[18] for þe slau3ter[19] of here stepsone Edward, þat sche made i-slawe[20] for here owne sone Ethelredus[21] schulde regne

TREVISA.

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sence of the kynge. But hit avaylede not, for his wife, takynge a glasse, sparede not eny thynge to schewe the excellence of here beawte. The kynge beholdynge here beawte hade a brennynge luffe to here, wherefore he callenge the erle into Harewoode as to hunte did sle hym. And Nothus son of that erle commynge, and seenge his fader dedde, was inquirede of the kynge how that huntynge pleasede hym; whiche answerede and seide, "Welle, my lorde kynge, ffor þat thynge þat is to "youre pleasure is to myne also." Whiche answere movede the kynge so moche, that þer was noo person in his realme that the kynge luffede moore aftirwarde. The seide lady for the expiacioun of that offense made a monastery of myncheons at Werwelle. Ꝛ. But hit was edifiede raþer for the dethe of kynge Edwarde here stappeson, whom sche causede to be sleyne for that entente, that Egelredus here son my3hte reigne

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 310 b.

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[1] *hue þorste, γ.*
[2] *a dude, γ.*
[3] *kemede, β.* and *γ.*
[4] *veyr as coupe, γ.*
[5] *a,* add. *β.*
[6] *sey3, β.*
[7] *Hoorewode, β.*
[8] *þur3, β.*
[9] *scheft, γ.*
[10] *axide, β.*
[11] *baste, β.*
[12] *mykede, γ.*
[13] *luver, γ.*
[14] *slayn, β.*
[15] *þues, γ.*
[16] *bylde, β.*
[17] *monchons, β.; meynchens, γ.*
[18] *verreilich, β.*
[19] *slau3t, γ.*
[20] *heo made slayn, β.*
[21] *Egelredus, α., β.,* and *γ.*

Willelmus de Regibus.[1] Huic exemplo crudelitatis adjungunt aliud libidinis, quod scilicet [2] dedicatam [3] virginem de monasterio abstraxerit [4] et inquinaverit. Item quod apud [5] Andoveram non longe a Wyntonia aliquando pernoctans, filiam cujusdam ducis speciosissimam jussit sibi subduci. Mater vero puellæ stuprum dedignans, ancillam suam virginem, sane satis elegantem et lepidam, regis apposuit cubili. Irradiante tandem aurora mulier conata surgere interrogatur cur festinaret. "Ad opus," inquit "solitum et " quotidianum persolvendum." Igitur pro mercede nocturni connubii petit ingenuitatem, ut sic voluptatis regiæ conscia de cætero non perferat [6] imperia crudelium dominorum. Mox in risum rex solutus ancillam illam fecit dominam dominarum. Sed quomodocunque ista

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[1] *ubi supra*, A.B. ; *lib.* ii. *cap.* viii. See Scrip. post Bedam, pp. 59, 60.

[2] *Deo*, B.

[3] *Deo dicatam*, A.

[4] *extraxerit*, B.

[5] *apud*] om. B.

[6] *proferat*, A.

Willelmus, ubi supra. To þe[1] ensample of cruelnesse[2] þei telleþ anoþer of leccherie, and meneþ þat he took a mayde þat was i-sacred to God out of an abbay, and lay by here.[3] Also þat he was in a nyȝt[4] at Andovere,[5] nouȝt fer[6] from Wynchestre, and bad brynge to his bed a duke his douȝter, þat was a wel faire mayde; but þe moder of þat mayde vouched nouȝt sauf[7] þat here douȝter schulde so be[8] defouled, and hadde a bonde[9] servaunt þat was a mayde faire and[10] smoþe and likynge, and dede[11] here to þe kynges bed. Amorwe[12] whan þe dawenynge gan[13] to springe, þe womman fonded[14] for to arise; þanne me axed of here why sche hyȝed.[15] "For to doo my work," quoþ sche, "as I[16] am i-woned[17] every day." Þanne for þat nyȝtes iornay[18] sche axede fredom for here mede,[19] ffor sche þat was assentynge to þe kynges likynge schulde no more be under þe hestes of cruel lordes. Anon þe kyng gan to lawhe,[20] and made þat bonde[21] womman lady of lordes. Bote how[22] it evere be of suche[23] dedes it is sooþ þat

Trevisa.

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and be kynge. *Willelmus ubi supra.* Men schewe also an other exemple of lecchery to that dede of crudelite, that kynge Edgarus toke a myncheon from here monastery and defilede here. Also this kynge taryenge in a nyȝhte at Andover not ferre from Wynchestre, commaundede the doȝhter of a duke to be brouȝhte to his bedde. But the moder of that maide havynge indignacion þerof, sende an oþer servaunte arrayede nobly, beawtuous of person, and welle nurturede, to the kynge in stede of here doȝhter. The sonne begynnynge to schyne that woman besyenge her to aryse, was inquirede of the kynge why sche made soe grete haste, seide to goe to here daily laboure, askynge liberte of the kynge for here rewarde in that sche was knowen by the kynge. The kynge perceyvynge hym to be mockede, made that woman in servitute lady of lordes. But howsoever these thynges be rehersede of kynge Edgarus,

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *þis, α.*
[2] *cruwelnesse, β.*
[3] *hir, β.*
[4] *in a tyme by nyȝte, α.* and *β.*
[5] *Andever, β.*
[6] *ver, γ.*
[7] *saaf, β.*; *saf, γ.*
[8] *be so, α.* and *β.*
[9] *boonde, β.*
[10] *and*] om. *α.* and *β.*
[11] *dide, β.*
[12] *Amorowe, β.*
[13] *dawyng bigan, β.*
[14] *vondede, γ.*
[15] *hue hyede, γ.*
[16] *ich, β.*
[17] *ich am ywond, γ.*
[18] *journey, γ.*
[19] *myde, γ.*
[20] *lauȝe, β.*
[21] *boond, β.*
[22] *hou, γ.*
[23] *siche, β.*, bis.; *soche, γ.*

se habeant, constat ipsum salubri pœnitentia talia expiasse.[1] Benedictus septimus post Bonefacium sedit papa annis octo mensibus sex. Otho secundus, filius Othonis primi, regnavit post patrem apud Teutonicos decem annis septem mensibus. Anno regni septimo coronatus est Romæ a Benedicto papa. Hic dum Italici pacem infringerent convivium grande [2] proceribus Italiæ apud gradus Romanæ ecclesiæ exhibuit, quibus epulantibus fecit omnes latenter circumcingi armatorum cohortibus. Demum de violata pace querimoniam movens, jubet in scriptis culpabiles recitari, quos statim ibidem decollari faciens, reliquos in pace fecit prandere.[3]

Cap. XII.

De regibus Anglorum.[4]

Gratiæ IX^c^LXXVI. Edwardi primo.

Edwardus [5] juvenis ope Dunstani cæterorumque præsulum in regem erigitur, contra voluntatem

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[1] See note [10], p. 22.

[2] *principibus et*, add. C.D.

[3] C.D. insert: "Fames valida "Angliam invasit. Celebratæ sunt "in Anglia tres synodi, prima apud "Kerlinges, secunda apud Calne, "ubi omnes proceres excepto "Dunstano de solario corruerunt. "Tertia fuit apud Aunbrisbury. "Edwardus juvenis post mortem "patris sui Edgari sub tumultu "in regem levatur, qui tandem "tertio anno regni sui jussu "novercæ suæ Elfrithæ reginæ "nefarie occiditur apud Cornis-"gate sive apud Warham non "longe a mari australi non igno-"biliter sepelitur per triennium. "Ad cujus tumulum cum ejus "interfectrix mulo vecta accedere "vellet, jumentum prædictum etiam "flagris cæsum stetit immobile. "Jumento sæpius mutato idem ei "accidit. Idcirco et ipsa pœnitu-"dine ducta, quod per se non potuit "per alium fieri procuravit, ut "martyr scilicet ad Septoniam, "quod est Schaftesbury, gloriose "deducitur."

[4] A. has in place of the heading, *Willelmus Malmesburiensis de Regibus, libro secundo*; B. omits heading.

[5] *Edwardus . . . Ranulphus* (page 36)] om. C.D.

he clensed hym of suche[1] dedes by verray and worþy penaunce. After Bonefas, þe sevenþe Benet was pope eiȝte ȝere and sixe monþes. Þe secounde Otho, þe sone of þe firste Otho, regnede after his fader among Duchesmen[2] ten ȝere and sixe monþes. Þe sevenþe ȝere of his kyngdom he was i-crowned at Rome of pope Benet. Whanne þe Italies[3] breke þe pees, þis made a greet feste to þe lordes of Italy at þe grees of þe chirche at Rome; and while þey were at þe mete he made men of armes byclippe hem priveliche aboute, and mevede a pleynt at þe laste of brekynge of þe pees, and heet take hym þe names i-wrete of hem þat were[4] gilty,[5] and made hem byheeded[6] riȝt þere everichone, and made þe oþere ete here mete in pees. TREVISA.

Capitulum duodecimum.

Willelmus de Regibus, libro 2°.

ȝONG Edward, by help of Dunston and of oþere bisshoppes, was i-made kyng aȝenst[7] þe wille of som oþer lordes, and

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hit is schewede that he expulsede his synnes by meke and hollesom penaunce. Benedictus the vij^the^ succedid Bonefacius the pope viij. yere and vj. monethes. Otho the secunde, and sonof Otho the firste, reignede in Alemayne x. yere and vij. monethes, crownede in the vij^te^ yere of his reigne at Rome of pope Benedicte. Men of Ytaly arysynge and brekynge the pease, this emperoure made a grete feste to the gentil men of Ytaly at the cite of Rome, causynge theyme beynge at meyte to be compassede abowte with a grete multitude of peple armede. At the laste the emperoure movynge the compleynte of brekynge of peace, commaundede the names of men causenge hit to be wryten in a bylle, which heded þer, the emperoure causede the residu to eite in pease. In whiche yere a grete hungre occupiede the londe of Yngelonde. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum duodecimum.

EDWARD, tendre in age, thro helpe of seynte Dunstan and of other bischoppes was erecte into the kynge ageyne the wylle

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[1] *siche*, β.; *soche*, γ.
[2] *Duchysch*, β. and γ.
[3] *Italyens*, β.
[4] *weren*, β.
[5] *gulty*, γ.
[6] *biheded*, β.
[7] *aȝenus*, β.

quorumdam optimatum, et potissime novercæ suæ Elfridæ,[1] quæ filium suum Egelredum septennem provehere conabatur, ut sic ipsa potius sub nomine ejus imperitaret,[2] regnavitque quasi[3] quatuor annis. Extunc felicitas[4] imminuta est; nam visa est in firmamento stella cometa,[5] quæ semper vel pestem[6] provincialium vel mutationem regni portendere[7] solet. Stella cometa et de ominis significatione.

Nec mora, secuta est sterilitas arvi, fames hominum, mors animalium. Sed et Alferus princeps Merciorum, reginæ Elfrithæ per omnia favens, ejectis monachis quos Edgarus instituerat, clericos cum concubinis reinduxit; sed Dunstanus et comes Estanglorum[8] viriliter restiterunt. Clerici namque nuper expulsi rediviva jurgia suscitarunt, dicentes miserabile fore dedecus ut novus advena veteres incolas e sedibus pellat; hoc non Deo gratum qui veteri habitatori hoc concessit, nec probo homini hoc[9] acceptum, qui sibi idem timere posset quod alteri fieri vidisset. Ea de re celebri synodo apud Wyntoniam primo[10] coacta,

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[1] *Elfrithæ*, A.B.
[2] *imperaret*, B.
[3] *quasi*] om. B.
[4] *regni*, add. A.B.
[5] *comata*, A.
[6] *quæ super pestem*, B.
[7] *protendere*, A.
[8] *Est Angliæ*, A.
[9] *hoc*] om. A.
[10] *primo*] om. B.

specialliche aȝenst þe will of his stepdame Elfrida,[1] þat fondede to make here[2] owne sone Egelredus kyng, a childe of sevene ȝere olde, þat sche myȝte so regne under þe childes name. Þis[3] Edward regnede as it were foure ȝere; þerafter waned þe grace[4] of þe kyngdom, for in þe welcon[5] was i-seie stella comata,[6] þat is, a sterre wiþ a briȝt shynynge crest, þat bodeþ alwey pestilence in þe province oþer chaungynge of þe kyngdom. And longe þerafter fil bareynes[7] of feeldes, honger of men, and deeþ of bestes; and Alferus, prince of Mercia, favored[8] Elfritha þe queene wiþ al þat he myȝte, and put out monkes þat Edgar hadde i-ordeyned, and brouȝt yn clerkes wiþ concubynes; bote Donston and þe eorle of Est Anglond wiþstood hem manlich. For þe clerkes þat were somtyme i-put out rerede stryf aȝen, and seide þat it were a wrecched schame[9] þat a newe comynge schulde putte olde londesmen out of here place,[10] þat is nouȝt plesynge to God, þat graunted þe place to þe olde wonyer, noþer a good man aloweþ it nouȝt þat may drede þat me wolde doo to hemself as he seeþ[11] þat me doþ to oþere. Herefore[12] was a solempne counsaile i-made at Wynchestre; þere þe

Trevisa.

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of mony noble men, and specially of Elfritha his stappemoder, whiche laborede to have made Egelredus here son kynge; whiche reignede as iiij. yere. From whiche tyme the felicite of the realme was chaungede and diminute, and a blasynge sterre was seene in the firmamente, whiche is wonte to portende other a pestilence of provinces other the chaungenge of a realme, and anoon there folowede a derthe of corne, hunger of men, and dethe of bestes. And Alferus prince of the Marches favorynge Elfritha, putte awey monkes whom kynge Edgarus hade sette in monasterys, and putte prestes into theyme with theire concubynes. But seynte Dunstan and the erle of Este Ynglonde resiste hym, and expulsede the clerkes. The clerkes so expulsede seide hit was a miserable thynge and honoure that a newe aliaunte scholde expelle olde inhabitators of the londe and that hit was not to the pleasure of God whiche hade grawnte that grownde to olde inhabitators. Wherefore a grete cownsaile was kepede at Wynchestre,

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 311 a.

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[1] *Elfritha*, β., et infra, and γ.
[2] *hir*, β.
[3] *Þes*, γ.
[4] *grasce*, γ.
[5] *wolken*, β. and γ.
[6] *cometa*, β. and γ.
[7] *bareynesse*, β.; *vul baraynes*, γ.
[8] *favered*, β.
[9] *schame*, from β.; *wrecchesch schame*, γ.; *name*, MS.
[10] *plas*, γ., et infra.
[11] *as a sueþ*, γ.
[12] *Herfore*, β.

imago crucifixi de pariete locuta est, veram[1] Dunstani viam fore. Sed adhuc non sedatis animis[2] tortuosorum, apud Calne vicum regium consilium indictum est, ubi cum, absente rege propter tenellam adhuc ætatem, considentibus in cœnaculo Angliæ senatoribus sanctus Dunstanus validis conviciorum jaculis impeteretur, solarium totum cum axibus et trabibus dissiliit et cecidit, quibusdam exinde peremptis, quibusdam perpetuo læsis, omnibus autem saltem contritis excepto Dunstano, qui probe[3] evasit; quod quidem miraculum peperit subsequentibus illius querelæ silentium. Dum igitur juvenis Edwardus[4] venatu lassus in redeundo sitiret, inter pocula quæ noverca sibi porrexit sica percussus est, unde et sonipede suo quibus poterat viribus ad effugiendum[5] agitato, uno pede lapsus alteroque per dsvia tractus, undante cruore apud Cornesgate[6] signa mortis dedit. Tunc ipsi apud Warham[7]

Ymago Crucifixi Dunstano locuta est.

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[1] *inquiens*, add. B.
[2] *animis*] om. A.
[3] *prope*, B.
[4] *aliquando*, add. B.
[5] *ad effugiendum*] om. B.
[6] *Cervisgate*, B.
[7] *Wharham*, B.

ymage of þe rode spak out of þe wal, and seide þat Donnston his wey was good and trewe. But ȝit cesed[1] nouȝt þe hertes[2] of unskilful men, þerfore was i-made a counsaile at þe real[3] strete of Calne ; þere þe kyng was absent, for he was ȝit of tendre age, and þere seten[4] in an hiȝe[5] hous þe senatoures of Engelond ; þere Dunston was strongliche despised and i-ched[6] ; þanne þe giestes[7] and þe bemes of þe soler al to fligh,[8] and þe soler fil doun ; and som were dede, and some i-hurt and i-maymed for evere more. So al þat þere were, [were][9] dede oþer i-hurt ful sore, outtake Dunston alone þat scapede graciousliche and wyseliche. Þat myracle[10] brouȝte forþ scilence[11] to hem þat wolde afterward meyntene þat querel. Þe ȝonge Edward com from hontynge wery and afirst,[12] and his stepdame ȝaf hym drynke, and þe mene tyme he was i-styked wiþ a swerd. Þanne he gan[13] to pryke his hors wiþ al þat he myȝte, þennes for to flee ; þanne his oon foot[14] slood[15] out of þe styrop, and he was i-drawe[16] by þe oþer foot[17] al aboute þe feeldes and þwart[18] over weies, and al forbled, and at Cornesgate[19] he ȝaf þe signes and tokenes of deth. Þanne he was i-buried unworþiliche þre

TREVISA.

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where an ymage of the crucifixe in alle spake in this wyse, seyenge the weye of seynte Dunstan to be kepede and holden. But theire myndes not mitigate þerwith, an oþer cownesaile was hade at Calnewic, where the kynge beynge absente for his tendre age, where seynte Dunstan was trowblede soore, insomoche that his men sleyne he escapede from his enemyes with owte hurte by grete manfullenesse, whiche miracle was schewede afterwarde. While this yonge kynge Edwarde wery thro huntynge and returnyd to his stappemoder, he was stryken soore with a knyfe as his stappemoder rechid to hym a pece that he myȝhte drynke ; his horse movede and excitede to flee, this kynge hongynge by the oon foote and drawen so after the horse diede at Cornisgate. Whiche beryede at Warham, not

MS. HARL. 2261.

An ymage of the crucifix spak.

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[1] *ceeside*, β.
[2] *þe hertes*, from α. and β. ; *þere er*, MS.
[3] *rial*, β.
[4] *seet*, α. ; *sate*, β.
[5] *heiȝ*, β.
[6] *y-chidde*, β. ; *y-chyd*, γ.
[7] *gystes*, γ.
[8] *flyȝ*, β. ; *vlyȝ*, γ.
[9] From β. and γ.
[10] *myrakel*, γ.
[11] *silence*, β. ; *sylens*, γ.
[12] *aþurst*, β. ; *furst*, γ.
[13] *bigan*, β.
[14] *o vot*, γ.
[15] *slode*, β. ; *slod*, γ.
[16] *to-drawe*, β.
[17] *voot*, γ.
[18] *þwert*, β.
[19] *Cornysgate*, β.

per triennium ignobiliter sepulto arriserunt divina miracula ; nam cœlesti luce de summis emissa, claudus recepit gressum, mutus, cæcus et surdus organum, omnis denique invalitudo sospitatis sumpsit statum. Quo timore[1] excita interfectrix ipsius properat jumento vecta. Quod quidem nec flagris nec clamoribus accedere potuit, mutatum sæpius jumentum id idem ostendit. Quamobrem quod ipsa non potuit, per alium effecit. Nam Elferus minister ejus, qui nuper in Mercia extrusis monachis clericos induxerat, corpus Edwardi apud Septoniam, quæ est Shaftesbury,[2] solemniter tumulavit. *Ranulphus.*[3] Succedente tempore pars corporis ejus apud Leofmonasterium juxta Herefordiam, pars[4] apud Abendoniam translata[5] est ; locus vero apud Septoniam ubi pulmo ejus adhuc[6] integra viriditate palpitat Edwardestowe nuncupatur. *Willelmus ubi supra.*[7] Pro hac autem interfectione prædicta Elfrida construxit duo monasteria feminarum, unum apud Ambresbury et aliud[8] apud[9] Werewelle,[10]

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[1] *rumore*, A.B.
[2] *Schaftisburi*, A.
[3] See note [5], p. 30.
[4] *vero*, C.D.
[5] *translatum*, MS., as though it referred to *corpus*.
[6] *adhuc*] om. B.
[7] C.D. omit reference. Scrip. post Bedam, p. 61.
[8] *non longe a Salusbiry*, add. A. ; *non longe a Selesbury*, add. B.
[9] *apud Werwelle, ubi et ipsa requiescit, alterum apud Aumbresbury juxta Sarum*, C.D., the latter omitting *juxta Sarum*.
[10] *Wherwelle*, B.

ȝere at Warham ; þere God for hym wrouȝte meny myracles and grete, for þere gret light com doun from hevene, and þe halt man feng[1] his goynge ariȝt, þe doumbe fenge his speche, þe deef his herynge, and þe blynde his sight; þere alle manere sike[2] men took þe state[3] of helþe. By þat rumour sche[4] þat slouȝ hym was i-meoved, and cam ridynge on a beest þat myȝte nouȝt come nygh þe place for no betynge noþer for no[5] cryenge; þe best[6] was ofte i-chaunged, but it was al for nouȝt. Þerfore what sche myȝte nouȝt doo in here owne persone[7] sche dede by anoþer; for here mynister Elferus, þat hadde somtyme i-put out monkes in Mercia, and i-brouȝt clerkes in here stede, he took Edwardes body and buried it solempliche at Septoun, þat is Schaftesbury. ℞. In tyme afterward som of his body was translated to Leof Manaster,[8] besides Herford, and som to Abyndoun. Þe place at Schaftesbury þere his longes ȝit quaveþ al fresche and sound hatte Edwardstowe. *Willelmus ubi supra.* For þis slauȝter Elfritha bulde tweie abbeyes of wommen,[9] nouȝt fer from Salisbury, oon hatte Ambresbury, and anoþer at Werewelle. TREVISA.

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accordynge to his astate, mony miracles were schewede: a halte man hade his goynge to hym, a blynde man siȝhte, and alle diversites of langore were healede þer. That rumor excitede, Elfritha cause of his dethe made haste to visitte hym, whiche cowthe not comme to hym in eny wyse, her horses and bestes on whom sche did ryde schewede that thynge. Wherefore sche did by an other that sche myȝhte not performe in here awne propre person, for Elferus here minister, whiche hade expulsede late monkes from the Marches, and putte seculer men in theire monasteryes, beryede solemnely the body of kynge Edwarde at Schaftesbery. ℞. But in succession of tyme parte of that body was translate to the monastery of Leof nye to Herdford, and a parte to Abindon. And that place at Schaftesbery where his longes or mylte be greene is callede Edwardistowe. *Willelmus ubi supra.* The seide Elfritha made ij. monasterys of women for that offense, oon of theyme at Ambrisbury, an other at Werewelle, where sche levynge the MS. HARL. 2261. f. 311 b.

[1] *vyng*, γ., et infra.
[2] *seke*, β.
[3] *staat*, α
[4] *heo*, β., et infra; *hue*, γ., et infra.
[5] *no*] om. β.
[6] *beest*, β.
[7] *persoone*, β.
[8] *Leofmonastre*, β. and γ.
[9] *wymmen*, α.

ubi[1] ipsa deposita terrena pompa diu et dire pœnituit, jugi cilicio et jejunio corpus frangens, quod quondam fuerat speciosum, cruces quas potuit jugiter fronti et pectori imprimens; ibique requiescit. Nec tamen omnino vindictam evasit Elfricus prædictus, quin post annum a tumulatione prædicti martyris a pediculis[2] vermibusque penitus sit consumptus. His temporibus floruit Fulbertus[3] Carnotensis episcopus, vir quidem[4] beatæ Mariæ amore præcellens, qui inter cætera opera sua laudabilia composuit in laudem [Virginis][5] responsoria *Stirps Jesse, Solem justitiæ,* et hymnum *Chorus novæ Jerusalem.* Cui aliquando ægrotanti tanquam in mortis janua constituto apparuit beata virgo, ac quid timeret inquisivit. Cui ille: "Domina mea, de "misericordia tua spero, sed de Filii tui judicio perti- "mesco." Ad quem illa: "Ne timeas; et ut certiorem "te faciam de futuro, nunc te convalescere faciam." Et mox de sinu mamillam [extrahens][6] tres guttas lactei[7] liquoris ejus faciei instillavit, et abiit. Ille statim convalescens cœleste nectar argenteo receptum vasculo

Beata stirps Jesse, Solem justitiæ.

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[1] *ubi . . . secundo*] om. C.D.
[2] *et*, B.
[3] *Filbertus*, A.
[4] *in*, B.
[5] *Virginis*] from A.B.
[6] *extrahens*] from A.
[7] *pretiosi*, add. A.B.

Sche dede[1] awey þe pompe of þe worlde, and dede longe tyme harde penaunce at Werewell, and usede alwey þe heyre[2] and fastinge,[3] and chastede here body, þat was ful faire somtyme, and alwey as sche myȝte sche croysede here forhede and brest,[4] and lyeþ[5] i-buried þere. Bote þe forsaide Alferus[6] scapede nouȝt al manere wreche, ffor he was i-ete al wiþ luys[7] after oon ȝere after þe burienge of þe forsaide martir. Aboute þat tyme was Fulbertus in his floures, bisshop of Carnot, an excellent man in oure[8] lady love. Amonge his oþere noble workes he made in preysinge of oure lady þe respondes "Stirps Iesse" and "Solem iusticie," and þis ympne, "Chorus, nove Ierusalem." In a tyme he was seke at þe ȝeate[9] of deth, and oure lady apperede to hym, and axede of hem wherof he dredde.[10] "My lady," quoþ he, "I[11] trust on þy mercy, but I drede ful sore þyn owne sones "dome." "Drede þou not," quoþ sche; "and for to make þe "þe more siker here after, I schal now make þe al hool;" and anon sche took here[12] brest out of here[12] bosom, and dropped on his face[13] þre dropes of precious licour[14] of mylk, and wente

Trevisa.

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pryde of the worlde did grete penaunce, werynge an heire on her body, and chastisynge hyt with grete abstinence, imprintynge in her forehede oftetymes þe signe of the crosse, in whiche place sche restethe. And the foreseide Elfricus escapede not unpunysched, for he was consumede by lyes in the yere after that he had beryede seynte Edwarde the martir. Fulbertus the bischoppe Carnotense was in this tyme a man precellente in the luffe of our blissede lady; whiche made in the lawde of that blissede virgyn, amonge other laudable werkes, these ij. responsoryes, Stirps Jesse, and Solem justitiæ. Whiche laborynge as in the poynte of dethe that blessed virgyn Mary apperede to hym inquirenge the cause of his drede. To whom he seide, "O "goode lady, y truste in thy mercy, but I drede the iuggement of thy Sonne." Then sche seide to hym, "Drede þow "not, and for a suerte y schalle make the to be holle;" and drawynge furthe here brestes instillede thre dropes of that moste precious hevynly mylke to his face, and so departed.

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *dide*, β., et infra.
[2] *heer*, β.
[3] *vastynge*, γ.
[4] *vorhed and brust*, γ.
[5] *lyþ*, β.
[6] So in β. too.
[7] *lues*, γ.
[8] *ure*, γ., et infra.
[9] *ȝate*, β.
[10] *dradde*, β.
[11] *Ich*, β. and γ., et infra.
[12] *hir*, β.
[13] *fas*, γ.
[14] *l:kour*, α.

ad memoriam servari præcepit, et in sua ecclesia collocari.[1] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.*[2]

Cap. XIII.

[*De rege Egelredo, de morte Dunstani et de adventu Danorum.*]

[3] Egelredus[4] filius Edgari, ex[5] secundo matrimonio ex Elfretha[5] genitus, post seniorem fratrem Edwardum in regem levatus apud Kengestoun,[6] Clito elegans, triginta octo annis regnum potius obsedit quam rexit. Nam vitæ suæ cursus sævus et infaustus in principio, miser in medio, [7]turpis in postremo. Nam dum beatus Dunstanus eum baptizaret ventris profluvio sacrum fontem fœdavit. Quare turbatus Dunstanus ait, "Per Deum et matrem ejus ignavus erit[8] iste." Et adjecit in die coronationis suæ hoc[9] oraculum,[3] "Quin "aspirasti ad regnum per mortem fratris tui, in cujus[10] "sanguine conspiraverunt Angli cum ignominiosa matre

Egelredus filius Edgari. Hic in baptismate sacrum fontem fedavit.

[1] *et . . . collocari*] om. A.B., and also the reference.

[2] Cap. x. See Scrip. post Bedam, p. 62. See, also, note [1], p. 38.

[3] *Edwardo martirizato successit in regnum frater suus ex Elfritha prædicta sub secundo matrimonio progenitus Egelredus, Clito elegans et egregius, post Pascha apud Kingestonem coronatus est omine cum sinistro. Nam dum baptizaretur a beato Dunstano minxit in sacro fonte, unde et beatus Dunstanus prædixit exterminium Anglorum tempore ejus successurum. Adjecti et in die consecrationis suæ hoc oraculum*, &c., add. C.D.

[4] *Etheldredus*, B.

[5] *ex . . . Elfretha*] transposed in B.

[6] *Kingeston*, A.; *Kyngeston*, B.

[7] *et*, add. B.

[8] *fuit*, B.

[9] *hoc*] om. B.

[10] *cujus*] from A.B.; *ejus*, MS.

forþ her way; he was hool anon, and dede þat swete licoure of hevene in a vessel of silver, and heet[1] keep it in mynde. TREVISA.

Capitulum decimum tertium.

EGELREDUS, Edgar his sone, i-gete on his secounde wif Elfritha, was i-made kyng after his secounde[2] broþer Edward, at Kyngestoun. He was a faire[3] kny3t and a loveliche; ei3te and þritty 3ere he byseged[4] þe kyngdom more verrayliche[5] þan rulede it[6]; for þe cours of his lyf was cruel and ungracious in þe bygynnynge, wrecched in þe myddel, and foule[7] in þe ende. For while seint Donston cristned[8] hym he defouled[9] þe font ston wiþ þe fruyt[10] of his wombe; þerfore Donston seide, "By God and his moder þis schal be unkynde." And in þe day of his crownement he tolde þis prophecie: "For þou come "to þe kyngdom by þe deth of þy broþer, in whos deth "Englisshe men conspired wiþ þat wikked womman þy moder,

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This bischop recurynge commaundede that hevynly liquor to[11] receyvid in a vesselle of silvyr to be kepede to a memorialle. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum tertiumdecimum.

EGELREDUS the sonne of Edgarus, geten of Elfritha his secunde wife, erecte into the kynge at Kyngeston, after his broþer Edwarde, segede the realme xxxviij. yere, raþer then governede hit. For the cowrse of his lyfe was cruelle and infortunate in the begynnynge, miserable in the myddes, and fowle in the ende; for when seynte Dunstan baptisede hym, he filede the holy fonte. Seynte Dunstan trowblede þer with seide, "By God and by his moder, þis childe schalle be a loselle." Also seynte Dunstan adiecte this oracle to hym in the day of his coronacion: "In that thow ascendede to the realme "by the dethe of thy broþer, whose dethe Ynglische men, with "that wickede woman thy moder, conspirede, manslaȝter and

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[1] *hyte*, γ.
[2] *elder*, γ.
[3] *feir*, β.
[4] *bisegide*, β.
[5] *verreilich*, β.; *vereylich*, γ.
[6] *reulede hyt*, γ.
[7] *voul*, γ.
[8] *in*, add. γ.
[9] *folled*, β.; *vullede*, γ.
[10] *frut*, γ.
[11] Sic.

" tua, non deficiet ab eis sanguis et gladius donec " populus ignotæ linguæ superveniens eos in ultimam " redigat servitutem, nec expiabitur hoc delictum nisi " longa vindicta."[1] Cum autem iste Egelredus[2] puer decennis audiret Edwardum fratrem suum sic necatum, ejulatu[3] suo matrem furentem in tantum commovit ut, cum ipsa aliud flagellum ad[4] manum non haberet, arreptis cereis candelis ipsum pœne ad mortem flagellavit, quamobrem in omni vita sua lumen ceræ exhorruit.[5] Hic quoque ex Ethelgiva filia Egberti comitis genuit Edmundum, cognomento Ferreum latus, Edwynum, Ethelstanum, et filiam Edgivam; ex Emma Normannica[6] postmodum Alfredum et Edwardum. *Mirabile.*[7] Nubes media nocte per totam Angliam nunc sanguinea nunc ignea visa est, deinde per radios et colores diversos mutata circa auroram disparuit. Hoc anno urbs[8] Southamptoun et insula Thaneth[9] juxta Cantiam,[10] monasterium Sancti Petroci in Cornubia, et provincia Legecestrensium per piratas devastantur. Civitas Londoniæ igne propria

Gratiæ IX°LXXX. Egelredi II.

Gratiæ IX°LXXXI. Egelredi III.

Gratiæ IX°LXXXIII. Egelredi V.

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[1] *Ranulphus*, add. C.D.

[2] *Etheldredus*, B.

[3] *evigilatu*, B.

[4] *in*, B.

[5] C.D. insert: " De isto Egelredo " legitur in vita sancti Edwardi " martiris quod postquam triginta " novem annis regnasset nun- " quam tamen coram se ceram " ardere permisit; viderat enim in " puericia sua matrem suam ver- " berasse Edwardum fratrem suum " frequenter cum cereis de cera " factis. Idcirco hic luminaria " semper odio habuit. Egelredus " iste ex Ethelgiva, &c."

[6] *genuit*, A.

[7] A.B. omit heading.

[8] *urbs visa est Northamtoniæ in insula de*, B.

[9] *Thanet*, A.; *Taneth*, B.

[10] *juxta Canciam devastantur, multis ibidem occisis, provincia etiam Legecestrensium a piratis Norweyensibus devastatur. Civitas Londoniæ igne pœne cremata est. Dux Merciorum Alferus obiit cui successit Alfricus filius ejus. Sanctus Ethelwoldus Wyntoniæ præsul obiit. Will., lib. ii. Vir iste Wyntonæ natus est, sub Dunstano Glastoniæ educatus et cucullatus. Tempore Edredi factus est abbas et episcopus Wyntoniæ, ubi monaste-*

" þey schulleþ [1] nouȝt be wiþ oute blood and swerd, or [2] þere Trevisa.
" come a peple [3] of an unknowen tonge, and brynge hem into
" þe laste þraldom, þis trespas schal not be i-clensed wiþ
" oute longe vengeaunce." [4] Whan þis Egelredus was a child of ten ȝere olde, and herde [5] telle þat his broþer Edward was so i-slawe, he meved [6] so his wode moder with wepinge and wiþ ȝellynge,[7] þat sche beet [8] hym almost to þe deth wiþ tapers, for sche hadde nouȝt elles in honde, þerfore he hated taperes [9] al his lyftyme. Also oon [10] Ethelgiva, eorle Egbertus his douȝter, he gat Edmond Ireneside by his surname, and Edwyn and Ethelstan, and oon douȝter þat heet Edgiva. Afterward oon Emma of Normandie he gat Alfredus and Edward. Half a nyȝt a clowde was i-seie into al Engelond, now blody, now fuyry,[11] þanne i-chaunged by dyvers coloures and bemes,[12] and wente awey in þe dawenynge.[13] Þat ȝere Souþhamptoun, and the Ile of Thanet, besides Kent,[14] and Seynt Petrok his abbay in Cornewayle, and þe province of Chestre, were destroyed by þe þeves of Danes. Þe citee of Londoun was

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" the correccion of God schalle not wonte to theyme, untylle that MS. Harl.
" the peple of uncowthe langage comme into this londe, and 2261.
" brynge theyme into grete servitute; and that offense schalle not
" be forȝiffen but by longe penaunce and grete vengeaunce." f. 312 a.
This Egelredus havynge x. yere in age, herynge the dethe of Edwarde his broþer, trowblede his moder thro wepynge, insomoche that sche havynge noo rodde nye to here honde, toke a taper, and bete hym þerwith soe soore þat he was allemoste dedde. Wherefore he did hate from that a cerge alle the tymes of his lyfe. This kynge gate of Ethelgiva, doȝhter of Egberte the erle, a sonne callede Edmunde Yrnesyde; and of Emma the gemme of Normandy, Edwyne, Ethelstan, and Edgiva, Alfrede and Edwarde. A clowde was sene in Ynglonde nowe of the coloure of bloode, and soone after lyke to fire, and after the nyȝhte paste hit evaneschede in the morowe. The cite of Sowthehampton, the yle of Thaneth nye to Kente, the monastery of Seynte Petrocus in Cornewaile, and the province of Westechestre, was wastede by the Danes. The cite of

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[1] *hy scholleþ*, γ.
[2] *er*, β.; *ar*, γ.
[3] *pupel*, γ.
[4] *veniaunce*, β.; *veyngeauns*, γ.
[5] *hurde*, γ.
[6] *meoved*, β.
[7] *ȝollyng*, γ.
[8] *hue bute*, γ.
[9] *taperlyȝt*, γ.
[10] *on*, β.
[11] *vury*, γ.
[12] *beemes*, β.
[13] *dawyng*, β.
[14] *yl of Dent bysydes Kynt*, γ.

concremata[1] est. Sanctus Ethelwoldus Wyntoniensis
Gratiæ IX°LXXXIV. Egelredi VI. præsul obiit, qui Wyntoniæ natus, sub Dunstano Glastoniæ educatus et cucullatus, tempore Edredi regis factus est abbas Abendoniæ, tempore[2] Edgari factus est Wyntoniensis præsul; ubi construxit monasterium monialium, et corpus sancti Swithini transtulit de terra. Cui successit sanctus Elphegus abbas Bathoniensis, qui[3] postmodum Cantuariensis archipræsul effectus occisus est a Danis, de quo in subsequentibus dicetur. *De imperatoribus.*[4] Otho tertius, filius Othonis secundi, regnavit apud Teutonicos post patrem annis octodecim. Hic[5] cognominatus est Mirabilia mundi, coronabatur apud Romam per Gregorium quintum. Et quamvis isti tres Othones ex genere succederent ad imperium, tamen postmodum[6] fuit constitutum ut per[7] officiales

Sanctus Elphegus.

VII^tem sunt provinciales officiales electione domini papæ.

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rium construxit monialium et corpus Swythini transtulit. Vir igitur iste ex monacho Wyntonæ præsul factus, inter pericula communia quæ tunc in Anglia a Danorum adventu exhibebantur, pane et aqua utebatur. Vir per omnia beatæ Mariæ et sancto Cuthberto devotus, cujus sedem post obitum ejus nunquam potuit aliquis impune dormitando premere quia tetris imaginibus territus resiliret increpantibus illis cur sedem episcopi indignus usurparet. Igitur dum semel quædam simultas anxia inter episcopum et comitem Godewinum esset suborta, nec die ad hoc statuto pacificari possent, iratus episcopus dixit recedendo, per divinam meam Mariam male sibi erit. Nec ab illa hora quievit Godwinus a viscerum tortura donec benedictionem ab episcopo percipere ret. Tandem vir iste ad Dunelmensem profectus est, ubi quod magnæ videbatur audaciæ revulso sepulchri operculo cum sancto Cuthberto quasi cum amico loquebatur, munus amoris deposuit et abiit. Huic Ethelwoldo successit sanctus Elphegus, Bathonis abbas, C.D.

[1] *cremata*, A.
[2] *vero*, B.
[3] *qui*] om. C.D.
[4] A.B. omit title.
[5] *Iste*, B.
[6] *tamen exp'* (sic), B.
[7] *septem*, add. C.D.

i-brent wiþ fuyre[1] of þe same citee.[2] Seynt Ethelwold, bisshop of Wynchestre, is dede; he was i-bore at Wynchestre, and i-norsched[3] up under Donston at Glastyngbury, and i-made monk. And he was i-made[4] abbot of Abyndoun in kyng Edredus his tyme, and he was i-made bisshop of Wynchestre in Edgar his tyme. Þere he made an abbay of mynchouns,[5] and translated seynt Swythyn his body out of þe eorþe. After hym seynt Alphegus,[6] abbot of Bathe, and afterward archebisshop of Caunturbury, and was i-slawe of þe Danes. Of hym innere[7] more me schal speke. Þe þridde Otho, þe secounde Otho his sone, regnede among Duchesmen[8] after his fader eyȝtene ȝere; þis hadde a wonder surname, and was i-cleped[9] Otho þe wondres of þe world,[10] Mirabilia mundi, and he was i-crowned at Rome of þe fifte pope Gregorye; and þeigh þese thre Othones were emperours arewe as it were by kynde heritage, ȝit aftirward it was i-ordeyned þat the emperour

Trevisa.

London was brente with fire of the cite. Seynte Ethewold, bischop of Wynchestre, died; whiche borne at Wynchestre, noryschede and made monke under seynte Dunstan, was made abbot of Abendon in the tyme of kynge Ededrus, and bischop of Wynchestre in the tyme of kynge Edgarus, where he made a monastery of myncheons, and did translate the body of seynte Swithyn from the erthe; whom seynte Elphegus abbot of Bathe did succede, sleyne by the Danes, as hit schalle be schewide here aftir. Otho the thrydde, son of Otho the secunde, reignede in Alemayne after the dethe of his fader xviij. yere, crownede emperoure at Rome by pope Gregory the v^{the}. And thauȝhe these thre men, Otho by name, succedid linially, hit was ordeynede that the emperoure scholde be chosyn by

MS. Harl 2261.

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[1] *fier*, β.; *vur*, γ.
[2] So in β. also; *cyte*, γ.
[3] *norischide*, β.
[4] *maad*, β.
[5] *monchons*, β.; *meynchens*, γ.
[6] *Elphegus*, β.
[7] *ynner*, β.; *inner*, γ.
[8] *Duchesche men*, α.; *Duchysmen*, β.; *Duchysch*, γ.
[9] *y-clepet*, γ.
[10] *worl*, γ.

imperii imperator eligeretur. Hi officiales sunt septem, unde habentur versus:

Maguntinensis, Treverensis, Coloniensis,
Quilibet imperii sit cancellarius horum
Et palatinus dapifer, dux portitor ensis,
Marchio præpositus, camerœ pincerna Boemus:
Hi statuunt dominum cunctis per sœcula summum.

Iste Otho tertius uxorem habuit quæ [1] cuidam [2] conjugato viro se substituere voluit, sed dum ipse stuprum recusavit [3] jussus est sine audientia docollari. Qui antequam moreretur jussit uxorem suam ut post mortem suam [4] judicio ferri candentis ejus purgaret innocentiam. Affuit dies quo Cæsar in proximo [5]

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[1] *dispensatorem absente Othone ad concubitum adulterum instigavit, sed,* &c., C.D.

[2] *cuidam*] om. B.

[3] *accusatus ad Cæsarem quid ipsam violenter oppressisse attemptasset,* &c., C.D.

[4] *ut . . . suam*] om. A.

[5] *in proximo*] om. B.

schulde be i-chose by þe officers of þe empere; þese officers beeþ sevene, of hem is vers[1] i-made: TREVISA.

" Maguntinensis, Treverensis, Coloniensis,
" Quilibet imperii fit cancellarius horum,
" Et Palatinus dapifer dux Porty[2] Torensis,[3]
" Marchio prepositus camere, pincerna Boemius:[4]
" Hii statuunt dominum [cunctis][5] per secula summum."

[Þat is to menyng, " Bysshop Maguns,[6] Trever, and Colonna,[7] " þees þre,][8] everichone of þese[9] is i-made riȝt chaunceller " of þe empere; eorle Palatinus sewer, duke of Ostriche,[10] " bereþ þe swerd; Markis[11] chamburleyn, Boteller[12] kyng is of " Beeme: þese[9] cheseþ to men al þe lord hiȝest[13] for evere." Þe þridde Otho hadde a wif þat wolde have i-hadde an housbonde man to ligge by here, but þe man wolde nouȝt assente to [the][8] spousebreche;[14] þanne it was i-hote þat his hede schulde be i-smyte of wiþoute eny dome. But or[15] he deide he[16] heet[17] his wif þat sche schulde after his deth preve[18] hym gilteles by þe dome of fuyre[19] brennynge iren. Þe day cam

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the sevyn chawncellers and noblemen of thempire, as these versus schewe: MS. HARL. 2261.

" Maguntinensis, Treverensis, Coloniensis,
" Quilibet imperii fit cancellarius horum, Versus.
" Et palatinus dapifer, dux portitor ensis,
" Marchio propositus, camere pincerna Boemus:
" Hii statuunt dominum cunctis per sæcula summum."

This Otho the thrydde hade a wife, whiche movynge a man to take his pleasure of here, and he refusede that synne, was commaundede to be heded with owten audience. Neverthelesse this man spake to his wife or he was put to dethe, that sche scholde purge his innocency after his dethe by the examinacion of hoote yrne. And at the laste the day come in whom

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[1] *beþ versus*, β.
[2] *porti*, α.
[3] *Portitor ensis*, β. and γ.
[4] *Boemus*, β. and γ.
[5] From γ.
[6] Over *Maguns* is written *Meinse* in β.
[7] *Colonia*, β. and γ.
[8] From α., β., and γ.
[9] *þues*, γ., et infra.
[10] *Oustryche*, α. and γ.; *Ousriche*, β.
[11] *Marchys*, γ.
[12] *Botiler*, β.; *Botyller*, γ.
[13] *heyȝeste*, γ.
[14] *spousbruche*, γ.
[15] *er*, β.
[16] *he*] om. α.
[17] *hoote*, β.; *a hyt*, γ.
[18] *preove*, α.; *pruve*, γ.
[19] *vure*, γ.

pupillis et viduis se asseruit judicium facturum. Affuit et vidua caput mariti deportans, et quærens qua morte dignus foret qui aliquem injuste peremisset. Respondit Cæsar, "Capitis privatione." At illa: "Tu es "vir ille. Quod ego judicio ferri [1] mox comprobabo." [2] Quo judicio consummato Cæsar in manus fœminæ se dedit puniendum. Instantia tamen pontificum induciæ decem dierum, deinde octo,[3] tandem sex concedentur,[4] in quibus rex examinata causa uxorem propriam concremavit, ac pro tali redemptione quatuor castra in episcopatu Brinensi [5] viduæ dedit, quorum nomina ab induciis dierum concessorum vocantur adhuc Decem, Octo, Septem, Sex. *De pontificibus.*[6] Johannes quartus decimus sedit in papatu mensibus octo. Post quem Johannes XV^us^ mensibus quatuor. Post quem

Gratiæ IX^c^LXXXVI. Egelredi VIII.

[1] *cadentis*, add. A.B.
[2] *approbabo*, B.
[3] *deinde septem et*, B.; *post hoc septem et*, C.D.
[4] *concedentur*] om. B.
[5] *Lirinensi*, A.
[6] A.B. omit heading.

whanne þe emperour seide þat he wolde doo riȝt to faderles and moderles children and to wydewes [1]; þis wedewe cam and brouȝt wiþ here hir housbondes hede, and axede what deth he were worthy þat had i-slawe a man wrongfulliche. "He is "worþy to lese [2] his heed," quoþ þe emperour. "Þou art þat "man," quoþ the widewe,[3] "and þat I schal preve anon by þe "dome of fuyre [4] brennynge iren." Whanne þe dome was fulfilled [5] the emperour ȝaf hym self to þe womman for sche schulde punsche [6] hym as sche wolde; but at þe prayenge of bisshoppes first [7] of ten dayes were i-graunted, and þanne of [eyȝte, and þanne of] [8] sevene, and at þe laste of sixe. In the whiche [9] dayes þe emperour examyned þe cause at þe fulle,[10] and brende his owne wyf, and for suche [11] a raunsoun he ȝaf the wedewe foure castel townes in þe bisshopriche of Brynensis, þat ȝit haveþ [12] the names and beeþ i-cleped by þe firste [7] dayes, Ten, Eyȝte, Sevene, and Sixe. Þe fourtenþe [13] Iohn was pope eyȝtẽ monþes. After hym þe fifteþe Iohn [foure

TREVISA.

themperoure seide he wolde schewe iuggemente to poore wedowes and to faderlesse childer. That wedowe was þer presente havynge the hedde of her howsebonde in her lappe, and inquirynge of themperoure, what dethe that man were worthy þat hade pereschede a man unryȝht-euously, themperoure seide that he were worthy to loose his hedde. The woman seide, "Thow arte that man, whiche "y schalle prove by examinacion of hoote yrne." That examinacion doen themperoure ȝafe his body to the woman to punysche hit at here pleasure. Neverthelesse, respite was ȝiffen by the instaunces of bischoppes, firste of x. daies, and after that of viij. daies, and of vij. daies, and at the laste respite of vj. daies; in whom the kynge examinynge the cause þer of, brente his awne wife, and ȝafe to the wedowe iiij. castells in the bischopryche Brinense for his redempcion, the names of whiche castelles be callede after the nowmbre of the daies grawntede for respite, as x., viij., vij., and vj. Iohn the xiiij[the] was pope viij. monethes; whom Iohn the xv[te] succedid

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 312 b.

[1] *widues*, β.
[2] *luse*, γ.
[3] *widue*, β., et infra.
[4] *vure*, γ.
[5] *folfelled*, γ.
[6] *punysche*, β.; *punse*, γ.
[7] *furst*, β.; *vurst*, γ., et infra.
[8] From α. and β.
[9] *whoche*, γ.
[10] *folle*, γ.
[11] *vor soche*, γ.
[12] ȝet *habbeþ*, γ.
[13] *fourteþe*, α.

Johannes XVI^us sedit in papatu annis decem.[1] Rex Egelredus[2] propter quasdam dissensiones inter ipsum et Roffensem præsulem, urbem Roffensem obsedit. Mandat ei Dunstanus ut furori desistat, nec sanctum Andream loci patronum irritet. Nuditate verborum contempta, adornat præceptum pecunia; mittit centum libras ut obsidionem solvat. Quibus acceptis miratur Dunstanus ejus[3] cupiditatem; per nuncios ista mandat: "Quia prætulisti aurum Deo, argentum apostolo, cupidi-
"tatem tuam mihi, venient cito super te mala, sed non
"me vivente." Biennio igitur post hoc mortuo Dunstano venerunt Dani.[4] Hoc anno duæ retro sæculis incognitæ pestes Anglorum genti acciderunt, scilicet febris hominum, lues animalium, quæ Anglice shitta, Latine fluxus interaneorum vocatur.[5] Beatus[6] Dunstanus[7] obiit, De obitu Dunstani.

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[1] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo*, add. A.; *Willelmus ubi supra*, add. B.

[2] *Ethelredus*, B.

[3] *hominis*, A.

[4] *Affuit beatus Dunstanus, qui ut inde recederet, ob amorem sancti Andræi apostoli, multam pecuniam regi optulit, sed nil profuit. Unde ex diutina obsidione extædiatus in retrocedendo destruxit agros Sancti Andreæ. Quamobrem prædixit ei Dunstanus multa infortunia adventura*, C.D.

[5] C.D. add: "Dux Merciorum "Alfricus ab Anglia expellitur. "Hiis temporibus floruit Fulbertus "Carnotensis episcopus, qui inter "cætera laudabilia opera sua com-"posuit responsoria Stirps Jesse, "Solem justitiæ, et ympnum Cho-"rus novæ Jerusalem."

[6] *Sanctus*, B.

[7] *Cantuariensis episcopus*, add. C.D.

monþes. After hym þe sixteþe Iohn][1] was pope ten ȝere. *Willelmus ubi supra.* Kyng Egelredus, for stryf þat was bytwene hym and the bisshop of Rouchestre, bysegede þe bisshop of Rochestre. Donston sendeþ to hym þat he schulde leve his woodnesse,[2] and þat he schulde nouȝt offende seynt Andrew, patroun[3] of þat place.[4] Þe kyng rouȝt nouȝt of bare wordes. Þanne Donston hyȝte and arraysede[5] his heste[6] fayre[7] wiþ money, and sente him an hondred pound for he schulde breke of þe sege; þe money was i-fonge,[8] and Donston wondreþ of the man his covetise, and sente hym word by þe messangers in þis manere: "For þou hast i-put gold tofore "God, and silver tofore þe apostle, and covetise tofore me, "riȝt sone[9] evel happes schal come uppon[10] þe, but not while "I am on lyve."[11] Þanne two ȝere after cam the Danes. Whanne Donston was dede þat ȝere tweie pestilencis þat were unknowe to forhonde fil[12] in Engelond, for men had þe feveres, and bestes þe schyt. Seynt Donston deide, his lyf ful

Trevisa.

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iiij. monethes; after whom Iohn the xvj^{the} was pope x. yere. *Willelmus ubi supra.* Egelredus the kynge segede the cite of Rochestre, for certeyne dissencions spronge betwene hym and the bischop. Seynte Dunstan sende worde to hym that he scholde leve his cruellenesse, leste hit scholde move seynte Andrewe, patron of that place, ageyne him. That message contempte, the bischop sende to hym c. lī that he scholde departe from the cite; that taken he departede. Seynte Dunstan mervellynge of the covetyse of the kynge, sende to hym by messangers, seyenge, "In that thow hast preferryd golde "to God, and silvyr to his apostole, and thy covetyse afore my "luffe, ylle thynges schalle comme soone to the, but not in "my lyfe." After ij. yere y-paste nexte folowynge, seynte Dunstan diede, and the Danes come into Ynglonde. Too uncowthe pestilence come in this yere amonge the peple of Ynglonde, and axes of men, and a dethe or infirmite of beste callede the schute. Ynglonde was redacte iiij. tymes into servitute

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] From α. and β.
[2] *wodnes*, γ.
[3] *patrone*, β.
[4] *plas*, γ.
[5] *arayed*, β.
[6] *heest*, β.
[7] *veyr*, γ.
[8] *y-vonge*, γ.
[9] *soone*, β.
[10] *oppon*, γ.
[11] *ich am alyve*, β.; *ych am alyve*, γ.
[12] *vul*, γ.

cujus vitam, virtutibus et prodigiis plenam, descripsit Osbernus Cantuariensis monachus. Inter quæ refert quod dum ad rogatum cujusdam matronæ religiosæ Dunstanus sacerdotalem stolam imaginibus apostolorum et martyrum insigniret, audita est cithara parieti appensa modulos illius antiphonæ, "Gaudent in cœlis animæ sanctorum," etc., absque humano pulsu dulciter insonare. Item narrat

Cithara.

of vertues and of wondres discreved Osbertus, monk of Caunterbury. He telleþ in seynt Donston his lyf, þe[1] while seint Donston hiȝtede þe ymages of þe apostles[2] and of martires wiþ þe stole of a preost, an harpe þat heng on a[3] wal was i-herde[4] make sweteliche melodie wiþ oute manis hond; þe melodye was the note of þis antym of þe apostles, "Gaudent in "celis anime sanctorum;" þat is, "Holy men soules makeþ ioye "in hevene." Also he telleþ þat Donston cowde[5] many

Trevisa.

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in the tymes of kynge Ethelrede by Suanus kynge of the Danes. The firste tribute was of xxiiij^{te} m^{l} lĩ of silvyr; the secunde tribute was of xxxvj^{te} m^{l} lĩ of silvyr; the thrydde tribute was of xlviij^{te} m^{l} lĩ of silvyr; the iiij^{te} tribute was of lxxij. m^{l} lĩ of silvyr, whiche endurede by xvj. yere. This kynge hade to his secrete cownesayle specially an erle, Edricus by name, whiche was lorde of Schropschire, Herdfordeschire, and Worcestreschire, after whom alle thynge was rulede, and withowte whom noo thynge was done. This Edricus hade a brother, schireffe of Kente, whiche oppressynge moche men of Kente, was sleyne by theyme in the cite of Cawnterbery; wherefore Edricus, for vengeaunce þerof, willede to have destroyede the cite, but the kynge wolde not condescende and suffre hym to do so. This Edricus was a fals man, schewynge a pleasaunte contenaunce to the kynge, and intendynge the destruccion of the realme, schewynge to the Danes, whiche wasted and destroyede the cuntre, the secrete cownesaile of the kynge, and movede theyme to sege Cawnterbury, in that he hatede þat cite moste specially. The Danes toke the cite of Cawnterbury, destroyenge hit, sleynge and oppressenge the peple in hit; takynge with theyme blissede Elphegus the archebischop, and ledynge hym to Grenewich putte hym to dethe. The kynge, as clothede with misery and langoure, diede at London, and was beriede at the churche of Seynte Paule in the same cite. Blissede Dunstan diede, the vertuous lyfe of whom Osdernus monke of Cawnterbery did write. Amonge other miracles, he rehersethe that seynte Dunstan, preyede by a noble religious woman to make noble a scole for a preste with the ymages of Petyr and Paule and of apostoles and martirs, an harpe putte nye a walle was herde to represente, as to sownde and to herynge, the tune of this antemme,

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 313 a.

[1] *þat*, α. and β.
[2] *postels*, β.
[3] *þe*, β.
[4] *y-hurd*, γ.
[5] *couþe*, β.

quod Dunstanus[1] varia artis mechanicæ industria insignitus, dum in cella sua juxta Glastoniam calicem quendam opere aurifico effigiaret, affuit Satan corporali specie, varia sibi voluptatum phantasmata immittens; quod Dunstanus in spiritu comperiens, forcipibus suis ignitis nasum dæmonis comprehendit, et tenuit donec dæmone ululante factum hoc convitaneis innotesceret. Item Dunstanus aliquando soporatus audivit spiritus angelicos suaviter psallere "Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson," cujus modulos harmoniæ adhuc continet tropus ille apud Anglos famosus, "Kyrie Rex splendens."[2] *De adventu Danorum in Angliam.*[3] Igitur mortuo Dunstano supervenerunt Dani quasi in quolibet Angliæ portu, ita ut nesciretur ubi illis posset occurri. Quapropter quos ferro repellere non possent,[4] argento repulerunt, solvendo primo per annum, consilio Siricii[5] archiepiscopi,[6] qui Dunstano successerat, decem millia librarum, deinde sexdecim millia, tertio viginti millia, quarto viginti

Diabolus contra Dunstanum.

Kyrieleyson.

Mortuo Dunstano prevaluerunt Dani contra Anglos.

De tributo soluto Danis singulis annis ab Anglis.

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[1] *Iste Dunstanus*, C.D.
[2] *quod in majoribus festis cantari solet*, add. C.D.
[3] A.B. omit heading.
[4] *possunt*, A.
[5] *Cirici*, C.D.
[6] *Cantuariensis*, add. B.

craftes, and wrouȝte wiþ his hondes, and made in a tyme a chalys by goldsmethes[1] craft in a celle faste [2] by Glastyngbury; þere þe fend[3] cam in likenesse of a womman, and tempted hym by fantasies of divers likynge. Dunston in his spirit was war þerof, and cauȝte hym by þe nose wiþ his fuyry [4] hote tonges, and hilde [5] him so stille [6] for to þat dede was i-knowe of neiȝeboures aboute by crienge [7] and ȝellynge of þe fende. Also in a tyme Donston was slepy, and herde aungels synge ful [8] sweteliche "Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson;" þe melodye and note of þat armonye is ȝit famous among Englischemen, and i-used on þat "Kyrie, Kyrie, Rex splendens." Þanne whan Donston was deed þe Danes come into everiche havene of Engelond, so þat me wost [9] not where me myȝte mete [10] hem; þerfore men myȝte nouȝt putte hem awey wiþ iren,[11] and put hem awey wiþ silver, and paied hem þe firste ȝere ten þowsand pounde, by counsaile of Siricus, þat was archebisshop next after Donston, and þe secounde ȝere sextene

TREVISA.

"Gaudent in cœlis," withowte towchynge of eny man. Also he tellethe that seynte Dunstan instructe in diversites of hondecraftes, and abowte to make a chalice in his celle, the develle apperede to hym in a bodyly similitude, imprintynge to his[12] diverse kyndes of voluptuosite. Seynte Dunstan perceyvynge that, toke the noose of the develle with the hoote brennynge tonges, and helde hym faste, untille that the develle makynge grete noyse causede his breþer to perceyve that thynge. Also seynte Dunstan beynge in a tyme as in a dreame, herde angells synge "Kyrieleyson, Christeleyson," whiche was [12] armony is contenede in "Kyrie Rex splendens." This seynte Dunstan dedde, the Danes were entrede as in every parte of Ynglonde, in so moche that men knowede not where they myȝhte mete theyme. Wherefore thei putte from theyme by money, whom they myȝhte not putte from theyme by armes, payenge, by cownesaile of Siricius the archebischop, whiche was successoure to seynte Dunstan, in the firste yere x. mꝭ lĩ; after

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *goldsmyþes*, β.; *goldsmyth hys*, γ.
[2] *vast*, γ.
[3] *vend*, γ., et infra.
[4] *vure*, γ.
[5] *huld*, γ.
[6] *and . . . stille*] om. β.
[7] *cryng*, β.
[8] *fol*, γ.
[9] *me wus*, γ.
[10] *myte*, γ.
[11] *yre*, γ.
[12] Sic. in MS.

quatuor millia librarum, post triginta millia librarum, tandem quadraginta millia librarum, donec pecunia deficiente iterum ad rapinam[1] tenderent.[2] Ad[3] hæc Elfricus quidam, navibus regiis præfectus, nocte pugnam precedente ut vilis transfuga ad hostes secessit, præmuniens eos de quibus deberent præcavere; qua de causa filius ejus Algarus exoculatus[4] est. Iterum tamen rediit Elfricus, sed iterum defecit. Unde et Dani totam Northimbriam deprædantes Londoniamque obsidentes, regem coegerunt ad tributa. Interea Elphegus, Wyntoniensis episcopus, Anlafum regem Danorum datis obsidibus regi Egelredo[5] adduxit, quem rex Egelredus de fonte suscepit, episcopusque confirmavit. Unde[6] ille deinceps nil nocens ad sua rediit; sed nec sic quievit malum, quin etiam[7] ut hydræ [capita][8] hostes succrescentes patriam vastaverunt. Et

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[1] *rapinas*, B.

[2] *Hoc anno Dani deprædati sunt Gippewiche et totam pœne Estangliam; unde rex Egelredus, consilio Sirici Dorobornensis archiepiscopi, qui Dunstano successerat, dedit primo Danis tributum* 10,000 *librarum, eo pacto ut a cædibus et rapinis abstinerent, secundo* 16,000, *tertio* 24,000, *donec quarto* 30,000 *librarum; donec tandem pecunia deficiente iterum ad rapinas tetenderunt*, C.D.

[3] *Ad . . . Francorum*] om. C.D.

[4] *deosculatus*, B.

[5] *Etheldredo*, B.

[6] *et*, B.

[7] *et*, B.

[8] *capita*, added from A.B.

þowsand pound; þe þridde ȝere twenty þowsand pound; þe fourþe[1] ȝere foure and twenty þowsand pound, þe fifte ȝere þritty þowsand pounde; at þe laste fourty þowsand pounde, for to all þe money failled.[2] Þanne þe Danes gonne[3] aȝen to robbe and to reve. And ȝit herto oon Elfricus, maister of þe kynges schippes, flyȝ to þe enemyes, as a vile flemed harlot, þe nyȝt tofore þe batayle, and warned hem of whom þey schulde take hede[4] and be war. For þat dede me took his sone Algarus and put[5] out boþe his eyȝen,[6] but ȝit Elfricus cam aȝen, [but he fayllede aȝen;][7] þanne þe Danes spoylede and robbede al Northumberlond, and byseged Londoun, and make þe kyng paie tribut by strengþe.[8] Þe mene tyme Elphegus bisshop of Wynchestre ȝaf plegges, and brouȝt Anlaf kyng of Danes to kyng Egelredus, and kyng Egelredus feng[9] hym of þe colde water, and þe bisshop confermed hym. Therafter he wente to his owne, and dede none harme;[10] but ȝit so cesed[11] nouȝt þe[12] harme, bote as þe hedes of Idra, whanne som enemyes were aweie, come up oþer enemyes and destroyed þe contray. Þe cheventeyn his[13] presence is moche

TREVISA.

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that xvj. mꝛ lĩ; in the thrydde tyme xx^te^ mꝛ lĩ; in the iiij^the^ tyme xxiiij^te^ mꝛ lĩ; after that xxx^te^ mꝛ lĩ; and at þe laste xl^ti^ mꝛ lĩ; untylle that money wontynge the Danes returnede to robbynge and to manslaȝter. Elfricus, governoure of the schippes longynge to the kynge, wente to the Danes in the nyȝhte afore that the kynges hoste scholde have fauȝhte with theyme, tellynge to theyme what men thei scholde eschewe. Wherefore Algarus, son of that Elfricus, was taken and made blynde; wherefore the Danes robbynge Northumbrelonde, and segenge the cite of London, compellede the kynge to pay a tribute. Elphegus byschop of Wynchestre baptisede Anelafus kynge of the Danes, suerte taken afore; whom Egelredus the kynge toke from the fonte, and the bischop confermede hym; whiche doynge noo moore grevaunce to Ynglonde, returnede to his cuntre. But the peple of þe Danes seasede not so; but wastede gretely the londe. The presence and comforte of audacite in batells helpynge

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 313 b.

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[1] *ferþe*, β.
[2] *fayled*, β.
[3] *bigunne*, β.
[4] *hyde*, γ.
[5] *pot*, γ.
[6] *yene*, γ.
[7] From α., β., and γ.
[8] *stryngþe*, γ.
[9] *vyng*, γ.
[10] *hard*, α.
[11] *ȝitt so ceeside*, β.; *cessete*, γ.
[12] *þe*] om. α., β., and γ.
[13] *cheveteyns*, β.

cum in re bellica plurimum valeat ducis præsentia spectata audacia, usus, et bellandi disciplina, his inter Anglos tunc deficientibus, si quando exercitus colligebatur, si naves fabricarentur,[1] nihil prospere processit; quia gens nostra non cohibita [2] ad rapinas incessit, non animata facile fugit, naves nostras tempestas dissolvit, reliquas servatas Wylnotus quidam, quem rex, exlegaverat, subdole occupavit, mersit aut incendit. Et si [3] quando duces ad consilium venerunt, minime consenserunt, quia plus de simultatibus domesticis quam de necessitatibus publicis consultabant. Ad hæc cum quid utile decerneretur,[4] ad hostes cito deferebatur. Nam præter Elfricum supradictum,[5] Edricus [6] quidam quem rex Merciis præfecerat, versutus nebulo, dissimulare peritus, fingere paratus, consilia regis ut fidus perquirebat, ut proditor seminabat. Interim inedia grassante, hostes libere per quinquaginta milliaria prædam [7] abducentes ad naves portabant: tunc auctum est tributum Danis persolvendum. Fuit autem con-

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[1] *fabricabantur*, B.
[2] *cohabitata*, A.
[3] *si*] om. B.
[4] *decrevereturr*, A.
[5] *prædictum*, B.
[6] *Eldridus*, B.
[7] *prædicta*, A.

worþy[1] to be knowe in werre and in batayle, so is hardynesse, use, and lore of dedes of armes. Þese[2] faillede þat tyme among Englisshemen, ffor ȝif[3] þe oost were in any tyme i-gadered, ȝif[3] schippes were i-made no þing spedde ariȝt; for oure men were nouȝt i-chasted ariȝt þey ȝaf hem to þefte and to robbory, ffor þey were nouȝt i-conforted þey wolde liȝtliche flee.[4] Oure schippes were destroyed wiþ greet tempest; oon Wilnotus, þat þe kyng hadde exciled, occupiede þe schippes þat were i-left, [and drenchide[5] hem oþer brende hem].[6] ȝif[7] lordes come to counsaile in eny tyme þey were nouȝt of oon assent, but þey tretede more of discord and stryf þat was among hem self þan of þe comyn profit; and ȝif any good counsaile and profitable were i-ȝeve, anon enemyes schulde wite[8] for al; wiþ oute[9] þe forseide[10] Elfricus, oon Edricus, þat þe kyng hadde i-made lord of Mercia, a wel false traytour and a sligh,[11] þat couþe wel feyne hym self trewe frende[12] þeyȝ he were false; he aspied þe kynges counsaile, as he were trewe and trusty,[13] and warned enemyes þerof as a false traytour and a gyleful. In þe mene tyme meschief[14] and honger encressed faste;[15] enemyes myȝte goo freliche[16] fifty myle, and take prayes and lede to hire schippes; þanne þey payed more tribute to þe Danes. Þe kyng hadde suche[17] a condicioun þat he wolde liȝtliche disherite Englisshe

Trevisa.

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moche, as by the person of the kynge, was a goen in that tyme; wherefore when an hoste was gedrede and schippes made redy, they profite not, for the peple ȝafe theyme to robbery and thefte, and the tempestes of the see brake mony schippes; and the schippes reservede a man callede Willenotus, putte to exile by the kynge, occupiede theym by treason, other drownede theyme, or causede theyme to be brente. And if the noblemen of the realme come to eny cownesaile, they did noo thynge to the profite of the realme; and if eny thynge were seide þer to the utilite of the realme, hit was rehersede anoon to theire enemyes. The condicion of this kynge was to putte men to

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *myche worþe, β.*
[2] *þues, γ.*
[3] *ef, γ.*
[4] *fleo, β.; vlue, γ.*
[5] *drynchede, γ.*
[6] From *α.*, *β.*, and *γ.*
[7] *þe, β.; Ef, γ.*
[8] *ywete, α.*
[9] *wite; for wiþout, β.*
[10] *vorsede, γ.*
[11] *slyȝ, γ.*
[12] *vrend, γ.*
[13] *tristy, β.*
[14] *meschef, β.*
[15] *vast, γ.*
[16] *vrelyche, γ.*
[17] *siche, β.*

ditio regis talis, ut Anglos facile exhæredaret, ficto crimine opibus emungeret. In uxorem[1] Emmam adeo protervus ut ipsa raro cubili admissa cum pellicibus volutaretur.

Cap. XIIII.

De regibus Francorum.[2]

Lotharius filius Lodowyci, rex Occidentalium Francorum, obiit sine liberis; in quo progenies Karoli magni a regno destituit. *Ranulphus.*[3] Tradunt nonnulli quod iste Lotharius filios habuit,[4] non tamen in regno successerunt, nam[5] auxilio [Ricardi][6] ducis Normanniæ, qui[7] per Lotharium infestatus [fuerat],[8] filii Lotharii capiebantur, et magnus Hugo Capet, filius ducis Hugonis, cujus sororem dux Ricardus desponsaverat, in regem Francorum levabatur, et regnavit novem annis. Sanctus Oswaldus, archiepiscopus Eboracensis simul et Wygor-

[1] *suam*, B.
[2] B. omits title.
[3] B. omits reference.
[4] *habuit*] om. B.
[5] *aut*, A.
[6] *Ricardi*, from A.B.C.D.
[7] *qui . . . infestatus*] om. C.D
[8] *fuerat*, from A.B.

men, and feyne trespas for to byneme[1] hem here money, and what [þat][2] þey hadde. He was so froward[3] to his wif Emma þat sche com seelde in his bed; he [walwede][4] in leccherie with strompettes and wiþ hores.[5] TREVISA.

Capitulum decimum quartum.

LOTHARIUS, Lowys his sone, was kyng of West Fraunce, and deide wiþ oute children. In hym þe grete Charles his ofspring loste þe kyngdom. Som men meneþ[6] þat þis Lotharius hadde children þat regnede not after hym, by help of Richarde duke of Normandye, þat was somtyme hugeliche[7] i-greved by Lotharius. Lotharius his sone[8] was[9] i-take, and þe grete Hewe[10] Capet was i-made kyng of Fraunce, and regned nyne ȝere. Þis Huwe Capet was þe sone of duke Huwe, whos suster duke Richard [hadde y-][2] spoused. Seynt Oswalde, archebisshop of ȝork and of Wircestre, [also deyde, and was y-buryed

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exile, and to take theire lyvelode and goodes by fals accusacion; whiche was disposede to Emma his wyfe, that he refusede here knowlege mony tymes, and drawede to hoores. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum quartumdecimum.

LOTHARIUS son of Lodowicus, kynge of Weste men of Fraunce, diede withowte eny childe; in whom the progeny of kynge Charls the noble prince was finischede as to the governaile of Fraunce. But mony men say that this Lotharius hade childer, but they succedid not in the realme, for the childer of Lotharius were taken by helpe of Richarde duke of Normandy, oftetymes trowblede by Lotharius; and grete Hewe Capet, the suster of whom Richarde duke of Normandy hade maryede, was made kynge of Fraunce, and reignede ix. yere. Seynte Oswalde, archebischop of Yorke and bischop of Worcestre, diede this yere, and was beryede at Worcestre.

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[1] *bynyme*, β. and γ.
[2] From α., β., and γ.
[3] *vroward*, γ.
[4] From γ.; *walwide*, β.
[5] *houres*, γ.
[6] *meeneþ*, β.
[7] *hongelyche*, γ.
[8] *sones*, α. and β.
[9] *were*, α. and β.
[10] *Huge*, β., et infra.

niensis, obiit, et sepultus est[1] apud Wygorniam.[2] [3] *De pontificibus Romanorum. Martinus.*[4] Gregorius papa sedit[5] annis quasi iii^bus. Hic prius dictus fuerat[6] Brunus, et consanguineus Othonis imperatoris, ad cujus instantiam electus erat[7] in papam; sed postmodum absente Othone, Crescentius quidam urbis præfectus[8] quendam perniciosum virum nomine Placentinum intrusit, quem Johannem xvii^um nominavit; sed Otho rediens illum Johannem ejecit, et Silvestrum secundum instituit.[9] *De mutatione sedis Lindisfarnensis ad Dunelmum.*[10] Hoc

Gratiæ IX°XCIII. Egelredi XVI.

Gratiæ IX°XCIV. Egelredi XVII.

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[1] *et . . . est*] sepultus, A.

[2] *in monasterio Sanctæ Mariæ, quod ipse a fundamentis construxerat*, add. C.D.

[3] C.D. add: "Consilio regis "Egelredi robustiores nationes An- "gliæ congregantur Londoniæ ut "Danicam classem subito alicubi "comprehendere possent. Sed "comes Merciorum Alfricus nu- "per exlegatus Danos præmu- "nivit, unde rex commotus exilia- "vit Algarum filium Alfrici. Ex- "inde Dani urbem Bebamburgh "infregerunt, stragem in North- "imbria fecerunt. Contra quos "Northimbrenses occurrerunt, ve- "rum quia duces eorum ex genere "paterno Danici erant, ideo ipsi "fugæ auctores primitus extiterunt. "Aulanus rex Norweganorum et "Swanus rex Danorum seu Daco- "rum in nativitate beatæ Mariæ "quadraginta quatuor trieribus "Londoniæ advehuntur, quam qui- "dem urbem oppugnare et incen- "dere molientes, a civibus repel- "luntur. Unde exasperati Dani "prædas et cædes in Estanglia, "Cancia, et Southsexia peregerunt. "Quamobrem dato Danis tributo "ut desisterent, apud Southamp- "toniam hiemarunt. Interea El- "phegus Wentanus episcopus ip- "sum Aulanum datis obsidibus "regi Egelredo adduxit, quem rex "in filium de sacro fonte suscepit, "unde et ille nihil deinceps nocens "ad partes suas rediit."

[4] A.B. omit heading and reference.

[5] *Gregorius quintus sedit papa*, A.

[6] *erat*, B.

[7] *fuerat*, A.

[8] *consul urbis Romæ et patricius*, C.D.

[9] C.D. insert: "Sedes episcopa- "lis apud Dunelmum constituta "est, et corpus sancti Cuthberti "translatum est. Hæc aliquando "fuit apud Lindisfarnum, quod est "Halielond, in fluvio Twedy posita; "sed tandem tempore hostilitatis "sub Hinguar et Hubba, Arnul- "phus tunc episcopus Lindisfarno- "rum diu cum corpore sancti "Cuthberti vagabatur, donec tem- "pore regis Alfridi Westsaxonum "sedes episcopalis apud Rungcestre "statuerunt."

[10] A.B.C.D. omit heading.

at Wircetre].[1] Þe fifte Gregory was pope as it were þre ȝere; þis was to forehonde i-cleped Brunus, and was Otho þe emperour his kynnesman. At his instaunce[2] he was i-chose pope; bote aftirward, whanne þe emperour was absent, oon Crescencius, prefect of þe citee, took oon Plascentinus, a riche man of money, and putte hym in þe poperiche, and cleped hym þe sevenþe[3] Iohn. Bote þe emperour cam aȝe, and putte out þis Iohn, and brouȝt yn þe secounde Silvestre. Þat ȝere þe bis- TREVISA.

Gregorius the v^the^ was pope as iij. yere. This pope was callede firste Brimus, cosyn to Otho themperoure, at the instaunce of whom he was electe to be the pope; but Otho themperoure absente, Crescencius governoure of the cite of Rome made a ryche man, Placentinus by name, to be pope, whom he callede Iohn the xvij^the^. But Otho themperour commynge to Rome, causede hym to be deposede, and made Silvestre the secunde pope. The seete of a bischoppe of Lin- MS. HARL. 2261. f. 314 a.

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[1] From α., β., and γ.
[2] *instans*, γ.
[3] *seventeþe*, β

anno sedes episcopalis, quæ quondam Lindisfarnensis dicebatur, apud Dunelmum constituta est, et corpus Cuthberti ibidem translatum, quod dudum Ardulphus circumtulit. Ricardus primus, dux tertius Normanniæ, obiit; cui successit filius suus Ricardus secundus viginti octo annis, qui præ nimia benignitate sua dictus est[1] Bonus; nam in Dei servitio erat devotus, in rebus mundialibus discretus, in dandis facetus et profusus. Hic ex prima uxore sua genuit tres filios, Ricardum, Robertum, Willelmum, et tres filias. Ex secunda uxore genuit Willelmum, et Robertum archiepiscopum Rothomagensem. Hujus Ricardi secundi miles[2] quidam cochlear furatus, illud inter cætera impignoravit; dux solus id comperiens fecit omnia vadia militis redimi. Miles autem comperiens cochlear sic deprehensum, adeo erubuit ut latenter fugeret. Dux tamen insequens fugientem secum reduxit, ditavit, et carum deinceps habuit. Audiens etiam[3] quidam magister Bernardus famam ducis,[4] volens ei notus esse, quæsivit ad hoc occasionem undecumque;[5] tandem cum arcu et sagitta accedens ad fenestram castri ubi

Gratiæ IX^c XCVI. Egelredi XVIII.

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[1] *Ricardus*, add C.D.

[2] *erat, qui pro inopia coclear ducis furabatur, quod inter cætera invadiavit*, C.D.

[3] *autem*, A.

[4] *et*, add. A.B.

[5] *undique*, A.

shops see þat somtyme heet Lyndefarn[1] was i-chaunged to Durham, and seynt Cuthbert his body was i-translated þider[2] also, þe whiche body Ardulphus ladde aboute wiþ hym somtyme. Þe firste Richard, þe þridde duke of Normandye, is deed; after hym his sone þe secounde Richard was duke eyȝte and twenty ȝere;[3] for his[4] goodnesse he was i-cleped þe goode Richard. He was devoute in Goddes service, and wise and redy to þe world ward,[5] and large and curtays of ȝiftes. On his firste wyf he gat þre sones, Richard, Robert, and William, and þre douȝtres; on his secounde wif he gat William, and Robert archebisshop of Rothomage. Oon of þis secounde Richard his knyȝtes staal a spone, and leyde it to wedde among oþer þinges; þe duke aspied it, and non oþer man, and lete quyte out al þe knyȝtes weddes; þe knyȝte aspied þat þe spone was so aspied, and was so aschamed þat he fliȝ priveliche awey. Þe kyng wente after þe knyȝt þat fliȝ,[6] and brouȝte hym aȝe, and made hym riche, and loved hym afterward riȝt wel. Oon maister Bernard herde þe dukes lose,[7] and wolde be i-knowe to hym, and byþouȝte hym in every side how he myȝte best doo forto come þerto. He come at þe laste wiþ a bowe and an arwe[8] to a

Trevisa.

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disfarne was translate to Dirhem, and the body of seynte Cuthberte also, whom Ardulphus bare abowte but late. Richarde the firste, and thrydde duke of Normandy, diede, whom his son Richarde the secunde did succede xxviij^te yere callede Richarde the goode. For he was devoute in the servyce of God, discrete in worldely thynges, liberalle in ȝiffenge. This duke gate of his firste wife iij. sonnes, Richarde, Roberte, and William, and iij. doȝhters; he gate of his secunde wyfe, William, and Roberte archebischop of Roone. In the tyme of whiche Richarde a knyȝhte hade stollen a spoon of silvyr, and hade put hit to plegge amonge other thynges. The duke perceyvynge that, oonly redemede the goodes of the knyȝhte; that knyȝhte understondynge that, fledde for schame; but the duke folowynge hym brouȝhte hym ageyne, and cherischede that knyȝhte moche after. A maister Bernardus by name herenge of the fame of this noble duke, and wyllenge to be conversaunte to hym, souȝhte an occasion; at the laste he toke a bawe in his honde, and sette an arowe in hit, and wente up and downe by

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Lyndisfarn*, β.
[2] *þuder*, γ.
[3] *wynter*, α.
[4] *grete*, add. β.
[5] *worlward*, γ.
[6] *vlyȝ*, γ.
[7] *loos*, β.
[8] *arowe*, β.

dux solebat astare,[1] ac si vellet ducem ferire, huc illuc gradiebatur, quod dux comperiens et causam agnoscens illum carum habuit. Silvester secundus, post Johannem xvii. ejectum, sedit papa annis quatuor duobus[2] mensibus. *Willelmus de Regibus,*[3] *libro quinto,*[4] *et Martinus.*[5] Hic natione Gallicus, nomine Gerebertus,[6] Floriaco juxta Aurelianum in monachum attonsus, cum Pythagoricum bivium[7] attigisset, seu[8] tædio monachatus sive gloriæ cupiditate captus,[9] nocte dimisso habitu pro-

Gratiæ IX°XCIX Egelredi XXI.

[1] *stare,* B.

[2] *duobus*] om. B.

[3] *ubi supra,* B.

[4] *secundo,* A., which is correct. See Scrip. post Bedam, pp. 64, 65.

[5] C.D. omit reference.

[6] *Gilbertus primo fuerat monachus Floriacensis juxta Aurelianam, sed dimisso habitu homagium fecerat diabolo ut sibi prospera pervenirent. Unde et,* C.D., and then continue as in note [9].

[7] *bivyū,* B.

[8] *sive,* B.

[9] C.D. insert, or rather substitute for the passage beginning "Nocte dimisso," on p. 66, to "*De* "*Regibus Francorum,*" p. 78 : "Unde et discendi causa Hispalim "Hispaniæ urbem adiit, ubi et in "literatura tantum profecit quod "Othonem imperatorem et Robertum regem Franciæ discipulos "haberet, quorum ope factus est "primo episcopus Remensis, deinde "archiepiscopus Ravenensis, et "tandem pontifex Romanus; unde "et adhuc extant versus: Scandit "ad R. Gilbertus ad R., post papa "vigens R. Post hoc quæsivit a "diabolo, cui servivit quamdiu vi"veret. Et ille : Qua die, inquit, "celebraturus in Jerusalem, mo"rieris. Quod ipse de civitate "sancta Jerosolimæ intelligens, "nunquam in ea se proposuit fore "celebraturum. Postremo tamen "dum tempore quadragesimale "apud ecclesiam Romæ quæ in "Laterana dicitur Jerosolima cele"braret, ex strepitu dæmonum "adventantium sensit mortem sibi "adesse, et suspirans coram omni"bus peccata sua confessus est, "abscidique fecit omnia membra "quibus diabolo fecerat homagium, "truncumque corpus super bigam "poni jussit, præcipiens et obtes"tans ut ubicumque animalia se "trahentia subsisterent, ibidem "corpus suum sepelirent, quod et "factum est. Nam apud Latera"nensem ecclesiam boves subsiste"runt. Ubi et ipse sepultus est. "Unde et in signum veniæ conse"cutæ a Domino, sepulcrum ipsius "tam ex tumultu ossium reconditorum quam ex sudore sarcophagi "præsagium est papæ cito morituri, "sicut ibidem usque hodie Latinis "litteris est exaratum. *Alfridus.* "Dani circumnavigantes terram "Westsaxonum, Sabrinum mare "intrant, patriam vastant, et præ-

wyndowe of þe castel, þere[1] the duke was i-woned for to stond, and walkede hider and þider[2] as þey he wolde have i-schote[3] to þe duke. Þe duke was war þerof, and aspye what þe cause was, and loved hym riȝt wel. After þat þe seveneþe[4] Iohn was i-put out, þe secounde Silvestre was pope foure ȝere and twenty[5] moneþes. *Willelmus de Regibus, ubi supra.* Þis heet first[6] Girebertus[7] by his name, and was of þe nacioun of Frensche men, and was i-schore monk at Floriac, besides Aurelians. Whanne he com to Pictagoras his double[8] wey, he was i-cauȝt wiþ noye[9] of his ordre, oþer wiþ covetise of wor- TREVISA.

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a wyndowe where the duke was wonte to solace hym, as and if he scholde have schotte at hym. The duke perceyvynge that, and knowynge the cause, luffede hym moche afterwarde. Silvester the secunde succedid pope Iohn eiecte iiij. yere and ij. monethes. *Willelmus de Regibus, ubi supra.* This man borne in Fraunce, Gerebertus by name, and made monke in the monastery Floriacense, levynge his monastery and chaungynge his habite, wente to Hispalis, a cite of Speyne, that he myȝhte lerne curious artes. Where lyke as Cristen men use MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *þar, γ.*
[2] *huder and þuder, γ.*
[3] *y-schott, β.*
[4] *seventeþe, β.*
[5] *twey, β.*
[6] *vurst, γ.*
[7] *Gerebertus, β.* and *γ.*, et infra.
[8] *dubel, γ.*
[9] *noys, γ.*

fugit Hispalim Hispaniæ urbem, ut curiosas artes addisceret, ubi sicut Christiani possident pro doctrina Toletum,[1] ita[2] Saraceni Hispalim. Ibi addiscens Gerebertus vicit Ptolomeum in astrolabio, Alcandrium[3] in astrorum interstitio, Julium Firmicum [in fato].[4] Ibi didicit quid cantus quid volatus portendat avium, quid denique curiositas humana deprehendere possit; quadrivium omitto, quod quidem [sic ebiberat][5] ut reliquos omnes vinceret, abacum primus omnium a Saracenis surripiens, regulas in eo dedit quæ vix ab acutis abacistis intelligantur.[6] Hospitabatur apud quendam peritissimum philosophum, donis et promissis inflexum, cujus omnes libros conscripserat,[7] excepto uno totius artis et secreti conscio, quem nulla industria illicere poterat. Tandem philosopho[8] aliquotiens inebriato,[9] Gerebertus librum de sub capite positum

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" cipue monasterium de Tavestok
" in Devonia, adversus quos quo-
" ties Angli essent bellaturi, aut
" insidiis aut dolo suorum seu in-
" fortunio impediti terga verterunt.
" Hugo Capet, rex," &c.

[1] *Tholetum*, B.
[2] *et*, B.
[3] *Arcandrium*, B.
[4] *in fato*, from A.B.
[5] *sic ebiberat*, from A.B.
[6] *intelligebantur*, A.
[7] *transcripserat*, A.B.
[8] *philosopho*] om. B.
[9] *inebriato*] om. A.

schippe, and lefte his abite[1] in a nyȝt, and fliȝ into Hispalys, a citee of Spayne, forto lerne curious and sotil[2] artes and sciens þere. [As Cristen men haveþ Tolet for lore so Sarsyns haveþ Hispalis.][3] [Þere Gerebertus lernede, and passede][4] Ptholomeus in astronomye, and Alcandrius in þe space[5] bytwene þe sterres, and Iulius Firmicus in destenye. Þere he lerneþ[6] what bodeth song and fliȝt of foules; what þe curiouste of mankynde[7] may take þat carfouk ich leve;[8] but he drank þerof þat he passed alle oþere. He was þe firste þat took[9] abacus[10] of Sarsyns, and ȝaf rules[11] þerynne, þat mowe unneþe be understonde of þe kunnyngeste men of þe craft, þe whiche[12] craftes men beþ cleped abaciste. *Marianus.*[13] Abacus is a table wiþ þe whiche[12] schappes beþ portrayed and i-peynt in powdre, and abacus is a craft of geometrie. Þan it foloweþ in þe storie:[14] Gerebertus was at inne wiþ oon þat was most connynge philosofer, þat was i-bend wiþ byhestes[15] and wiþ ȝiftes. Gerebertus hadde i-write and i-copied al þis philosofres bookes, outake oon þat conteynede al þe privete of þe craft, ffor þat book myȝte [he][16] nouȝt begete[17] by no manere sleiþe.[18] Bote þe philosofer was oþerwhile dronke; and so Gerebertus awaytede his tyme, and took þe book þat was under

TREVISA.

Toletum for doctrine, so the Saracenys do use Hispalis. Gerebertus studyenge þer overcome Ptholomeus in the Astrolaby, and Aliander in the interstice of sterres, and Iulius Firmicus in destene. Where he lerned what the songe and flyenge of briddes portended. Whiche loggede in a tyme at the place of an excellente philosophre, hade copy off alle his subtile bookes thro ȝiftes and promisses, oon excepte, in whom alle the subtilite of his connynge was contenyde. This philosophre beynge drunke in a tyme, and sure in slepe, Gerebertus toke that boke

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *abbyte*, α.
[2] The adjectives are in the reverse order in β.; *sutyl*, γ. (where these adjectives are transposed).
[3] From β.; *þare as Cristene men habbeþ Tolet for lore, Sarsyns habbeþ Hispalis*, γ.; *þat Cristene men haveþ tolde it for lore Sarsyns haveþ his*, MS.
[4] From α., β., and γ.
[5] *spase*, γ.
[6] *lerned*, β.; *lurnde*, γ.
[7] *kunde*, γ.
[8] *leeve*, β.
[9] *touk*, γ.
[10] *Agabus*, MSS.
[11] *reules*, γ.
[12] *whoche*, γ.
[13] *Marianus*] Trevysa, γ.
[14] *Marianus . . . storie*] om. β.
[15] *biheestis*, β.
[16] From α., β., and γ.
[17] *gete*, α., β., and γ.
[18] *sleiȝþe*, β.

surripuit, et fugit. Ille vero[1] somno excussus, indicio stellarum, quo peritus erat, fugitantem insequitur; profugus autem eadem arte periculum comperiens, sub ponte ligneo qui proximus erat se occuluit, brachiis pendulis ut nec aquam nec terram tangeret; qua arte quærentis aviditas delusa et frustrata,[2] domum reversus est. Tunc Gerebertus ad mare veniens, accersito diabolo hominium[3] pollicetur, ut ipsum ab insectante defensatum ultra pelagus eveheret:[4] quod et factum est. Rediens ergo[5] Galliam publicas scholas tenuit, Constantinum abbatem Sancti Maximini[6] juxta Aurelianum secum habuit,[7] ad quem regulam de abaco edidit; reddidit etiam rationem diametri super Macrobium; habuitque discipulos

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[1] *vero*] om. A.
[2] *deluditur et frustratus*, B.
[3] *homini*, B.; *hoim*, A.
[4] *veheret*, B.
[5] *igitur*, B.
[6] *Maximiani*, A.
[7] *secum habuit*] edidit, B.

þe philosofer [his heed],[1] and fliȝ awey þerwiþ. Þanne he awook and pursewed[2] Gerebertus by craft [of the sterres, in þe whiche craft][1] he was perfit inow.[3] By þe same craft he þat fliȝ was war of þe peril, and dressed hym under a treen brugge[4] þat was þere next, and heng[5] by þe armes, so þat he touchede noþer erþe noþer[6] water; and so by þat craft he was begiled þat souȝte hym wel besiliche, and wiþ drowe hym, and tornede home aȝen. Þanne Girebertus come to þe see, and cleped forþ þe fend,[7] and byhet hym homage ȝif he wolde bere hym over þe see, and save hym from hym þat pursewed hym; and so it was i-doo. Þanne he come aȝen into Fraunce, and hilde open scole, and hadde wiþ hym Constantyn þe abbot of Seynt Maximum,[8] bysides Aurelians; to hym he made and ȝaf a rule[9] of abacus. Also he tolde þe skile and resoun of þe dyameter above Macrobius. *Trevisa.* Þe dyameter is[10] [of][11] a figure oþer of [a][12] schap of þe lengest even lyne þat is devysed[13] þerynne, take who þat may. Þanne it foloweþ in þe storie: Gerebertus hadde scolers, Robert[14] þe sone of Huwe

Trevisa.

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from under his hedde and fledde. This man awakede, folowede Gerebertus by the iuggemente of sterres, in whom he hade grete science; and Gerebertus that fledde instructe in that same arte, knowynge hym to be folowede by the philosophre, hidde hym under the nexte brigge of tree to whom he come, hongenge þer by his armes that he towchede neither the erthe neither the water. The laboure of the philosophre deluded by that arte, returnede home, and Gerebertus commynge to the see, and callynge a spiritte, promisede to be his servaunte and that he wolde bringe hym over the see with owte eny hurte, and so he was. Gerebertus commyn to Fraunce kepede a grete scole, havynge to hys disciple Constantyne thabbot of Maximinus nye to Aurelians, whom he tauȝhte the rule of measure; also he assignede the reason of þe diametre on Macrobius. Also he hade to his disciples Robert the son of Hew Capet kynge of

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] From α., β., and γ.
[2] *pursywede*, γ.
[3] *ynowȝ*, β.
[4] *brigge*, β.
[5] *hyng*, γ.
[6] *ne*, α., β., and γ.
[7] *vorþ þe vend*, γ.
[8] *Maximin*, α. and β.; *Maxmin*, γ.
[9] *reul*, γ.
[10] *is*] of, γ.
[11] From β.
[12] From α. and β. (not in γ).
[13] *dyvided*, β.
[14] *Robart*, β., et infra.

Robertum filium Hugonis Capet regis Franciæ, Othonem filium Othonis imperatoris. Sed Robertus postmodum rex Franciæ effectus, fecit istum Gerebertum archiepiscopum Remensem. Extant adhuc apud illam ecclesiam monumenta doctrinæ suæ, scilicet horologium arte mechanica compositum, organa hydraulica, ubi per aquæ calefactæ violentiam ventus emergens implet concavitatem barbicii, ac per formatiles tractus fistulæ æreæ modulatos clamores emittunt.[1] Postmodum Otho imperator effectus, erexit Gerebertum in archiepiscopum Ravennatem, et cito post in papam. *Martinus.* De quo eventu extant versus: *Scandit ad R. Gerebertum ab R., post papa vigens R.*[2] *Ranulphus.*[3] Quia de Remensi[4] ecclesia transiit ad Ravennam, et tertio ad Romam. *Willelmus ubi supra.* Urgebat fortunam suam favor diaboli, quo juvante thesauros ab olim occultatos arte necromantica[5] reperiret. Erat tunc in Campo Martio juxta Romam statua quædam dexteræ manus indicem digitum habens extentum, scriptum[6] in capite, *Hic percutite.*[7] Quod superioris ævi homines putantes

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[1] *eunt*, B.
[2] *Scandit ab R. Gerebertus ad R. f ꝑpa vigens R.*, B.
[3] *Ranulphus*] om. A.
[4] *Ramensi*, A.
[5] *nigromantica*, MSS.
[6] *scriptumque*, A.
[7] *Hic percute*, A.

Capet, kyng of Fraunce, and [Otho][1] Otho þe emperoures sone. Bote Robert was afterward kyng of Fraunce, and made þis Gerebertus archebisshop of Remensis: ȝit in þat chirche is mynde of his lore, for þere is an orloge[2] i-made by craft of honde, and water organs þat sowneþ by ayer[3] and water; þere by strengþe of [hot water þe wynd brekeþ out and filleþ[4]][1] þe holownesse of þe organs, and þanne by schapliche drauȝtres[5] þe brasene pipes sendeþ out swete cry and noyse of melodye. Þerafter Otho was emperour, and made Girebertus bisshop of Ravenna, and sone þerafter pope. *Marcianus.* Of þat hap is vers i-made: "Scandit ad R. Gerebertus ab R., post papa vigens "in R." Þat is, Gerebertus passeþ up to R. out of R., and is þerafter pope in his floures in R. R. He passeþ[6] out of Ramens to Ravenna, and þe þridde tyme to Rome. *Willelmus de Regibus.* Favour of þe fend droof[7] forþ his fortune. For by helpe of þe fende and by craft of nygromancie he fonde[8] tresour þat was i-hidde[9] of olde tyme. In þat feelde þat hatte Campus Marcius, bysides Rome, was an ymage [þat tyme][10] þat hilde[11] streiȝt out þe fynger[12] of his riȝt honde, þe whiche fynger som men clepeþ likpot,[13] þat is þe fynger next þe thombe; and on[14] þe ymages heed it was i-write "Smyte "here." Men of olde tyme wende and trowede tresour [þer][15]

TREVISA.

Fraunce, and Otho sonne of Otho the emperoure. But Robert Capet made after that kynge of Fraunce, made this Gerebertus archebischop Ramense. At whiche churche be unto this tyme certeyne instrumentes of his makynge made by arte mechanicalle, and specially organes where the wynde brekynge up by violence of hoote water ȝiffethe wynde to theyme sufficientely. Otho made emperoure after that, made Gerebertus bischop of Ravenna, and after that pope. *Willelmus de Regibus.* The favor off the develle constreyned hym moche and his fortune, thro helpe of whom he founde grete treasures hidde by longe in the erthe by the arte of nigromancy. In whiche tyme þer was an ymage in the felde Marcius nye to Rome, havynge the firste fynger of the ryȝhte honde extente, and a wrytenge in the hedde of the ymage "Smyte here." Mony sup-

MS. HARL 2261.

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[1] From α., β., and γ.
[2] *horolegge*, γ.
[3] *eyr*, β.; *aer*, γ.
[4] *vulleþ*, γ.
[5] *drauȝtes*, β. and γ.
[6] *passed*, β.
[7] *drof*, β.
[8] *vond*, γ.
[9] *y-hud*, γ.
[10] From β.
[11] *huld*, γ.
[12] *vynger*, γ., et infra.
[13] *lykpot*, α.; *lykepot*, γ.
[14] *oon*, β.
[15] From α.

thesaurum ibi reperire statuam multis ictibus laniaverant, hoc redarguens Gerebertus, sole in meridiano centro existente umbram digiti notavit, palumque[1] fixit. Nocte tandem superveniente solo cubiculario lucernam portante terram ibidem aperuit, introque gressus regiam auream, milites aureos conspicatur tesseris aureis colludentes, metallinos regem et reginam discumbentes, apposita obsonia, astantes ministros, pateras multi ponderis et pretii. In interiori parte domus carbunculus lapis tenebras noctis fugabat. In opposito angulo stabat juvenis cum extento [arcu].[2] Sed in his omnibus nihil potuit tangi, quamquam videri. Cum enim aliquis accederet ad tangendum,[3] omnes imagines ibidem videbantur impetum facere in[4] præsumptorem. Cujus rei præscius Gerebertus se continuit, et ambitum fregit suum; sed non abstinuit cubicularius ejus quin cultellum mensa appositum surriperet. Mox omnibus imaginibus cum

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[1] *ibidem*, add. B.
[2] *arcu*, from A.
[3] *aliquid*, add. B.
[4] *contra*, B.

to fynde,[1] and brak som what of þe ymage wiþ many harde strokes; Gerebertus blamede hem þerfore, and evene at mydday, whan þe sonne was hiȝest,[2] he took hede[3] where þe schadowe of þat fynger fil[4] on þe grounde, and piȝte þere a stake. And at nyȝt he took wiþ hym [his chamberlayn alone, þat bar wiþ him][5] liȝt, and oponed þe erþe þere þe stake was i-pight, and wente inne, and sigh þere a kynges hous of gold, and knyȝtes of golde, pleyenge[6] wiþ dees of gold, and kynge and queene of metall,[7] sittynge at þe borde, and i-served wiþ mete i-set on þe borde, servauntes stondynge to fore hem, and cuppes[8] of greet weyȝte[9] and pris; in þe ynnere[10] place[11] of þe hous a carbuncle stoon þat schoon cleerliche, and dede awey al the derkenes of þe nyȝt. In þe oþer side stood a ȝongelynge wiþ a bowe i-bent. But among al þis[12] myȝte no þing be touched, þeyȝ it myȝte be i-seie. ȝif[13] eny man ȝede nere for to be handeled[14] eny þing hereof, it semede þat al þe ymages wolde on hym rese. Gerebertus was war þerof, and absteynede hym, and with stood[15] his covetise, and desire; but þe chamberlayn absteynede nouȝt at þe fulle, — Trevisa.

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posynge to fynde that treasure above, smote the ymage soore. Gerebertus reprovynge theyme merkede the shado of the fynger, the sonne beynge in the centre meridionalle, and fixede a signe þer; and in the nyȝhte he takynge his chamberleyne oonly with hym with a lawnterne, come to that place, and openynge the erthe entrede into hit, fyndynge þer a regalle halle of golde, knyȝhtes of golde playenge with chesses of golde, kynge and qwene beynge at soper, mony ministres and peces of golde; seenge a carbuncle in the interialle parte of the howse expellynge the derkenesse of the nyȝhte; and anendes hit in a cornelle stode a yonge man with a bende bawe in his honde. f. 314 b. But noon thynge of these myȝhte be towchede with honde, thauȝhe hit myȝhte be sene; for and if a man wente to towche hit, alle the ymages there wolde seme to have sleyne that man presumynge soe. Gerebertus knowynge that afore, towched not eny thynge, but his chambirleyne absteynynge not þerof, — MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *vynde*, γ.
[2] *heiȝest*, β.
[3] *touk hyde*, γ.
[4] *vul*, γ.
[5] From α., β., and γ.
[6] *pleyyng*, β.; *pleyng*, γ.
[7] *metayl*, γ.
[8] *coppes*, γ.
[9] *wiȝt*, β.
[10] *ynne*, α.
[11] *inner plas*, γ.
[12] *þues*, γ.
[13] *Ef*, γ.
[14] *for to handle*, α
[15] *wiþstode*, β.

fremitu[1] insurgentibus, puer laxato arcu arundinem in carbunculum direxit, et tenebras per totum indixit. Unde nisi ille monitu domini sui cultellum rejecisset, ambo pœnas exsolvissent. Sic enim legitur quod Joseph multos thesauros defodit cum patre suo in terram; et Hyrcanus tria millia talenta de sepulcro David levavit, ut obsidionem Jerusalem amoveret.[2] Item fert fama de illo Gereberto quod caput sibi fuderit certa[3] siderum inspectione,[4] quod non nisi interrogatum loqueretur et verum; quod quidem caput Gereberto prænunciavit[5] quod foret papa, et quod non moreretur donec celebrasset missam in Jerusalem. Nec perpendit ipse quod esset[6] in Roma ecclesia vocata Jerusalem, ubi papa cantat missam tribus Dominicis diebus in anno quando fiunt stationes. In qua ecclesia dum die quadam illa-

Ecclesia est Romæ vocata Jerusalem.

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[1] *fremitu*] om. B.

[2] *ammoveret*, B.; *levaret*, MS., an error of the scribe caused by the previous *levavit*.

[3] *c'ca*, B. *i.e.* circa.

[4] *inspectiones*, B.

[5] *pronuntiavit*, B.

[6] *esset*] om. B.

for he took a knyf þat lay on þe boorde. Anoon as he hadde i-take þe knyf alle þe ymages gonne[1] to grucche[2] and to aryse, and þe childe losed and schette,[3] and hitte þe charbuncle[4] stoon wiþ a reed,[5] and made al þe hous ful[6] of derkenesse. So þat but he hadde i-leide doun his knyf, as þe loord heet hym, boþe schul have i-payde þe payne. So it is i-rad þat Ioseph dalf wiþ his fader moche[7] tresour in þe erþe, and Hircanus took up[8] þre þowsand talentes of kyng David his[9] grave for to breke up[8] þe sege of Ierusalem. Also it is comyn fame þat þis Gerebertus, by certeyne craft of þe sterres, dede ȝote[10] an hede þat spak nouȝt but whanne me axede of hym, and seide nouȝ but[11] soop. Þe[12] heed warnede Gerebertus þat he schulde be pope, and þat he schulde nevere dei or[13] he hadde[14] i-songe a masse in Ierusalem. But he was nouȝt war þat in Rome was a chirche þat heet in[15] Ierusalem, þere þe pope syngeþ þe masse þre Sondayes[16] in þe ȝere in þe stacioun tyme. In þat chirche he arrayede hym to masse

TREVISA.

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toke a knyfe from the table. And the ymages arysynge ageyne hym, the yonge man havynge the bawe in his honde schotte at the carbuncle, and brake hit, that alle the place was fulle of derkenesse. Wherefore and if the yonge man hade not putte the knyfe aweye by commaundemente of his maister, thei hade bothe suffred dethe. Also hit is redde that Ioseph digged from the grounde grete treasure, and Hircanus bischop toke iij.^{m†} talentes from the sepulcre of kynge David to remove the[17] from Ierusalem. Also hit is rehersede that this Gerebertus made a hedde to hym by certeyne inspeccion of sterres, whiche scholde not speke but inquirede, and that hit scholde say the trawthe; whiche hedde schewede to Gerebertus that he scholde be pope, and that he scholde not dye untylle that he hade songe masse in Ierusalem. But this Gerebertus remembred not that þer was a chirche in Rome callede Ierusalem, where the pope seithe masse thre Sonnedayes in the yere when stacions be made. Whiche seyenge masse in that churche after the

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *gunne*, γ.
[2] *groche*, γ.
[3] *loused and schott*, β.; *loused and scheet*, γ.
[4] *carbuncle*, β.
[5] *reode*, β.; *rued*, γ.
[6] *vol*, γ.
[7] *myche*, β.
[8] *op*, γ.
[9] *Daviþes*, β.
[10] ȝeote, β.
[11] *but*] om. γ.; *bot*, α.
[12] þat, α.
[13] *er*, β.
[14] *ar a hadde*, γ.
[15] *in*] om. α.
[16] *Sondawes*, γ., et infra.
[17] Sic. in MS.

rum Dominicarum se pararet ad missam, vi valetudinis percussus decubuit; consulta statua sua deceptionem et mortem suam cognovit. Advocatis igitur cardinalibus sua facinora fatebatur et deflevit, unde velut insaniens præ contritione membratim se fecit discerpi, et foras proici. " Habeat," inquit,[1] " membrorum officium qui eorum " quæsivit hominium;[2] spiritus vadat ad Deum qui " creavit illum."[3] [4]Tunc jussit corpus suum truncum super bigam poni, ac ubicumque animalia subsisterent ibi sepeliri, quod et factum est; nam ad Lateranensem ecclesiam substiterunt, ubi et ipse sepultus.[5] Unde in signum veniæ consecutæ sepulcrum ipsius[6] tam ex tumultu ossium contentorum quam ex sudore sarcophagi præsagium accipitur papæ cito morituri, sicut ibidem litteris est exaratum. *De regibus Francorum.*[7]

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[1] *inquiens*, B.
[2] *homagium*, B.
[3] *eum*, A.
[4] *Martinus*, add. A.B.
[5] *est*, add. A.
[6] *ejus*, B.
[7] A.B. omit heading. See note [9], page 66.

warde in oon of þe[1] Sondayes, and was i-take wiþ strengþe of siknes, and lay seek on his bed, and counsailed with his ymage, and knewe þat he was begiled, and was war of his owne deth. He sente for þe cardinalles, and knowleched[2] his evel dedes, and weep ful[3] sore. And as it were a wood[4] man for sorwe of his synnes, he made men kutte hym[5] and his membres membre by membre, and caste hem out. "Have ȝe þay," quod þe officer, "of þe membres þat desiren hem, and souȝte þe "homage of þaym, and þe spirit goo unto God þat made it." *Martinus.* Þanne commanded he his body, þat was bote a stok, to be putte in a carte, and where so evere þe bestes rested, þere for to be buryed; þe whiche was i-doo; for why þe oxen stood stille at Seint Iohn Laterens cherche, where þat he is i-buried; wherefore also, in tokene of forgifnes folwynge, his grave also wele of the noyse of þe bones þat conteyned as of þe swetynge of þe gravestone þere is taken a forwetynge or tokenynge of þe pope sone for to deie, as þere is wreten in lettres. Trevisa.

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consuetude, was vexede gretely with infirmite, and takynge cownsaile of the ymage, perceyvyd the decepcion of the spiritte, and that he scholde dye. Wherefore he callenge the cardinalls to hym, knowlegede his synnes, as owte of mynde for grete contricion, in so moche that he causede his body to be kytte into smalle partes, and to be caste furthe, seyenge, "Lete hym have "the membres and boonys that desirede the man the sawle go to "God that create hit." *Martinus.* After that he commaundede his body so maymede to be putte on a carte, and to be beryede in that place where the bryddes restede that hade devourede mony membres of his body, and so he was beryede at the churche Lateranense. And in a signe of forȝiffenesse a pronosticacion and signe of a pope to dye is taken by the swetynge of his sepulcre, as hit is schewede þer by writynge. MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *þese, α.*; *þues, γ.*
[2] *knewlechede, γ.*
[3] *wep fol, γ.*
[4] *wode, β.*; *wod, γ.*
[5] Here MS. Addit. 24194 (*i.e. α.*) ceases for several chapters, and MS. Harl. 1900 *i.e. β.*, (f. 248 a, three lines from bottom) varies very much from the text which is here printed. For instance, taking up the text where MS. Addit. leaves off: "he made men kitt hym self lym-"mele, and þrowe out his lymmes, "and seide, Lete hym have þe office "of þe lymes þ^t^ axide homage of "hem, and lete þe spirit go to God "þ^t^ made hym of nouȝt. *Marc'.* "Þanne he bade do þe stok of his "body uppon a cart, and burye "hit where þe bestes wolde abide, "and it was so doon," &c. &c. *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx. also vary so much at this point from the printed text, that it has been thought better to print the text of *β.* in an Appendix, and collate *γ.* and Cx. therewith in this varying passage. For an account of the varying passage, see Introduction.

Cap. XV.

[*De regibus Francorum, Anglorum et Alemannorum, quædam etiam de pontificibus Romanis.*]

Gratiæ M. Egelredi XXII.

Hugo Capet, rex Occidentalium Francorum, obiit postquam regnaverat ix. annis.[1] Cui successit filius suus Robertus, quem ex filia Edwardi senioris regis Angliæ genuerat,[2] regnavitque circiter triginta annis. In[3] cujus tempore venit quidam religiosus peregrinus de Jerosolimis in Siciliam, didicitque a quodam incluso quod in olla Vulcani flammas evomente animæ defunctorum pro diversitate delictorum torquebantur, quarum voces et stridores crebro se audisse testabatur, quæ per eleemosynas et preces fidelium, et præcipue tunc temporis per orationes Cluniacensium monachorum, eruebantur. Unde et Odilo abbas Cluniacensis, hoc comperto, constituit ut in proxima feria post festum Omnium Sanctorum haberetur[4] memoria pro defunctis; qui ritus postmodum transiit in orbem terrarum.[3] Iste Hugo[5] scientia præclarus, in magnis sanctorum festivitatibus in aliquo regni sui monasterio cum monachis [aut][6] cantavit, aut capam[7] portando chorum rexit; unde cum[8] semel in festo sancti Aniani

Memoria pro defunctis.

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[1] *postquam . . . annis*] om. C.D.
[2] *quem . . . genuerat*] om. C.D.
[3] *In . . . terrarum*] om. A.C.D.
[4] *habetur*, B.
[5] *Hic ita et*, A.; *Hic etiam Robertus*, B.
[6] *aut*, added from A.B.C.D.
[7] *capam*] om. A.
[8] *cum*] om. B.

Capitulum quintumdecimum.

TREVISA.

HUWE Capet, þe kyng of Weste Fraunce after þat he hadde regned nyne deide, to whom com after Robert his sone, whiche he gat of þe douȝter of olde kyng Edward kyng of Engelond and he regned aboute xxx^ti ȝere. In whos tyme come a religious pilgrime from Ierusalem into Sicile, and he lerned of a man recluse þat in Wlcanes potte, þat breþeþ out flammes, þe soules of dede men were tormented for dyversete of trespas, þe voyces of gnastynge of whom he witnessed þat he hadde oftetyme herde, þe whiche by almes and prayers of trewe men were delyvered, and nameliche þat tyme by þe prayer of þe monkes of Cluniacensis; wherefore Odilio, þe abbot of Cluniacensis, whanne þat was knowen, ordeyned þat þe next fery after þe feste of All Halwes schulde be hadde þe memorie for dede men soules, whiche custome afterward passed forth into al þe world. Also þis Robert was ful clere in sciens and konnynge in grete festes of seyntes in som mynstre or abbeye of his reaume, ouþer synge[1] with monkes, or elles berynge a cope to governe þe queere. Wherfore in þe feste of seynt Anyan

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Capitulum quintum decimum.

MS. HARL. 2261.

HEWE Capette, kynge of Weste men of Fraunce, died after the ix^the yere of his reigne, Roberte his sonne successoure to hym, whom he gate by the doȝhter of Edwarde the elder, and kynge of Ynglonde; whiche reignede abowte xxx^ti yere. In the tyme of whom, a religious man and pilgreme comme from Ierusalem to Scicille, whiche hade lernede of an incluse f. 315 b. that sawles of dedde men were punysched for theire synnes in a place of the see nye to Sicille, callede Olla Vulcani, evomitynge as flammes of fyre, þe voyces of whom, he seide, he hade herde mony tymes; and howe mony of theym were delyverede by the preiers and suffragis of monkes Cluniacense, and of oþer tru peple. Wherefore Odilo the abbot Cluniacense, perceyvynge that, ordeynede that a memory scholde be hade for alle tru dedde peple in the fery nexte folowynge the feste of Alle Seyntes; whiche consuetude was usede after as thro alle the worlde. This duke instructe nobly in mony artes, in the hie festes of the yere songe in somme monastery of his realme with monkes, other elles was one of the chawnters and governede the where. Whiche beynge at the sege of a castelle, lefte his hoste, and come to the churche in the feste of seynte Aman,

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[1] *lege* syngynge.

episcopi [1] Aurelianensis, dimisso exercitu suo circa [2] castrum quod obsederat, [3] Agnus Dei ter personaret, capam gerens, genua flectendo, muri obsessi castri subito corruerunt. Hic est [4] ille Robertus qui fecit illam [5] sequentiam de Sancto Spiritu, *Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia ;* et [6] etiam [7] illud responsorium de vigilia Natalis Domini, *O Juda et Jerusalem nolite timere.* Hoc etiam anno Dublinia metropolis Hiberniæ vastata est a Scottis, et Danica classis Normanniam petiit. Et rex Egelredus vastavit Cumberlond [8] et insulam Moniam. Inventio corporis [9] sancti Ivonis episcopi. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iiij°.*[10] Iste Ivo [11] natione Persicus, relictis sæculi deliciis, multisque terrarum spatiis decursis, in rustico habitu tribus tamen comitibus [12] apud insulam de [13] Rameseye [14] vitam peregit. Cujus sepulcrum et nomen cum diu [15] ab incolis nesciretur, apparuit ipse Ivo cuidam simplici viro, nomen, locum, et gradum suum pandens ; monuitque ut [16] abbatem Rameseye iret, ut simul cum eo corpus suum de terra levaret. Quod dum fieret, fons omni valitudini salubris de mausoleo erupit, ita ut usque hodie in tota vix Anglia sit ullus [17] sanctus beato

Robertus rex composuit sequentiam Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia, et responsorium O Juda et Jerusalem.

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[1] *episcopi*] om. B.
[2] *circa*] om. B.
[3] *in ecclesia ibidem*, add. B.
[4] *etiam*, B.
[5] *famosam*, add. B.
[6] *et . . . timere*] om. C.D.
[7] *etiam*] om. B.
[8] *terram Cumbrorum, unde mandavit ut sua classis ibidem sibi occurreret, sed tempestate impedita insulam Moniam vastavit. Dani de Normannia redeuntes Excestriam oppugnant, sed ibidem repulsi contra ripas australes Angliæ acrius insæviunt. Will., lib.* 2. *Hoc quoque anno inventio corporis sancti Ivonis. Iste Ivo*, &c. C.D.
[9] *Circa hoc tempus inventum est corpus*, B.
[10] Scrip. post Bedam, p. 292.
[11] *Ivo*] om. B.
[12] *contentus*, add. C.D.
[13] *de*] om. B.
[14] *sanctam*, C.D.
[15] *cum diu*] dum, B.
[16] *ad*, B.
[17] *aliquis*, B.

bisshop of Aurelianes, whenne he hadde lefte his oost aboute a castel þat he hadde byseged, and song þries Agnus Dei et cetera, berynge a cope, and knelynge on his knees, þe walles of þe castel byseged sodenly fil downe. Þis is þat Robert þat made þe sequence of þe Holy Gost, "Sancti Spiritus assit " nobis gratia," and also þat respons of þe vigil of þe Nativite of oure Lord, " O Iuda et Ierusalem, nolite timere." Also þis ȝere Develyne, þe moder citee of Irlond, was wasted of þe Scottes, and þe navey of Danes wente to Normandye, and kyng Egelrede wasted Comberlond, and þe Ile of Man or Angleseie. [About this time] was þe fyndynge of þe body of seynt Ive. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 4°. Þis Ive, of þe nacioun of Perce, forsaked al þe delites of þe world, and overȝede þe spaces of many landes in a cherles cloþinge, wiþ þre felawes allone at þe ile of Rameseie ledde his lyf; whos grave and name, when it was long unknowen of þe dwellers in þe contray. seynt Yve hym self apperede to a symple man, schewynge his name, his place, and his degre; and he warned hym þat he schulde goo to þe abbot of Ramesey, þat he wiþ hym myȝte take up his body of þe erþe; whiche when it was done a welle heleful to al sekenes sprang out of þe grave, so þat to þis day in al Engelonde unneþe is eny seynt more esy of prayere or more helpynge

Trevisa.

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bischop of Aurelians, and bare a coope; and as he songe the thrydde Agnus Dei knelynge on his knees, the walles of the castelle felle downe sodenly. This duke made the sequence of the Holy Goste, " Sancti Spiritus assit nobis gratia," and the responsory on Christes eve, " Iudea et Ierusalem." Dublyn, the chiefe cite of Irlonde, was wastede in this yere by the Scottes; and grete hoste of the Danes wente to Normandy; and kynge Egelredus wastede Cumbirlonde, and the yle of Monia or Anglesey. The body of seynte Ivo was fownde in this tyme. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro quarto.* This Ivo borne in the londe of Persida, refusynge the delices of the worlde, come with thre felawes with a vile habite into the yle of Rameseye, where he lyvede afterwarde. And when the sepulcre and name of hym was not knowen of men þer by longe tyme, Ivo apperede to a man and tolde to hym his name, the place, and his degre, monyschynge hym to go to the abbot of Ramesey, and that he scholde come with hym, and take his body up from the grownde. That doen, a welle spronge from the grave, that þer is not liȝhtely in Englonde eny seynte schewynge mercy and grace to men havynge devocion to

MS. Harl. 2261.

Gratiæ MII. Egelredi XXIIII.

Ivone exoratu facilior aut efficacior. Hoc anno rex Egelredus duxit Emmam Normannorum gemmam, filiam Ricardi primi ducis Normanniæ; quo proventu elatus, missis litteris suis ad urbes Angliæ, jussit omnes Danos [1] una nocte occidi; quod et factum est in nocte sancti Briccii.[2] Quo etiam anno fundatum est monasterium Burtone [3] super Trentam per quendam optimatem Ulricum [4] Spotis.[5] *De imperatoribus Alemannorum.*[6] Henricus primus, qui dicebatur pius, post Othonem tertium imperavit Alemannis xxii.[7] annis; quem archiepiscopus Mogontinus coronavit.[8] *Ranulphus.* Hic notandum est quod plures fuerunt Henrici reges quam imperatores; ideo quando legitur Henricus primus, secundus, vel tertius, ratione consimilis nominis in imperio dicitur primus vel secundus. Idem intellige de Conradis et [9] Othonibus. Iste Henricus primus virgo cum uxore permansit.[10] *De pontificibus Romanis. Martinus.*[11] Johannes octavus decimus sedit in papatu mensibus sex. Rex Danorum Swanus [12] audita morte Danorum in urbibus Angliæ [13] clam facta, cum magna classe Cornubiam appulit, ubi per traditionem Hugonis comitis Normanniæ,[14] quem Emma regina nuper Devoniæ [15] præfecerat, Swanus cepit Excestram et muros destruxit, cui Westsaxones viriliter occurrerunt; sed quotiens exercitus appropinquaverunt, dux Anglorum Edricus proditor vomitu simulato

Henricus primus.

Gratiæ MIII. Egelredi XXV.

[1] *in urbibus morantes*, C.D.
[2] *Brixii*, B.
[3] *Burtoniæ*, A.B.
[4] *Wulricum Spot*, A.B.
[5] *sponte regis annuente*, C.D.
[6] A.B. omit heading.
[7] *xii.*, B.
[8] *coronavit*] om. B.
[9] *et*] om. C.D.
[10] *mansit*, A.
[11] A.C.D. omit heading and references; B. omits heading.
[12] *Suanus*, A.
[13] *Anglis*, B.
[14] *Hugonis Normannici*, B.
[15] *Devoniæ*, from B.; *Dovvoniæ*, MS.

þan seynt Ive is. Also þis ȝere kyng Egelrede wedded Emme, þe perle and þe precious stone of Normanes, þe douȝter of Richard first duke of Normandie; by þe whiche profitt, enprinted in his lettres sent to þe citees of Engelond, he comaunded al þe Danes in oon nyȝt to be slayne; whiche was done in þe nyȝt of seint Brise. In whiche ȝere also þe abbey of Burtoun uppon Trente was founded by a worþy man, Wlrik Spot. Henry þe firste, whiche was çalled benigne and merciful, after Othoun þe þridde, was emperour in Almayn two and twenty ȝere, whom þe archebisshop of Mens coroned. ℟. Here it is for to wete þat þere was mo Henries kynges þan emperours; þerfor when it is red Henry firste, secounde, or þridde, by resoun of like name, in þe empere it is þe firste or þe secounde; understonde þe same of Conradus and of Othouns. Þis firste Henry dwelled perfitly a mayden and a virgyne wiþ his wyf. *Martinus.* Þe pope Iohn satte in his popehode sex monthes. Suane kyng of Denmarch, whan he herde of þe deth of Danes done prively in þe citees of Engelond, wiþ a grete navey he ryved up at Cornwayle; wherby, by tresoun of Hewe þe eorl of Normandie, whom þe quene Emme hadde newely put byfore unto Devenschire, Suane took Excetre, and destroyed þe walles; to whom men of Westsex manfully come aȝen; but als ofte as þe hostes neyȝed nere to gidre, duke Edrik, traytour of Englisshe men, feynynge a vomet or brakynge, seide þat he was seek; wherfore Englisshemen twynned, TREVISA.

theym, rather then seynte Yvo. Egelredus, kynge of Ynglonde, mariede in this yere Emma the gemme of Normandy, doȝhter of the firste Richarde; whiche made prowde þerof, sende letters to the cites of Ynglonde that alle the Danes in that londe scholde be sleyne in oon nyȝhte; and so thei were in the nyȝhte of seynte Bricius. In whiche yere the monastery of Burton was foundede by a noble man, Wulricus Spotte. Henre the firste, callede meke, after Otho the thrydde was emperoure in Alemayn xxij^{ti} yere, whom the archebischop Maguntyne did crowne; whiche emperoure contynuede in virginite with his wife. *Martinus.* Iohn the xviij^{the} was pope vj. monethes. Suanus the kynge of the Danes, herynge the Danes to be sleyne in Ynglonde by treason, come with a grete navy of schippes, and londed in Cornewaile; where Swanus[1] to Excestre and destroyede the walles of the cite, by the treason of Hewe, an erle of Normandy, whom Emma, wife of kynge Egelredus, made governoure of Devonschyre. Whom þe Westesaxons mette manfully; but when the hostes scholde mete, that fals traitor Edricus fenyde hym seke, and the Saxones returnede, MS. HARL. 2261. f. 316 a.

[1] Sic in MS.

ægrotare se dixit. Quamobrem solutis Anglis rex Swanus deprædavit Wyltoniam Schireburne[1] et[2] ad naves rediit. Anno sequenti[3] Norwycum advectus[4] patriam vastavit, Tedfordam incendit. Quo cognito[5] dux Usketel mandavit provincialibus ut naves hostium[6] comburerent; sed illis aut dissimulantibus aut id agere non audentibus, dux ipse[7] cum quibus potuit acerrimum bellum Danis intulit; verum quia fames valida eo anno Angliam invaserat, rex Swanus Daciam rediit anno sequenti reversurus.[8] *De pontificibus Romanorum. Martinus.*[9] [10] *De sancto Elphego.* Hoc anno Elphegus Wentanus præsul, mortuo Ulrico[11] Dorobernensi metropolitano, factus est archiepiscopus. Mense post hoc Julio Danica classis Sandicum[12] appulit, Cantiam et Southsexam deprædavit, Anglorum exercitum multiplici delusione, nunc rapiendo, nunc[13] redeundo, vexavit; quos semper[14] tres sequebantur comites, prædatio, combustio, occisio. Nam rex Egelredus, qui tunc apud[15] Schrobbesbury[16] morabatur, Danis festine repellere non potuit donec Barocshiram devastassent.[17] Idcirco rex[18] Egelredus de consilio procerum solvit Danis tributum triginta millia librarum pro pace habenda. Quo quidem anno constituit Edricum proditorem ducem Merciorum, virum

Gratiæ MVII. Egelredi XXIX.

Elphegus de Wentana sede electus est in metropolitanum Dorobernensem.

Gratiæ MVIII. Egelredi XXX.

[1] *Schiresburnam*, B.
[2] *cum magna præda*, add. B.
[3] *Anno sequenti*] om. C.D.
[4] *et adjacentem*, B.
[5] *agnito*, B.
[6] *aut infrigerent aut*, C.D.
[7] *ille*, B.
[8] *anno sequente reversurus*] om. C.D.
[9] A.B.C.D. omit heading and reference.
[10] A.B. have *Johannes nonusdecimus sedit in papatu annis quinque.*
[11] *Wulrico*, A.; *Wlrico*, B.
[12] *Sandwicum*, B.
[13] *ad naves*, C.D.
[14] *semper*] om. B.
[15] *temporis*, A.B.
[16] *Shrollesbury*, B.; *Schrooesbury*, C.D.
[17] *devastasset*, MS.
[18] *rex*] om. B.

and kyng Swane robbed Wiltoun and Schirborne, and wente aȝen to his schippes. In þe ȝere folowynge he brouȝt up at Norþwhiche, wasted þe contre, and brende Tedforþ; whiche is knowe[1] duke Usketil sente unto þe men of þe province þat þey schulde brenne þe schippes of þe enemyes; bote þey ouþer makynge dissimulacioun, or elles beyng unhardy for to doo it, þe duke hym self, wiþ whome þat he myȝte, brouȝt a ful scharp bataile aȝen þe Danes; but for a ful strong honger hadde assailled Engelond, kyng Suane wente aȝen to Denmark, þe ȝere þe folowynge for to torne aȝen. Iohn þe nyntenþe, pope, satte in þe popehede fyve ȝere. Þis ȝere Elphegus bisshop of Wynchestre, when Ulricus metropolitane of Doverus was dede, was madde erchebisshop. After þis, in þe monþe of Iule, þe navy of Danes rove up at Sandwyche, and robbed Kent and Southsex, and vexed þe Englische eft wiþ manyfolde desceyvynge, now robbynge, now aȝen comynge. Whom folwede evermore þe[1] felowys, þat is robbynge, sleynge, and brennynge. For why kyng Egelrede, whiche þat tyme dwelled in Schrovesbury, myȝt nouȝt hastily put abak the Danes unto þe tyme þat þey hadde wasted Barrokschire, þerfore kyng Egelrede, by þe counseille of his gentilles, paied to þe Danes a tribute of þritty thousand pounde for to have reste. In whiche ȝere, forsoþe, he ordeyned Edric, traytour, duke of Merschelonde, a man for- TREVISA.

Suanus spoylede Wilton and Shireburn, and toke schippe. Whiche commynge to Norwiche in the yere folowynge, wastede the cuntre, and brente Tedforde: that knowen the duke Usketel, commaunded comprovincianelles to brenne theire schippes. But they dissimilynge, that duke gedrenge so mony men as he myȝhte, ȝafe a soore batelle to the Danes; and kynge Suanus returnede to Denmarke, in that there was a grete derthe þat yere in Ynglonde, and commynge ageyne in the yere folowynge. Iohn the xix^the^ was pope v. yere. Elphegus bischop of Wynchestre was made in this yere archebischop of Cawnterbery, after the dethe of Vulricus his predecessour; and in the v^the^ monethe folowynge a grete hoste of þe Danes londed at Sandwiche, robbynge Kente and Sowthesax, whom thre schrewid felawes folowede, robbynge, sleynge, and brennynge. For Egelredus the kynge, beynge at Scrobbesbury, myȝhte not repelle the Danes liȝhtely untylle thei hade spoylede Barokschire. Wherefore kynge Egelredus by the cownsaile of his gentillemen ȝafe to the Danes a tribute of xxx^ti^ m^r^ l^i^ for to lyve in pease. In whiche yere he made Edricus the traytour governoure of the marches, a man meke of kynde, ryche of MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] Sic in MS., but *see* Harl. below.

quidem genere humilem, sed lingua locupletem, callentem ingenio, suavem[1] eloquio, sed animo versipellem. Sergius tertius sedit in papatu annis tribus. *Henricus, libro sexto.*[2] Danicus comes Turkillus Cantiam applicuit, cui Cantuaritæ tria millia librarum pro pace dederunt. At Dani insulam Vectam adeuntes prædas agebant; contra quos quotiens[3] rex[4] procederet,[5] Edricus comes bellum dissuasit; unde Dani hoc anno multum ditati mediam fere Angliam a Northamptonia usque [ad][6] insulam Vectam vastaverunt.

Cap. XVI.

[*De Sancto Elphego et de Suano rege Dacorum.*]

Gratiæ MX. Egelredi XXXII.

Circa festum sancti Matthei Dani Cantuariam obsederunt, quæ urbs[7] xx°. obsidionis die traditione Almari diaconi, quem sanctus Elphegus nuper a morte liberaverat, traditur et incenditur; abbas Sancti Augustini abire permittitur. Grex[8] Christi decimatur, novem scilicet[9] occisis et decimo reservato; quorum alii ferro, alii precipitio, alii per verenda[10] suspensi aut crinibus detracti

Sanctus Elphegus a Danis capitur et martirizavit.

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[1] *in*, B.
[2] Scrip. post Bedam, p. 360.
[3] *quotiens*] om. A.
[4] *Egelredus exercitum congregasset dux*, C.D.
[5] *procederat*, A.
[6] *ad*, from A.
[7] *urbs*] om. B.
[8] *igitur*, C.D.
[9] *videlicet*, B.
[10] *veneranda*, B.

sope low and pore of kynne, bot riche of tonge, wily and witty, softe of speche, but ful faste of herte. Sergius þe þridde satte in þe popehode þre ȝere. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Turkullus erle of Denmark rove up in Kent, to whom men of Caunterbury gaf þre þowsand pounde for pees, and þe Danes goynge toward þe Ile of Wight did moche robberie. Ageynes whom as ofte as þe kyng precede, þe erle Edrik counseille nouȝt to ȝeve bataille; wherfore þe Danes were made ful riche þis ȝere, and wasted almost half Engelond from Norhamptoun unto þe Ile of Wight. TREVISA.

Capitulum sextumdecimum.

ABOUTE þe feste of seynt Matheu þe Danes byseged Caunterbury, whiche citee, þe twentiþe day of þe byseging, was taken and brent þoruȝ bytrayeng of Almarus, a deken whom seynt Elphege newly byfore and[1] delyvered from deth. Þe abbot of Seynt Austyns was suffred for to goo awey; þe folk of Crist was tiþed, þat is to seie, nyne slayn and þe tenþe i-kepte; of þe whiche som deide with yren, som by castynge doun and þe heved byfore, som i-honged by þe prive membres, and som

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tonge, wyly or subtile in witte, swete of speche, and fals in herte. Sergius the thrydde was pope iij. yere. *Henricus, libro sexto.* Turkillus an erle of the Danes londed at Kente, to whom men of Kente ȝafe to have pease iij. mˡ lⁱ; and so the Danes, goynge to the yle of Wiȝhte, and toke theire pray. And when the kynge wolde have ȝiffen batelle to theym, that traytour Edricus movede hym unto the contrary. The Danes made ryche þerwith, wastede allemoste þe halfe parte of the realme of Ynglonde, as from the cite of Northampton unto the yle of Wiȝhte; takynge the goodes of men and sleynge after theire pleasure as withowte eny resistence. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum sextum decimum.

THE Danes segede the cite of Cawnterbery, abowte the feste of seynte Mathewe; whiche cite was taken in xxᵗⁱ day of the segynge of hit, and was brente by treason of Almarus the diacon, whom seynte Elphegus delyverede from dethe but fewe dayes afore. Thabbot of the monastery of Seynte Austyn was suffrede to departe, and the flocke of Criste was tythede, ix. of theyme sleyne, and the xᵗʰᵉ reservede; somme of whom were sleyne by the swerde, and somme hongede by theire mem- f. 316 b.

[1] *and*] sic in MS. lege *had.*

perierunt.[1] Inter quos pontifex Elphegus capitur, septem mensibus vinculatur, variis apud eos pœnis illuditur; quamobrem ira Dei in populum homicidam adeo desævit, ut dolor viscerum nunc denos, nunc vicenos ad magnum numerum absumeret. Quapropter movebantur[2] Dani a fidelibus ut præsuli satisfacerent, sed[3] differunt; nam sabbato sancto Paschæ optionem præsuli proponunt, ut[4] aut tria millia librarum solvat aut vita careat. Ipse vero totum renuens, prohibuit[5] obnixe suis fidelibus ne quis quicquam pro sua redemptione daret; unde et Dani ex hoc gravius exasperati, vino æstuantes, sabbato sequenti præsulem educunt, lapidibus et ossibus bovinis xiii°. kalendas Maii sanctum virum interficiunt;[6] sepultura ei negatur donec postera die lignum aridum sanguine ejus intinctum[7] viridesceret. Cujus corpus die sequenti Londoniæ delatum, in ecclesia Sancti Pauli honorifice est sepultum. Postmodum tamen, concedente Canuto rege Danico, ad propriam ecclesiam est relatum corpore integro.[8] *Willelmus de Pontificibus.*[9] Iste Elphegus, post monasticum[10] habitum apud Dirhurst[11] susceptum, anachoritice apud Bathoniam

De vita et consecratione sancti Elphegi martiris.

[1] *obierunt*, A.B.
[2] *monentur*, C.D.
[3] *non audiuntur*, C.D.
[4] *quod*, B.
[5] *præcepit*, B
[6] *interfecerunt*,
[7] *intinctum*, from A.B; *instinctum* MS.
[8] *adhuc spirante*, C.D.
[9] *libro secundo*, A.B., which is correct. See Scrip. post Bedam, p. 245.
[10] *monachicum*, A.
[11] *Deerhurst*, B.

i-drawen by þe heres. Among whom þe bisshop Elphegus was taken and sevene monþes i-bounde in iren, and wiþ dyverse peynes i-scorned among þaym. For whiche þing þe yre of God was so woode in þe folk þat were men sleers, þat woo and sorenes of þe entrelles wasted now ten, now twenty, unto a greet nombre. Wherfore þe Danes were monested of þe trewe men þat þey schulde make a sethe to þe bisshop, bot þay differred it, for why in holy Saterday of Pask þey putte þe bisshop to chese þat ouþer he paye þre þowsand pounde, or elles wante his lyf, he soþe forsakynge al þat, forbode besily to his trewe peple, þat none schulde ȝeve ony þing for his raunsoun; wherfore þe Danes of þat more grevously angred, and þey dronken of wyn, in the Satirday sewynge brouȝt forþ þe bisshop in þe þrittene kl^t^ of May; þere þey slow þe holy man wiþ stones and neten bones. Sepulcre was denyed hym unto þat a dykere in þe day after i-depped in his blood wex greved, whos body in þe day folowynge was ledde unto Londoun, and in þe chirche of Seynt Poule ful worschipfully i-buryed. Noþeles afterward Canut þe Danes kyng grauntynge, it was brouȝt aȝene to his chirche, þe body al hool. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Þis Elphegus, after þe abite of monk i-taken at Durhurst, lyved like any

TREVISA.

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bres, and somme diede drawen by the heire of theire hedde. Amonge whom, Elphegus the bischop was taken and imprisonede vij. monethes, and illuded with diverse peynes; wherefore the vengeaunce of God entrede amonge those mansleers, that a infirmite reignynge amonge theyme destroyede nowe x., nowe xx^ti^, untille þat þe hoste was consumpte moche. Wherefore the Danes were movede by Cristen peple that thei scholde make satisfaccion to the bischoppe; but thei wolde not: whiche takynge hym in the vigille of Ester, ȝafe choyce to hym other to pay iij. m^l^ li. for his redempcion, or to loose his lyfe. The bischoppe commaundid his men that thei scholde not pay oon peny for hym. The Danes movede moche þerat, and made drunke thro ryette, brouȝhte furthe þe bischop in the Seturday folowynge, and did slee hym with stones and with boones of bestes, þe xiij^the^ kalendes of Maii. And sepulture was denyede unto hym untille that the nexte day folowynge a wedrede tree intincte with his bloode wexede grene. The body of whom brouȝte to London, was beriede in the churche of Seynte Paule: neverthelesse that body was translate holly to Cawnterbery afterwarde by licence of Canutus kynge of Danes. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* This Elphegus induede with the habite of a monke, lyvede as an ankre at Bathe,

MS. HARL. 2261.

Of þe dethe of Seynte Elphegus.

vixit; monachos postmodum ibidem congregavit, qui, ut fieri solet in magno collegio,[1] corruptelam contraxerunt;[2] nam quidam ex eis nesciente patre convivia de nocte fecere, usque ad diurnam[3] lucem fere potationibus indulsere. Sed hujus actionis signifer, Deo ulciscente, in medio potantium æde expiravit. Quod pater ex sonitu comperiens ad fenestram accessit, duos dæmones corpus illud contundere vidit. At dum ille miser suffragium quæreret, responderunt dæmones, "Nec tu obedisti Deo, "nec nos tibi obediemus." Tandem suasione beati Andreæ[4] Dunstano apparenti factus est Elphegus[5] præsul Wentanus; qui carnibus edendis nunquam nisi æger indulsit; de nocte fallens custodes demersus ad ilia[6] stabat in amne, laudes Deo usque ad diluculum solvens. Demum post viginti duos annos in præsulatu Wyntano exactos, sedem Cantuariensem invitus ascendit. Romam tamen pro pallio tendens, in quodam viculo rebus suis spoliatur; ubi dum Deo[7] vindicante viculus ille arderet, convicanei scelus suum cognoscentes veniam rogant, rapta restituunt, precibus Elphegi[8] ignem extinctum cernunt. *De pontificibus Romanorum.*[9] Benedictus octavus post Sergium sedit in papatu annis xii. De quo refert Petrus Damianus quod quidam episcopus vidit eum in equo nigro sedere, et graviter torqueri. Idcirco rogavit illum episcopum qui hoc vidit ut[10] ad successorem suum Johannem xx. pergeret, ac rogaret ut de pecunia in tali scrinio reposita eleemosynas pro eo faceret, quia quod pro eo prius distributum fuerat nil

De illicitis conviviis monachorum nocturnis horis.

Gratiæ MXII. Egelredi XXXIIII.

[1] *collogio*, A.
[2] *construxerunt*, C.D.
[3] *facientes usque diurnam*, B.
[4] *sancto*, C.D.
[5] *Alphegus*, B.
[6] *illa*, A.
[7] *Deo*] om. A.
[8] *Alphei*, B.
[9] A.B. omit heading, and B. has *Martinus*.
[10] *ut*] om. B.

anker at Bathe ; afterward he gedered þere monkes, whiche drew corrupcioun, as it is wont to be done in grete colege. For why some of þaym, unwetynge þe fader, made festes on ny3tes, and extended to drynkynges nere honde unto day ly3t. But he þat was i-made cheef banerer of þis doynge, þoru3 good werchynge, deied in þe myddes of þe drynkynge ; whiche þe fader knowinge be noyse, went to þe wedewe,[1] and he seigh two develes,[2] answerde "Nouþer þou obeyedest to God, ne we schal " obeye to the." At þe laste, þoru3 þe amonyschynge of seint Andrewe apperynge unto seynt Donston, seynt Alphegus was i-made bisshop of Wynchestre, whiche Elphege entended

TREVISA.

Of the vertuous lyfe of the seide seynte.

and gedrede a nowmbre of monkes þer aftirwarde, of whom somme drawede to grete ryette ; for, Elphegus not knowenge, somme of theym usede festes and ryette from the begynnynge of the ny3hte unto the morowe. But the chiefe maister of that ryettous life dyede sodenly in the tyme of theire myrthe. Seynte Elphegus herynge a grete noyce, and goynge to þe wyndowe of his chambre, see too develles betynge that body. But that wrecche desirenge helpe, the develles ansueryde and seide, " þow was not obedient to God, and þerfore we wille not obbey " the." And so at the laste seynte Elphegus was made bischop of Wynchestre, thro the suasion off blissede Andrewe, apperynge to seynte Dunstan; whiche 3afe never attendaunce to the eitenge of flesche, but if he were seke; deceyvynge his kepers in the ny3hte, stondynge in water unto the knees, and 3iffenge lawde to allemy3hty God, contynuynge soe unto the morowe. And after that he hade bene bischop of Wynchestre xxij^ti yere, he was made metropolitan of Ynglonde ageyne his wylle ; whiche goynge to Rome, was spoylede of his goodes in a towne by the weye, and after that the towne was in pereschynge thro fire. Then the wrecchide men confessynge theire trespasse preiede the servaunte of God of for3iffenesse, and his goodes restorede the men see the fyre to be extincte thro his preyers. *Martinus.* Benedicte the viij^the succedid Sergius the pope xij. yere; of whom Petrus Damianus rehersethe that a bischop see hym syttenge on a blacke horse, and to be peynede soore. Wherefore he preiede that bischop that see the si3hte, to goe to Iohn þe xx^ti his successour, and that he wolde pray hym to distribute into almes a certeyne summe of goode, assignenge the place where the treasure was, seyenge that the goodes distribute by hym profite not, for thei were of rape ; that doen, the bischop

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 317 a.

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[1] Sic in MS.

[2] Here is an omission in MS. through the oversight of the scribe ; *see* Harleian text below.

profuit, quia de rapinis erat. Quo facto episcopus[1] ille
Gratiæ MXIIII. Egelredi XXXVI. monasterium intravit. Hoc anno, iii°. kalendas Octobris, fluctus marinus, quem Græci Euripum,[2] nos Ledonem[3] vocamus, ultra solitum excrevit, ita ut villas et homines submergeret. *Henricus, libro sexto.*[4] Suanus rex Dacorum circumnavigata Estanglia, cum classe sua Humbræ flumen intravit, et per Trentam flumen usque Geynesburgh processit. Cui incolæ qui ad boream Watlingstrete[5] habitant obsidibus datis fidelitatem juraverunt. Ille autem classem suam cum illis[6] obsidibus filio suo Canuto commendavit[7] dum ipse australes Mercios vastaret, mares occidens, et fœminas suæ suorumque libidini reservans. Inde Oxoniam et Wyntoniam cepit; sed versus Londoniam[8] tendens, dum pontem non quæreret, multos de suis in flumine Thamisiæ amisit. De Londonia tamen per regis Egelredi præsentiam pulsus, Westsaxones[9] subjugavit. Quod videntes Londonienses miserunt illi obsides. Inde consternatus rex uxorem suam[10] Emmam cum duobus filiis suis, una cum Londoniensi episcopo, ad Ricardum secundum comitem Normanniæ Emmæ fratrem[11] transmisit. Ipse interim apud insulam Vectam naviter oberrans sic Natale Domini celebrabat. Tandem rebus omnino desperatis, Normanniam et ipse navigavit. Swanus rex ex hoc magis[12] elatus, ad cumulum propriæ damnationis, ex

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[1] *demisso episcopatu*, C.D.
[2] *Eurippum*, A.
[3] *leodonem*, B.
[4] See Scrip. post Bedam, p. 361.
[5] *Wathelingstrete*, B.
[6] *cum illis*] om. B.
[7] *fidelitatem . . . commendavit*] filio suo Canuto commendantur, C.D.
[8] *Lundoniam*, MS.
[9] *Westsaxiam*, B.
[10] *suam*] om. B.
[11] *fratrem dictæ Emmæ*, B.
[12] *magis*] om. A.

nevere forto ete flesche but if he were seek. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Swane þe kyng of Danes, whanne he hadde schipped aboute Est Engelonde, entred wiþ his navey in to Humbre flood, and wente forþ by þe flood of Trente unto Geynesburgh ; to whom þe men of þe contre þat dwelled at þe norþ side of Watlyng strete gefen ostage and sworen feutee. He forsoþe commaunded his navey wiþ þe ostage to Canute his sone, while he wasted þe south marche, sleynge þe males, reservynge þe females to his lust and to þe lust of his men. After he took Oxenforde and Wynchestre ; but goynge to Londoun warde, whiles he sou3te no brigge, he loste meny men of his in þe flood of Temse. Neverþeles he was put out of Londoun by þe presence of kyng Egelred ; but he putte Westsex in subieccioun ; þat seand, þe men of Londoun sent hym ostage ; þerfore þe kyng Egelrede abasshed sent Emme his wyf, wiþ his two sones, and wiþ þe bisshop of Londoun, to Richard the secounde, þe erle of Normandye, þe broþer of Emme ; hym self in þe mene tyme ful wilsom at þe Ile of Wight halowede Cristemasse, þat is þe nativite of oure Lord. At þe laste utterly all þinges in dispeire, hym self schipped unto Normandie. Kyng Swane more enprided of þat unto þe encresynge of his owne dampnacioun, TREVISA.

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entrede a monastery. A grete inundacion of the see encreasede in this yere in the thrydde kalends of October, more then hit was wonte, in so moche that hit drownede townes, and moche peple. *Henricus, libro sexto.* Suanus kynge of the Danes, compassenge Este Ynglonde with a grete navy of schippes, entrede into the water of Humbre, goynge by the water of Trente unto Geynesburgh ; to whom men inhabitynge the northe partes of Watlyngestrete promysed fidelite, 3iffenge to hym certeyne plegges ; takynge oon hoste to his sonne Canutus to kepe that cuntre, whiles he did waste the sowthe marches, sleynge men, and reservynge women to the pleasure of theire flesche. After that he toke Oxenforde and Wynchestre; whiche goynge to London, and inquirynge noo brigge, loste mony men in the water of Thamys ; and put from London by the presence of the kynge, subduede to hym þe West saxons ; men of London seenge that submitte theim to hym also, sendynge to hym plegges þerfore. The kynge trowblede gretely þerwith, sende Emma his wife, with his ij. sonnes and the bischop of London, unto Richarde the secunde duke of Normandy, broþer to his wife, and he kepede a poore Cristemasse at the yle of Wy3hte. Whiche beynge at the laste as in desperacion, saylede to Normandy also. Suanus the kynge of Danes, inflate with pride þerwith to his destruccion and MS. HARL. 2261. f. 317 b.

urbe sancti Edmundi martyris grande tributum exegit, quod nisi solveretur urbi incendium, civibus exitium comminatus est; insuper et sancto Edmundo probrose detraxit. Sed imminente vespera, in medio commilitonum suorum, apud villam de Geynesburgh pugione sancti Edmundi confossus est, sicque vociferans noctis crepusculo iii°. nonas Februarii obiit. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.*[1] Canutus filius ejus hæc[2] videns, mitius deinceps cum sancto Edmundo egit; nam fossatum terræ suæ circumduxit,[3] immunitatem ab omni præstatione concessit, basilicam super corpus martyris construxit, monachos instituit, prædia multa donavit. Exhinc[4] inolevit ut reges[5] coronas suas sancto Edmundo mittunt, quibus si uti voluerint magno pretio redimunt. Exactores vectigalium, qui alias per Angliam debacchantur, supplices citra fossatum Edmundi lites sistunt.

Cap. XVII.

De coronatione regis Canuti [*et de obitu regis Egelredi.*][6]

Mortuo igitur Suano, Dani Canutum filium ejus in regem erigunt;[7] Angli vero ad regem Egelredum apud

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[1] Cap. x. See Scrip. post Bedam, p. 71.
[2] *hoc*, B.
[3] *et eidem*, B.
[4] *Extunc*, A.
[5] *Angliæ*, A.B.
[6] The MS. has omitted the division of this chapter, though it marks the next chapter as XVIII., but the division occurs here in A.B.C.D.
[7] *erexerunt*, C.D.

asked tribute of Edmondbury, þe citee of seynt Edmond martir, whiche bot if it were i-paide he manassed brennynge to þe citeseyns ; over þat ful proudely he bakbited seynt Edmond. But þe eventide comynge toward, in myddes of his knyȝtes at þe towne of Geynesburgh, wiþ þe swerde of seynt Edmond was he stiked, and so cryenge in þe twyliȝtynge of þe nyȝt he deide þe þridde nonas of Februarii. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Canute his sone seynge þat, afterwarde dede more myldely wiþ seynt Edmond, for why he lete brynge abouȝte al his lond a diche, and graunted it fredome for al askynge ; fro þat tyme it was custome þat þe kynges of Engelond sent þaire corones to seint Edmond, whiche þey bouȝte agayn for grete prys if þey wolde were þaym ; þe askers of þe toll, þat were fel in oþer place of Engelond, lowely lafte þaire strifes of þis side þe diche of seynt Edmond. TREVISA.

Capitulum septimum decimum.

SUANE þerfore [being dead,][1] þe Danes raysed Canute his sone into kyng. Þe Englisshe men forsoþe sent to kyng Egelrede

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dampnacion, askede a grete tribute of that towne callede Seynte Edmundbery, manassenge to brenne the cite withowte thei wolde pay the seide tribute, and to sle the peple inhabitynge hit. Also he revilede moche and detracte seynte Edmunde, wherefore he was sleyne in the myddes of his men, in the begynnynge of the nyȝhte, folowynge that detraccion, with the swerde of seynte Edmund, at the towne of Geynesburgh, and so he diede the thrydde nones of February. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* Canutus his sonne, herynge þerof, began to do moore mekely with seynte Edmund, and made a diche abowte the grownde of the seide martir, and grawntenge fre liberte and immunite to the towne, made a monastery on the body of the martir, and putte monkes into hit, induynge that place with noble possessions. From whiche tyme a consuetude is usede in Englonde, kynges to sende the crownes whom they wylle not were to seynte Edmund, whom thei redeme by a grete pryce. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum septimum decimum.

SUANUS dedde the Danes erecte Canutus his sonne into theire kynge. Men of Yngelonde sende to Normandy to kynge

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[1] *þy deth*, MS. In a few places, in these chapters where no collation is possible and the MS. reading is utterly wrong, a translation of the Latin is inserted in brackets and the reading of the MS. put in the foot note.

Normanniam mittunt, promittentes quod si benigniorem se ad illos solito exhiberet, excluso Canuto illum præoptarent. Ille oblatis assentiens, filium suum Edwardum pro pace firmanda præmisit. Postmodum rex circa Quadragesimam festine adveniens, Canutum de Lindeseya profugavit. Tunc Canutus fugam sibi consulens, apud Sandicum [1] in Cantia omnes obsides quondam patri suo traditos truncari fecit manus et nares, et navigavit Daciam, anno sequenti reversurus. Hoc anno Canutus [2] circumnavigata Estanglia, partes australes deprædavit. Cui viriliter occurrens Clito Edmundus Irneside,[3] dolo Edrici comperto se retraxit ;[4] Edricus [5] cum suis Canuto secedit.[6] Id idem Westsaxones fecerunt.[7] *De obitu regis Egelredi.*[8] Rex Egelredus nono kalendas Maii Londoniæ defunctus est, in ecclesia Pauli sepultus ; post cujus mortem episcopi, abbates, et terræ proceres, ejus progeniem abnegantes, recognoverunt apud Southamton Canutum fore regem eorum. Ipse vero juravit quod foret illis fidelis [9] dominus secundum Deum et sæculum. Londonienses vero cum nonnulla parte procerum Edmundum ferreum [latus] [10] in regem [11] levaverunt ; qui statim Westsaxones partim timore, partim [12] sponte subegit. Canutus interim Lon-

Gratiæ MXVI. Egelredi XXXVIII.

Gratiæ MXVII. Egelredi XXXIX.

[1] *Sandiwicum*, A. ; *Sanwicum*, B.

[2] *Canutus*] om. B.

[3] *cum duce Edrico*, B.

[4] *Cui clito Edmundus ferreum latus, quia vater ejus apud Cosham tunc ægrotaverat, viriliter occurrit, sed dolo Edrici comitis comperto, clito se retraxit*, C.D.

[5] *vero*, B.

[6] *se dedit. Id idem*, A.B.

[7] *obsidibus datis illud ibidem fecerant*, C.D.

[8] A.B. omit heading.

[9] *fidelis*] om. B.

[10] *latus*, from A.B.

[11] *regnum*, B.

[12] *Westsaxones ... partim*] om. B.

at Normandye, byhetynge þat ȝif he wolde bere hym more benigne to þaym, þan he was wont, þat Canute i-putte out þey wolde desire hym. He fforsoþe assentynge to þing i-profred to hym, for pees to be affermed sent byfore his sone Edward. Afterward, aboute Lenten, þe kyng comynge hastely drof Canut out of Lyndeseie. Þan Canut in fleynge, takynge counsail unto hym at Sandwiche in Kent, made alle þe ostage, þat ware somtyme ȝiffen to his fader, for be kutte handes and nose; and schipped unto Denmark, þat ȝere folowynge for to torne aȝen. Þis ȝere Canute i-schipped aboute Est Engelond, robbed þe parties; aȝenst whom manfully comynge Edmond Irenside; but he perceyved and i-proved þe deceyvynge of Edrik withdrew hym. Edrik wiþ his men fil unto Canute, þat saved Westsex. Kyng Egelred deide at Londoun þe ix. kᵗ of May, and was i-buried in þe chirche of Seynt Poule. After whos deþ þe bisshoppes, abbotes, and gentiles of þe lond, forsaken his kynreden and progenie, knowleched at Souþhamptoun Canute for to be þaire kyng; he forsoþe swore þat he schulde be to hem trewe lorde aȝenst God and þe world. Men of Londoun forsoþe, wiþ a partie of gentiles, raised Edmond Yrenside into kyng, whiche also sone put undernepe Westsex, in party for drede, and in partie wilfully. In þe mene tyme Canute

TREVISA.

Egelredus promisynge to be tru to hym, and to leve Canutus, so that he wolde be moore favorable to theim then he was afore. The kynge assentynge þerto, sende Edmund his sonne to theym afore. After that the kynge commen into Ynglonde, and takynge an hoste, expellede Canutus from Lindisey. Then Canutus perceyvynge moste avauntage to fle, caused men taken as plegges to his fader to be heded at Sandewiche in Kente, and somme to have theire nooses and hondes kytte awey; after that saylynge to Denmarke, and commynge into Ynglonde in the yere nexte foloynge ageyne. Canutus compassenge Este Ynglonde, wastede the sowthe partes, whom Edmund Irenside mette manfully, and fauȝhte soore with hym; but that traytor Edricus withdrawede hym, and the Westesaxons also. Egelredus the kynge diede the ix^the kalendes of Maii at London, and was beryede in the churche of Seynte Paule; after the dethe of whom bischoppes and abbottes, and oþer gentylmen of the realme, denyenge the progeny of Egelredus, confessed at Southampton Canutus to be theire kynge; and he did swere to theyme that he scholde be a tru lorde to theyme after God and the worlde. But men of London, with mony oþer noble men, erecte Edmunde Irensyde into theire kynge; whiche subduede to hym the Westesaxons anoon, parte by armes, and parte by theire wylle. Canutus segede London, whiche repulsede from

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 318 a.

doniam obsedit, sed inde repulsus in Dorsetania [1] provincia juxta Gyllyngham [2] contra Edmundum dimicavit, sed vincitur. Post hoc, media æstate transacta, Edmundus cum majori exercitu in provincia Wyctiorum contra Canutum tam acriter pugnavit, ut præ lassitudine uterque exercitus abinvicem discederet. *Marianus et Alfridus.* Sed postera die Edmundus Danos protrivisset, nisi perfidus dux Edricus [3] caput cujusdam militis Edmundo simillimi exercitui ostendisset, dicens, "Fugite Angli; "ecce caput domini vestri Edmundi!" Sed Edmundus hoc cognito acrius instat, usque ad noctem dimicans.[4] Canutus de nocte Londoniæ tendit; Edmundus a tergo insequens urbem liberavit; sed et tertio Thamisi pertransito apud Brentfort Dani devincuntur. Tunc dux Edricus fidelitatem Edmundo juravit; et ipse Edmundus jam quarto Danos deprædantes apud Occefort [5] in Cantia devicit, et usque ad insulam de Shepey [6] profugavit. Revertente ergo ad Westsaxoniam Edmundo, Canutus [7] Merciam deprædavit. Ob hoc Edmundus apud [8] Asshedoun [9] occurrit, ubi hinc inde viriliter dimicato, dux Edricus cum videret Danos inclinari, fugam dolose capessit; unde et multi nobiles ex parte Edmundi, una cum episcopo Lincolniensi et abbate Rameseyæ, qui ad

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[1] *Dorcestania*, B.
[2] *Gillingham*, A.; *Gillyngam*, B.
[3] *Edridus*, B.
[4] *Quo adveniente ab invicem sicut pridie exercitus sunt digressi*, add. C.D.
[5] *Otteforth*, B.
[6] *Schepeye*, A.; *Shepheie*, B.
[7] *more solito*, add. C.D.
[8] *apud*] om. B.
[9] *Asschedoun*, A.; *montem de Aschedone*, C.D.

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byseged Londoun, bot he was putte abak; and in Dorcestre province, besides Gillyngham, he fauȝt aȝenst Edmond, but he was overcomen; after þat the mydsomer over passed, Edmond wiþ a gretter oste in Wiltschire fauȝt so scharply aȝenst Canute þat for werynesse eiþer ooste departed asondre. *Alfridus et Marianus.* Bot þe day after Edmond had al forbroken þe Danes, but þat false wikked duke Edric schewed unto þe oost þe heved of a knyȝt þat was most like to Edmond, seienge, "Fleeþ, Englische men, loo þe heved of Edmond "ȝoure lord." But Edmond þat i-knowen stood more scharply fiȝtenge evene to þe nyȝt. Canute in þe nyȝt wente to Londoun; Edmond, folwynge at þe bak, delyverede þe citee. Þe þridde tyme also Tempse overpassed [at] Brendford, þe Danes were overcomen, þe Danes robbynge att Otteforde in Kent, and droof hem into þe ile of Schepey. Þerfore turnynge aȝen Edmond to Westsex, Canute robbed Merscheland; for þat þing Edmond com aȝen at Aschedowne, where it was fouȝten manfully on þe to syde and þe oþer. Duke Edrik, when he saw þe Danes to be enclyned, he bygan to take fliȝt falsely; wherfore many worþy men fill of Edmond side, wiþ þe bisshop of Lyncolne and þe abbot of Rameseye, whiche come for to praye for þe

Trevisa.

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the cite fauȝhte ageyne Edmund in the province of Dorsette, nye to Gyllyngham, but he loste the victory. But after þat, Edmund Irensyde gedrenge to hym a moore myȝhty hoste in the province of Wiccions, in the myddes of somer, fauȝhte so soore ageyne Canutus that either hoste were feyne to departe from a sundre for werynesse of fiȝhte. *Alfridus et Marianus.* But Edmund scholde have hade a grete victory of the Danes in the day folowynge, but that Edricus the traitoure lette hit, schewynge to men of the hoste of Edmund, the hedde of a knyȝhte lyke to hym, seyenge to theyme, "Beholde, sers, the hedde of "youre lorde." But Edmunde knowynge that treason, fauȝhte moore manfully untylle nyȝhte; and Canutus wente towarde London in the nyȝhte, and Edmund folowynge hym, delyverede the cite, and after that the Danes were devicte at Brenteforde in the thrydde tyme. Then that traytour Edricus promised fidelite to Edmund Irenside. Also the seide Edmund hade victory of the Danes robbynge Kente at Otteforde, chasede theyme to the yle of Shepey. This Edmunde turnede to Westesax, Canutus spoylede the Marches; whom Edmunde mette at Asshedon, makynge a soore batelle. That Edricus seenge the Danes to be inclynede, stale his weye from the hoste, where mony men were sleyne longynge to Edmund, with the bischoppe of Lincoln and thabbot Ramesey, commyn thyder to

MS. Harl. 2261.

orandum pro milite venerant, corruerunt. Igitur secundum consilium Edrici pax inter reges, obsidibus mutuo hinc inde datis, in ripa Sabrinæ apud Dorhurst[1] reformata est in hunc modum: surrexerat[2] unus commilitonum in medio exercitus sic dicens: "Quotidie "morimur, sed nullus vincit: invincibilis est Edmundus "propter insuperabilem fortitudinem; invincibilis est "Canutus propter fortunæ favorem. Sed hujus continui "discriminis quis erit fructus, nisi ut cæsis utriusque "militibus, duces tandem necessitate compulsi com- "ponant, vel certe sine milite soli pugnent? Quare "ergo unum istorum non modo faciunt?[3] Quod si "componant, quare non sufficiet[4] modo regnum duo- "bus,[5] solito locupletius, quod olim quinque regibus "satis fuit? Quod si tanta sit in eis dominandi[6] libido "ut uterque dedignetur cum reliquo partem habere, aut "alteri subesse, tunc pugnent soli qui[7] cupiunt domi- "nari. Ne si omnes pugnent, omnibus interfectis, non "sint milites quibus duces imperarent, ne etiam non "sint qui adversus extraneos regnum[8] defendant." Convenientibus igitur apud insulam de Olney juxta Gloverniam[9] hinc inde ducibus cum suis exercitibus, acclamatum[10] a cunctis aut componant aut soli pugnent. Occurrentes igitur ambo reges in medio insulæ, populo hinc inde spectante, primo in equis, postmodum pedibus

Consilium viri sapientis. Bene nota.

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[1] *Derhurst*, B.
[2] *surrexit*, A.
[3] *faciant*, A.
[4] *sufficeat*, A.
[5] *regibus*, add. C.D.
[6] *dominandi*] om. A.
[7] *quia*, B.
[8] *insulam*, B.
[9] *Eadmundo cum suis in occidentali parte, Canutus cum suis in orientali parte ampnis Sabrinæ*, C.D.
[10] *acclamatur*, A.; *est*, ins. C.D.

kyng. Þerfore after þe counseille of Edrik, ostage i-gyffen on boþe two sides atwixe þe two kynges at Durhurst in Severne bonke, pees was reformed in þis manere. One of the knyȝtes rose up in myddes of þe ostes, seyenge þus: "We dye alday, "but none overcomeþ. Edmond is unable to be overcomen, for "his strengþe þat may not be overcomen; Canute is unable to "be overcomen ffor his favour of fortune; bot what schal be þe "fruyt of þis contynual peril, bot þat oure knyȝtes of eiþer "partie is slayn, þe dukes þat beeþ kynges compelled by nede "acorde þaym, or elles certes þey fiȝte hem self allone wiþ any "knyȝt, wherfore þan doo þey nouȝt now þe tone of þese; þat "if þey accorde whi schal not þe kyngdom, þat is richer þan it "was wonte, suffice unto two, þat somtyme was inow to fyve "kynges; þat if þere be in þaym so moche lost of lordschipe þat "eiþer dedeyne for to have partie wiþ þe oþere, oþer for to be "underneþe þe oþere, þan let þaym fiȝte allone þat covaite for to "have lordshipe allone; þat if alle fiȝte and alle i-slayn þere ben "none knyȝtes to wonie þey comande; and also þat þere be none "þat may defende þe kyngdom aȝenst straungers." Þere þey comynge to gidre wiþ þaire ostes at þe ile of Olney beside Gloucestre, it was cried of alle men þat oþer þey schulde accorde oþer elles fiȝte allone. Þerfore þese kynges rennynge to gidres in myddes of þe ile, þe peple byholdynge on þe oon side, and þe oþer on þe oþer side, firste on horse and after on foot þay

Trevisa.

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entrete for a knyȝhte. Where pease was reformede by the cown- sayle of Edricus in this maner folowynge, suertes made: A knyȝhte stode up in the myddes of the hoste, seyenge: "Moche "peple dyethe dayly, but noo man hathe victory. Edmunde is "invincible for his strenȝhte insuperable, and Canutus is in- "vincible for the favor of fortune. But what wille be the "ende of this fiȝhte? that theire peple sleyne, other thei schalle "compown, other thei schalle fiȝhte allon; why do thei not "so nowe, or compowne? sithe that the realme was sufficiente "afore to v. kynges, why scholde hit not be sufficiente then to "ij. men? And if hit be so that thei have indignacion to departe "the realme betwene theym, or the oon to be subiecte to that "other, suffre theym to fiȝhte allon that desire to have "lordeschippe allon, leste that theire hostes and men sleyne, "peple of the realme schalle not suffise to resiste theire enemyes "and to defende þe realme." Those ij. noble men metynge, with theire hostes, at an yle callede Olneye, nye to Gloucestre, the peple of bothe partes seide that other thei scholde com- pownde other fiȝhte allon. The kynges metynge in the myddes of the yle, firste on horses and after on foote, mette to-

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 318 b.

pugnam committunt singularem. At ubi [1] Canutus Edmundum comperit invincibilem, de regni participio componit. Inde projectis armis in oscula mutua ruunt, mirantibus et exultantibus inde cunctis. His ita [2] gestis, Edricus proditor cupiens se gratum Canuto facere, apud Oxoniam, ubi Edmundus ad requisita naturæ accesserat, Edricus sub domo purgatoria latenter se occultat, regem Edmundum ad necessaria sedentem inter celanda ferro transfodit, inde ad Canutum [3] pergens ait, "Salve rex "solus!" Cui rex hac re cognita ait: "Quia me tali obse- "quio placandum putasti, et mundi [4] meliorem extinxisti, "sustollam caput tuum super omnes proceres Angliæ." Scinditur illico caput Edrici et super eminentiorem [portam] [5] Londoniæ ponitur.[6] *Ranulphus.* Verumtamen nonnulli historici tradunt, et [7] potissime Marianus,[8] quod Edmundus non sic obierit, sed quod post fraternitatem inter reges ut prædictum est firmatam, postque [9] regnum inter eos divisum, Edmundus [10] circa festum beati [11] Andreæ [12] Londoniæ obierit, et cum avo suo Edgaro Glastoniæ sepultus sit; quod [13] quidem verisimile videtur ex hoc, quod communes chronicæ tradunt Canutum regem post mortem Edmundi Merciam tradidisse Edrico

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[1] *ut*, C.D.
[2] *itaque*, A.
[3] *regem*, B.
[4] Sic in MSS.
[5] *portam*, from B.
[6] *ponitur*, from A.B.C.D.; *capitur*, MS.
[7] *et*] om. A.
[8] *potissime Marianus*] om. C.D.
[9] *post quoque*, B.
[10] *Edmundum*] Edmundus, from A.; Edmundum, MS.; Edmundus rex fortis cum uno anno regnasset, B.
[11] *sancti*, A.
[12] *apostoli*, add. B.
[13] *quod . . . excapitasset*] om. C.D.

dede a syngular bataille. But when þat Canute perceyved and fande þat Edmond unable forto be overcomen, he accorded of party to be overcomen of þe kyndome; þerfore þaire armes i-kaste awey, þey fil into kissinges aiþer of oþer, alle men þerof marveillynge, and ioyenge to see þise þus doo. Edric þe traytour coveytinge to make hym self kynde and plesynge to Canute, at Oxenforde, where þat Edmond wente to esement, and Edrik prively hid hym under þe prive hous, and wiþ an iren stiked hym in þe prive membres as he satte at his esement; ffro þens goynge to Canute seide: "Heil kyng allone!" To whom þe kyng answerde þus: "I knowe wel," he seide, "for þou sup- "posest to plese me wiþ suche service, and hast i-slayn þe beste "man of þe world, I schal raise þyn heved aboven alle þe "gentiles of Engelond." Also sone Edrik his hede was kutte of, and satte uppon þe hiȝest ȝate of Londoun aboute. R. Neverþeles som croniculers telleþ and most *Marianus*, þat Edmond dede nouȝt þus, but þat after broþerhede and fraternite confermed atwene þe kynges as it is seide, and after þe partynge of þe reame atwene hem, Edmond deide at Londoun aboute þe feste of seynt Andrew, and i-buried at Glastyngbury with his grauntsire Edgare, whiche sekerly semeþ like sooþ, for þat þat

TREVISA.

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gedre and fauȝhte soore allon; where Canutus þe kynge, perceyvynge Edmund to be invincible, movede hym to divide the realme betwene þeim. Then the armoure caste awey, thei kyssede togedre, peple mervellenge and ioyenge moche þereof. This acorde made, that traytour Edricus, thenkynge to obteyne the favor of Canutus, wente prively under a sege at Oxenforde, and when the seide Edmund come to þat place to do the dewte of nature, he was putte thro the body with a broche in the secrete place. And that doen, Edricus the traytour goynge to Canutus, seide: "Hayle, kynge allon." Then Canutus, knowynge of that treason, seide to hym: "In that "thow hase sleyne oon of the noblemen of the worlde, sup- "posynge to please me þerwith, y schalle exalte thy hedde "above all the gentylmen of Ynglonde;" and so Edricus was heded, and his hedde sende to London, and sette on the hieste ȝate of hit. R. Neverthelesse mony writers of storyes reherse, and specially Marianus, that Edmund died not so, but that he diede at London, abowte þe feste of seynte Andrewe, after that acorde made and division of the realme betwene þeim, and was beryede with Edgarus, his grauntefader, at Glaston; whiche thynge scholde appere to be tru, in that alle cronicles expresse that Canutus the kynge ȝafe to that traytour Edricus þe Marches after the dethe of Edmund, or to have ȝiffen

MS. HARL. 2261.

perfido, ac etiam consilio Edrici fratrem Edmundi exlegasse et alia multa fecisse, quod profecto stare non posset si Edricum prius excapitasset.[1]

Cap. XVIII.

[*De Canuto rege Angliæ, de visione Brithwoldi, et de imperatoribus Teutonicorum.*]

Gratiæ MXVIII. Canuti primo.

Canutus Danicus post mortem Edmundi monarcha effectus, novemdecem pœne annis regnavit, regnum Angliæ in quatuor partes divisit, assignans Westsaxoniam sibi ipsi, Estangliam Turkillo comiti, Merciam Edrico perfido, Northimbriam Hiricio. Inde apud [2] Londoniam consilio coacto, quærit a proceribus [3] an in illo fœdere sociali inter ipsum et Edmundum firmato [4] aliqua mentio fuisset [5] facta de successione fratrum aut filiorum Edmundi post mortem ejusdem; sed illi responderunt falsissime et adulatorie quod non, æstimantes per hoc se magnos apud regem futuros.[6] Insuper et jurarunt quod ipsum Canutum in regem susciperent, et propinquos Edmundi omnino [7] depellerent. Unde et quidam illorum justo Dei judicio [8] sunt interfecti, quidam exterminati. Nam consilio Edrici rex [9] exlegavit Edwynum fratrem

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[1] See note [13], p. 104.
[2] *perfido . . . apud*] om. B.
[3] *et episcopis*, C.D.
[4] *nuper inito*, C.D.
[5] *fuit*, B.
[6] *gratum apud regem locum tenere*, C.D.
[7] *animo*, B.
[8] *justo Dei judicio*] om. C.D.
[9] *Canutus*, C.D.

comoun cronicles telleþ þat Canute kyng, after þe deth of Edmond,[1] and dede many oþer þinges þoruȝ þe counseile of Edrik, whiche forsoþe myȝte not stonde, if he hadde first be heveded. TREVISA.

Capitulum octavum decimum.

CANUTE of Denmark, after þe deth of Edmond made kyng allone, regned almost xix. ȝere; he devided and departed þe reame of Engelond into foure parties, assygnynge Westsex unto hym self, Est Angle to þe erle Turkylle, Merschelonde to false Edrik, Norþhumberlond to Hiricus; þerfore a counsaile i-made at Londoun, he asked of his gentilles wheþer in þat bonde of felawschippe confermed atwixe hem and Edmond, ȝif þere was made eny mencioun of successioun of breþeren and sones of Edmond after þe deth of hym; bot þey answerde ful falsely and flateryngly þat nay, supposynge for þat þat þey schulde take þe same, and be gretter enence þe kyng; over þat also þey swore þat þey schulde take þe same Canute for þaire kyng, and schulde putte out þam þat were nere to Edmond: wherfore som of þaym þoruȝ þe riȝt dome of God war slayne, and som put out of þe lond, ffor why, by þe counsaile of Edrik, þe kyng

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cownsaile to Canutus to have putte the sonnes of Edmund to exile, and mony other þinges myȝhte not stond if Edricus hade be heded afore. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum octavum decimum.

CANUTUS reioycynge the monarchy of Ynglonde after þe dethe of Edmund, reignede allemoste xix. yere; whiche dividede the realme of Ynglonde into iiij. partes, assignynge to hymselfe Westesex, to Turkillus the erle Esteynglonde, to Edricus the traytour the Marches, and to Hiricius Northumbrelonde. After that, a cownesaile hade at London, Canutus the kynge inquirede of the gentillemen of þe realme wheþer in the acorde made betwene hym and Edmund eny mencion was made of the succession of theire childer or breþer. Whiche answerde falsely, sayenge Nay, supposynge to gette the favor of the kynge thereby, swerynge also that they wolde take hym to theire kynge, and refuse utterly the succession of Edmunde. Wherefore somme of theym were sleyne by the iuggemente of God, and somme of þeim were mischevide. For Canutus the kynge exiled Edwyne, brother to Edmund, by cownsaile of Edricus, whiche was f. 319 a.

[1] A part of the text is here untranslated, perhaps through an omission of the scribe.

Edmundi, qui rex rusticorum appellabatur. Postmodum tamen dolose reconciliatus, factione suorum [1] interemptus est. Sed et Canutus [2] rex filios Edmundi, Edmundum scilicet et Edwardum,[3] tum præ pudore tum consilio Edrici [2] ferire metuens,[4] ad regem Suavorum [5] feriendos transmisit, qui Deum [6] timens misit eos ulterius ad regem Salamonem,[7] regem Hungariorum, vitæ reservandos. At Edmundus filiam [8] illius duxit, sed cito post sine liberis decessit. Edwardus vero duxit Agatham filiam Henrici [9] imperatoris, ex qua progenuit Margaretam, quæ fuit postmodum Scotorum regina, et Christinam,[10] sanctimonialem, atque Edgarum Adelyng. *Henricus, libro sexto.*[11] Istud vocabulum Adeling componitur Saxonice ex adel, quod est nobilis, et ling, quod est imago, quasi nobilis imago, unde et Westsaxones habent in proverbio summi despectus Hynderling,[12] quod sonat ab honestate dejecta [13] vel retro cedens imago. Istum Edgarum Adeling [14] sanctus rex Edwardus postmodum [15] proposuerat hæredem Angliæ fecisse; sed filios Godwini ac gentis propriæ nequitiam formidans, Willelmum [16] Normannum adoptavit. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro ii°.*[17] Rex Canutus mense Julio, ut regnum Angliæ firmius sibi astringeret, duxit Emmam reginam in uxorem, ex

Edgarus Adelyng filius Edwardi.

Proverbium despectum Hynderling.

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[1] *secretariorum fraudulenter*, add. C.D.

[2] *Canutus . . . Edrici*] om. B.

[3] *quorum*, C.D.

[4] *feritatem metuebat*, C.D.

[5] *Suavorum*, A.; *Serhavorum*, B.

[6] *Deum*] om. C.D.

[7] *Salonem*, C.D.

[8] *regis*, A.B.

[9] *Henrici*] om. B.

[10] *Christianam*, A.B.

[11] Not found there.

[12] *Hynderling*] om. B., which also confuses the whole sentence.

[13] *dejectum*, A.

[14] *Edeling*, A.

[15] *dum regnaret pro filio nutrivit, et hæredem Angliæ instituere cogitavit*, C.D.

[16] *Nothum avunculi sui filium*, add. C.D.

[17] *Henricus, libro secundo*, B. Script. post Bedam, p. 74.

outlawed Edwyne þe broþer of Edmond, whiche was called þe kyng of cherles or of uplondische men, neverþeles aftirward he was reconsiled desceyvablely, and i-slayn, þoruȝ þe traytours of his men. Also kyng Kanute, as wel for schame as for þe counsaile of Edrik, dredynge for to slee þe sones of Edmond, þat is to wite, Edmond and Edward, sent þaym to þe kyng of Sweþerlond for to be slayn; whiche dredynge God, sent þaym oversee to Salamon þe kyng of Hongery, for to be keped to þe lyf. [But][1] Edmond, wedded þe douȝter of þat kyng, but sone after he deide wiþ oute children. Edward forsoþe wedded Agath, þe douȝter of Henricus emperour, of whome he gat Margarete, þat was aftirward queene of Scotland, and Cristean þat was a nonne, and Edgar Adelynge. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Þis word Adelyng is compowned in Duche and in Saxon of Adel, þat is noble, and lyng, þat is image, as it were a noble ymage; wherefore Westsex men haveþ in proverbe of hiȝe despite hynderlyng, whiche sowneþ i-cast doun fro honeste, or any ymage goynge bakward. Seynt Edward kyng aftirward purposed for to have made þis Edgare Adelyng heire of Engelond; bot dredynge þe wikkednes of his owne peple and þe sones of Godewyne, he chese William of Normandye. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. Kyng Kanute, in þe monþe of Iule, þat he myȝte streyne þe reme of Engelond more faste

Trevisa.

callede the kynge of churles, whiche reconsilede afterwarde, was sleyne by treason. But Canutus the kynge, dredynge to sle Edmund and Edwarde, sonnes to Edmund Irenside, for schame, sende theyme to be sleyne of the kynge of Suaves. That kynge dredynge God, sende theyme to the kynge of Hungary, Salomon by name, that thei scholde have theire lyfe. And Edmund maryede the doȝhter of that kynge, whiche diede soone after withowte eny childer. Edward, that other broþer, mariede Agatha, doȝhter of Henre the emperoure, of whom he gate a doȝhter, Margarete by name, after qwene of Scottes, and Christian, a myncheon, and Edgarus Adelynge. *Henricus, libro sexto.* This worde Adelynge is compownde after the langage of Saxons, of Adel, that is noble, and of this worde lyng, that is an ymage, as a noble ymage. Wherefore the Westesaxons have in grete despite that person, whom they calle Hindirlynge, sowndynge as deiecte from honeste. Hooly kynge Edwarde intended to have made this Edgar Adelyng his successour of the realme of Ynglond, neverthelesse he, dredynge the sonnes of Godewyn and the wickydnesse of the peple, made William of Normandy his successour. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.* This Canutus, thenkynge to be sure of the realme, mariede Emma the qwene unto hym, of

MS. Harl. 2261.

[1] *Of*, MS.

qua progenuit Hardeknutum. Post hæc in Natali Domini apud Londoniam perfidum Edricum, beneficia collata sibi improperantem, in palatio suo jussit occidi, corpusque ejus extra[1] muros projici in Thamisiam, prospiciens[2] sibi in[3] hoc, ne ejus insidiis circumveniretur. Quosdam alios proceres profugavit, sed comitem Leofricum semper carum tenuit.[4] Post hoc apud Oxoniam parliamentum coegit, ubi Angli simul et Dani de legibus regis Edgari observandis concordes sunt effecti. *Henricus, libro vi°.*[5] Hoc anno Canutus adivit Daciam, ducens secum[6] Anglos contra Wandalos sibi infestos.[7] Unde et nocte bellum præcedente Angli duce Godwyno, inscio rege, improvisos[8] hostes fugaverunt et disperserunt. Qua de causa rex in summo honore deinceps habuit Anglos;[9] eoque[10] anno rediit.[11] Hoc anno defuncto Aldulmo[12] Lindisfarnensi episcopo, sede[13] per triennium ferme vacante, facta est synodus circa præsulis electionem; ubi presbyter Edmundus superveniens [joco][14] dixit, "Cur me episcopum[15] non eligitis?" Cujus jocum cæteri non jocose[16] sumentes, triduano super hoc indicto jejunio, velle beati Cuthberti consulunt. Unde

Gratiæ MXIX. Canuti II.

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[1] *juxta*, B.
[2] *timens*, C.D.
[3] *ex*, B.
[4] *et habuit*, A.
[5] Scrip. post Bedam, p. 364.
[6] *exercitum tam Anglorum quam Dacorum*, C.D.
[7] *pugnaturus*, C.D.
[8] *improvisos*] om. B.
[9] *Rex ex Dacia rediit, consilium magnum apud Cirencestre tenuit*, C.D.
[10] *eo*, A.; *eo quoque*, B.
[11] *Alfredus*, B.
[12] *Alduno*, MSS.
[12] *sedeque*, A.
[13] *joco*, added from A.B.C.D.
[14] *ipsum*, B.
[15] *jocosum*, A.

unto hym, wedded to his wyf Emme the queene, of whom he gatte Hardeknute. After þat, in þe Nativite of oure Lord, at Londoun in his paleys, he commaunded false Edrik forto be slayne, whiche upbrayded hym þe benefetes þat were done unto hym, and his body to be i-cast by þe walles into Tempse, seynge and byholdynge to hym self in þat þat he schulde nouȝt be desceyved by his aspyenges ; and oþer gentil men he drove out ; but he hilde everemore þe erle Leofric dere. After þis at Oxenforde he made a parlement, where boþe Englisshe men and Danes were made acorde for to kepe þe lawes of kyng Edgare. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Þis ȝere Canute wente unto Denmark, ledynge Englisshe men wiþ hym aȝenst þe Wandales, þat war disesy unto hym ; wherfore in þe nyȝt þat went bifore þe bataile, Englische men wiþ Godwyne þaire ledere, unwetynge þe kyng, disperbled and chased þe enemyes unpurveied. For whiche cause fro þat tyme forþ þe kyng hadde Englisshemen in sovereigne worschippe, and þat same ȝere he come aȝen. *Alfridus.* Þis ȝere Aldelme þe bisshop of Lindisfarn Doreyn is deed, and þe see is voyde almost þre ȝere. Þere was i-made a seyne and a convocacioun aboute þe chesyng of þe bisshop, were a preost Edmond comynge, seide in game, "Why chese "ȝe nouȝt me myself ;" whos gaume oþere nouȝt takynge gamfully, þre dayes fastynge y-bode for þat, þay counsailled

Trevisa.

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whom he gate Hardeknutus, causenge in a Cristemasse folowynge that traytour Edricus to be heded in his palice, and his body to be caste into Thamys at London, luffynge moche Leofricus the erle. After that he kepede a parliament at Oxenford, where Ynglische men and Danes were acorded to observe the lawes of kynge Edgarus. *Henricus, libro sexto.* Canutus the kynge wente in this yere to Denmarke, takynge an hoste of Ynglische men with hym ageyne the Wandalynges contrarious to hym. Wherefore in the nyȝhte afore that batelle scholde have folowede, Godewyn the duke, takynge with hym the hoste of Ynglischemen, the kynge not knowynge, wente to the Wandalynges, and hade a noble victory of theyme, for whiche kyndenesse that kynge Canutus hade Ynglische men in grete honoure afterwarde, and returnede to Ynglonde ageyne that same yere. *Alfridus.* Aldunus bischop of Lindisfarne dedde, and that seete beynge vacante allemoste by iij. yere, a seeyne was hade for eleccion of the bischop, where a preste, Edmund by name, commynge to the seide eleccion, seide in this wise to his felowschip, "Wherefore luffe ye not my person?" The peple fastynge by thre daies, desyred God and seynte Cuthberte that thei myȝhte have knowlege what man scholde reioyce that

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 297 a.

et celebrante presbytero missam, vox de sepulcro sancti[1] Cuthberti in medio canone audita est tribus vicibus insonare[2] Edmundum debere in episcopum sumi. *Miraculum.*[3] Hoc etiam[4] anno illud insolitum contigit miraculum in Saxonia, in ecclesia Sancti Magni martyris. Siquidem quindecim viris et tribus mulieribus nocte Natalis Domini choream in cæmiterio ducentibus, presbyter ecclesiæ ira motus imprecatus est Dei vindictam, sic dicens, " Concedat[5] Deus meritis sancti Magni martyris " ut sic inquieti per totum annum choream ducatis."[5] Quod et factum est, nam post annum evolutum, eadem nocte Natalis Domini, usque ad latera nive[6] demersi choream duxerunt; non manducaverant neque biberant neque dormierant, donec per orationem sancti Herberti[7] Coloniensis episcopi liberati sunt. Qui cum de terra extraherentur, coram altare se projecerunt; quorum quidam in morte cito obdormierunt; quidam ad vitam reservati ostenderunt in se magnalia Dei.[8] Una autem de illis tribus mulieribus fuerat filia ipsius sacerdotis qui vindictam imprecaverat; quam cum frater suus de chorea extrahere temptaret, avulso brachio nihilominus choream ducebat[9] toto illo anno. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.*[10] Circa hæc tempora Brithwoldus[11] monachus Glastoniensis, qui postmodum fuit Wiltoniensis[12]

Edmundus miraculose electus est in episcopum.

Visio Brithwoldi de futura successione regni Angliæ.

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[1] *beati*, B.
[2] *sonare*, B.
[3] B. omits heading.
[4] *etiam*] om. B.
[5] *Utinam Dei virtute et sancti Magni sic inquieti vos annum peragatis*, C.D.
[6] *nive*] om. B.
[7] *Cuthberti*, B.
[8] *ostenderunt . . . Dei*] om. C.D.
[9] *cum cæteris*, add. A.B.
[10] Scrip. post Bedam, p. 91.
[11] *Brewoldus*, B.
[12] *Wintoniensis*, B.

þe will of seynt Cuthbert. Wherfore þe preost syngynge masse, in myddes of þe canoun a voyce was herde þre tymes sowne out of þe tombe of seynt Cuthbert, "Edmond oweþ to be "take into bisshop." Also this ȝere byfell þat unwont myracle in Saxon, in þe chirche of seint Magne martir, forsoþe xv. men and iii. wommen, in the nyȝt of þe Nativite of oure Lorde, ledynge a daunce in þe chirche ȝerde, þe preost of þe chirche stirred in ire bysouȝt þe vengeaunce of God, seienge þus: "God graunte þoruȝ þe merytes of seint Magne his martir "þat ȝe lede þus ȝour daunce;" þey ete nouȝt, ne drank nouȝt, ne sleped nouȝt, unto þey were delyvered by þe prayer of seint Cuthbert, þe bisshop of Coloun; whiche when þey were i-drawe out of þe erþe, þey caste þeymself doun byfore þe auȝter; of whom som deyed sone; and som i-kept unto þe lyf schewed þe greet werchynge of God in þaym self. One forsoþe of þe þre wommen was þe douȝter of þe same preost þat asked vengeaunce, whiche when here broþer assayed for to drawe hir out fro the daunce[1] wiþ þe oþer al þat ȝere. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Aboute þis tyme Briȝtwolde, monk of Glastyngbury, whiche was aftirward þe firste bisshop of Wiltoun, whiles he þouȝt in contem-

TREVISA.

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office and charge. Wherefore the preste beynge in the canon of the masse, a voice was herde from the sepulcre of seynte Cuthberte to say thryes, "Edmund awe to be bischop," and so he was. A thynge to be mervaylede happed in this yere in Saxonia in the churche of Seynte Magnus, a martir: xv. men and thre women dawnsynge in the seide churcheyerde on Cristemasse nyȝhte, the preste of that churche trowblede þerwith, preyed and desirede the vengeaunce of God, seyenge, "God grawnte, thro the merites of seynte Magnus the martir, "þat ye contynue so by alle the yere;" and so thei did: for in Cristemasse nyȝhte in the nexte yere folowynge they dawncede, beynge drownede in snawe unto the myddes of theire body; in alle that tyme neiþer eitynge, drynkynge, neiþer slepynge, untille thei were delyverede by the preier of seynte Cuthberte bischop of Colon. Whiche drawen up from the erthe felle afore the awter; somme of whom diede, and somme of theym contynuede in lyfe; and oon of the thre women was doȝhter to the seide preste that desired vengeaunce. The brother of the same prestes doȝhter, laborynge to have his suster owte from that dawnce, and pullynge at her arme, drawede hit aweye, and ȝitte sche lefte not that dawnce. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Briȝhtwoldus monke of Glassynbery, after that bischop of Wilton, beynge in contemplacion, thouȝhte of

MS. HARL. 2261.

Agen peple dawncynge.

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[1] Some omission of words by the scribe. See Harl. version below.

episcopus, dum contemplando cogitaret de regia stirpe Anglorum pœne tunc deleta, sopor [eum][1] irrepsit. Et ecce videt[2] Petrum apostolum manu sua tenere Edwardum filium Egelredi,[3] in Normannia tunc exulantem,[4] in regem consecrare, ac sanctitatem ejus, cum numero[5] xxiii. annorum quibus[6] regnaturus plene[7] ostendere; respondit Petrus: "Regnum Anglorum[8] Dei est; post "istum providebit[9] Deus." *Henricus, libro sexto.*[10] [11] Circa hos dies quidam vir Dei prædixit Anglis insperatum a Francis[12] dominium venturum; [13] quod eos deprimeret, etc., sicut supra in fine primi libri. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro ii°.*[14] Hoc anno Egelnotus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis regem Canutum auctoritate sanctitudinis in bonis mulcens, in excessibus terrens, corpus sancti Alphegi de Londonia ad propriam reduxit ecclesiam. Deinde de Roma rediens apud Papiam urbem brachium sancti Augustini doctoris centum talentis argenti et uno talento auri comparavit,

Regnum Anglorum Dei est.

Gratiæ MXXIIII. Canuti VII.

Translatio S. Alphegi.

Brachium sancti Augustini doctoris.

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[1] *eum*] from B.

[2] *vidit*, A.

[3] *Ethelredi*, B.

[4] *et*, C.D.

[5] *numero*] om. A.

[6] *cumque monachus ille de posteritate Edwardi et successione reiminis inquireret*, A.; *cum monachus illo de posteritate Edwardi quæreret*, C.D.

[7] *erat plane*, B.

[8] *regnum*, add. A.

[9] *regem ad placitum sui*, C.D.

[10] Scrip. post Bedam, p. 359.

[11] *Quidam etiam vir Dei prædixit tunc Anglis quod ex scelerum suorum immanitate, quia non solum cædi et proditioni insistebant, sed ebrietati et necgligentiæ domus Dei dediti erant, insperatum eis a Francia adventurum dominium, quod eorum excellentiam deprimeret in perpetuum et honorem sine termino restitutionis eventilaret; prædixit et quod non solum ea gens sed etiam gens Scotorum, quos Angli vilissimos existimant, ad emeritam confusionem Anglis dominaretur. Prædixit etiam nihilominus a Deo unum sæculum adventurum, ut varietas quæ in mentibus hominum latebit et in actibus patebit, multimoda vestium variacione designaretur. Ethelnotus archiepiscopus*, &c., C.D.

[12] *a Francia*, A.

[13] *qui eorum excellentiam deprimeret in perpetuum, et honorem sine termino ventilaret*, B.

[14] Scrip. post Bedam, p. 75.

placioun of þe kynges of Engelond progenye, þat was almost þanne fordone, slomberynge fil on hym, and lo he sawe seynt Peter apostel holde in his hond Edward þe sone of Egelrede, outlawed þan in Normandye, and consecrat hym kyng, and schewe fully his holynes in nombre of xxiii. ȝere in whiche he schulde regne. And whan þe monk asked of þe posterite of Edward and of þe successours of reignynge, seynt Peter answerde, "Þe reme of Engelond is þe reme of God ; after þis "God schal purveie." *Henricus, libro* 6°. Aboute þese dayes a Goddes man seide byfore to Englische men þat þere was to comen and untristed a lordschipe fro Fraunce, þat schulde opresse þaym ; as above in the ende of þe firste book. *Willel-* TREVISA.

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the succession of kynges off Yngelonde abowte this tyme, whiche stocke or kynde was allemoste destroyede ; and soone after he was as in a dreame, and did beholde seynte Petyr the apostole holde in his hondes Edwarde the son of Egelredus, beynge then in exile in Fraunce, and to consecrate hym into the kynge, and to schewe plenerly his vertuous lyfe, with the nowmbre of yeres in whom he scholde reigne. The monke inquirenge of the posterite of Edwarde and succession, seynte Petyr answerde seyenge: "The realme of Ynglische men is the realme of God, "and God schalle make providence after hym, or after this "Edwarde." Thauȝhe Canutus the kynge come to Ynglond a pagan, he was soone after convertede to the feithe of Criste, and devoute in his servyce. In the firste yere of the reigne of whom þe men come to hym that hade sleyn Edmund Irneside by treason of Edricus, supposynge to have grete rewardes of hym; whom he causede to suffre dethe for sleynge of theire naturalle lorde. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.* Egelnothus, archebischop of Cawnterbery, translate the body of seynte Elphegus from London to Cawnterbery in this yere by licence of kynge Canutus, and after that goynge to the cite Papy from Rome bouȝhte an arme of seynte Austyn for a c. talentes of silvyr and oon talente of golde, whiche he sende to MS. HARL. 2261. f. 320 a.

quod amore Leofrici comitis Covventriam[1] misit. *De imperatoribus Teutonicorum.*[2] Hoc anno primus Henricus imperator Teutonicorum obiit; cui successit Conradus primus, qui regnavit xv. annis. Qui statuit legem ut quicumque[3] legem terræ infringeret capite plecteretur. Cujus statuti primus transgressor fuerat comes Lupoldus, qui timens sibi fugit cum uxore ad Heremum,[4] ubi dum semel Conradus causa venandi devenisset, dormiendo in stratu audivit vocem bis sibi[5] dicentem, "Puer comitis heremitæ, qui nunc recenter " natus est, erit tibi gener[6] et successor." Quamobrem ipse indignatus jussit cor pueri sibi afferri; sed nuncii Deum timentes, puerum vivum in silva projecerunt, et cor leporis regi attulerunt. Contigit autem ut[7] cito post hæc[8] dux quidam Henricus ibidem pertransiens puerum vagientem audiret, quem uxori suæ sterili nutriendum transmisit, nomen suum Henricum illi imponens. Cumque[9] illum jam adultum juvenem imperator Conradus aliquotiens conspiceret, ac[10] præteritum præsagium in animo resolveret, reclamante patre[11] putativo rex juvenem secum retinuit, tractans jugiter penes se quomodo eum perdere posset. Unde misit eum ad imperatricem cum litteris sic inscriptis, quod visis litteris

Gratiæ MXXV. Canuti VIII.

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[1] *Coventi*, A.; *Coventreyam*, B.
[2] A.B. omit heading.
[3] *hominum etiam patriciorum seu principum*, add. C.D.
[4] *ubi aliquando heremitice vixit*, add. C.D.
[5] *sibi*] om. B.
[6] *genus*, A.
[7] *quod*, B.
[8] *ut*, here in C.D.
[9] *Cum quia*, B.
[10] *ad*, B.
[11] *pueri*, add. B.

mus de Regibus, libro 2°. Þis ȝere Henricus þat was called benigne, þe emperour of Almayne, deide; whom folwede Conradus þe firste, whiche regned xv. ȝere; whiche ordeyned a lawe þat who so evere brak þe lawe of þe lond schulde lese his heved. Of þe whiche statut þe firste trespasour was þe erle [1] þat is heremyte, whiche is now freschely born schal be to þe sone in lawe and successour; for whyche þing he hadde dedeyn, and comaunded þe herte of þe childe for to be brouȝt unto hym; but þe messangers dredynge God, kest þe childe quik in þe woode, and brouȝt the kyng þe herte of an hare. It byfel forsoþe þat sone after þis, þat a duke me called Henry passynge þerby, herde þe childe squeke, and he sente it to his wyf, þat was bareyne, for to be norsched, giffynge to hit his owne name, Henry. And when þat Conradus þe emperour somtyme byheld wiþ hym i-woxen a ȝong man, and turned up and doun in his mynde þe forwittynge þat was passed, þe kyng helde wiþ hym þe ȝonge man, þe man þat was supposed þe fadir of þe childe aȝenseyinge; and alwayes he ymagyned aȝenst hymself how he myȝte fordo þe child; wherefore he sent hym to þe emperour[2] wiþ lettres þus writen, þat þe lettres i-sene, þe same day he schulde be dede. Bot while þe ȝonge man was her- TREVISA.

Coventre for the luffe of Leofricus the erle. Henre the firste, emperoure of Alemayne, died in this yere, whom Conradus the firste did succede xv. yere; whiche made a lawe that whosoever brake the lawe of the londe scholde be heded. The firste transgressor of þat statute was Lupoldus the erle, whiche dredynge dethe, fledde to wildernesse with his wife. Conradus commynge to hunte in a season in those costes, and logged with the same erle, herde a voice sayenge to hym: "The sonne " of this erle lyvynge nowe as an heremite, whiche is borne " but late, schalle be thy sonne-in-lawe and successoure." Themperoure havynge indignacion commaunded the herte of childe to be brouȝhte to hym; but the messyngers dredynge God, lefte the childe on lyve in the woode, and brouȝhte the herte of an hare to the kynge. Hit happede that a duke commynge by that weye, and herynge the voice of a yonge childe, toke hit to his wife withowte childer, and namede hit Henre. This childe encreasynge moche, hit happede the emperoure to beholde hym, and remembrynge that voice hade afore to hym, causede that yonge man to tary in his palice, ymagynynge ofte howe he myȝhte putte hym to dethe. Wherefore he sende hym to themperesse with letters, that the letters redde he scholde dye in that day. But this yonge man taryenge in a MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] An omission of the scribe; for the sense see Harl. translation below.

[2] Sic in MS.

eo die moreretur. At dum juvenis apud quendam presbyterum nocte[1] hospitaretur, presbyter eo dormiente aperuit litteras,[2] pro illo verbo *moriatur* scripsit *filiæ nostræ maritetur;* quod et factum est. Unde licet imperator ex hoc turbaretur, pensato tamen quod filius esset illustris comitis, levius tulit; sed et in loco Heremi, ubi natus fuerat, monasterium construxit, quod Ursania[3] dicitur.

Cap. XIX.

[*De rebus Normannicis.*]

Hoc[4] anno obiit ii^us[5] Ricardus, dux quartus Normanniæ; cui successit filius suus[5] Ricardus tertius, quem post annum sui ducatus frater suus junior Robertus[6] veneno extinxit. Qua de causa idem Robertus eidem succedens, post septimum ducatus sui annum corde compunctus, nudipes Jerusalem ivit peregrinus, et Bithyniæ obiit. De quo traditum est quod bellando erat strenuus, dando liberalis, convivando profusus. Unde et in quadam festivitate contigit ut cæteris militibus ad missam quandam offerentibus, unus militum non offeret. Putans autem dux eum[7] nihil habere unde offerre possit, jussit ei dare centum libras. Qui statim ut eas recepisset,

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[1] *nocte*] om. B.
[2] *aperiens litteras*, A.; *apperiens litteram*, B.
[3] *Ursina*, A.
[4] *etiam*, add. A.
[5] *ii^us . . . suus*] om. B.
[6] *Robertus*] om. A.
[7] *illum*, A.

berwed a nyȝt at a preste his house, þe preost oponynge þe lettres whiles he sleped, wrote for þat word, be he dede, be he maryed to oure douȝter; which þing was i-doo, wherfore þerof al þe empere was astonyed; neverþeles þinkynge þat he was þe sone of a worþy erle, he suffred it more liȝtly. But in þe place of wildernesse where he was i-borne he made an abbay þat unto þis day is i-called Vesanya. TREVISA.

Capitulum nonum decimum.

ALSO þis ȝere deide þe secounde Richard, þe fourþe duke of Normandie, to whom succedid his sone Richard þe þridde, whom afterward a ȝere of his ducherie his ȝong broþer Robert slow wiþ venym; for whiche cause þe same Robert succedynge hym, after þe sevenþe ȝere of his ducherie, havynge compunccioun in his herte, wente in pilgrimage to Ierusalem barefoot, and deide at Bithanye; of whom it was tolde þat in fiȝtinge he was strong, in giffynge liberal, in festynge and mete ȝevynge large. Wherfore it byfel in a festivite þat alle oþer knyȝtes offerynge at a messe, o knyght offred nouȝt; þe duke forsoþe supposynge þat he hadde nouȝt wherof he myȝte offre, comaunded for to giff hym an hondred pounde, whiche al so sone

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nyȝhte with a preste, and takynge reste, þe preste takynge þe letters and redynge þeim, abhorrede that synne, and didde wryte for this clause, that he scholde dye in suche a certeyne day, he schalle be mariede to oure doȝhter in suche a day; and so he was. The emperour trowbled þerwith, neverthelesse he remembrenge that he was the sonne of a noble erle, toke hit pacientely, makynge a monastery in that wildernesse where he was borne, callede Ursania. MS. HARL. 2261. f. 320 b.

Capitulum nonum decimum.

RICHARDE the secunde, and the iiij^{the} duke of Normandy, diede þis yere; whom his sonne Richarde the thrydde did succede; whom Roberte the yonger broþer poysenede after the firste yere of his governayle. Wherefore the same Robert, successour to hym, after the vij^{the} yere of his governayle, with grete compunction wente barefote to Ierusalem, and diede at Bithinia; of whom hit is rehersed that he was myȝhty in batelle, liberalle in ȝiffenge, and profuse in makynge festes. Where hit happede in a grete feste that the seide duke offrenge with his knyȝhtes, oon of his knyȝhtes offred not; the duke supposynge he hade not eny thynge to offre, commaunded an c^{ti}. to

integre totum super altare posuit, et requisitus cur ita fecisset, respondit, "Quia datæ erant ad offerendum." Quod dux audiens alias centum libras dedit ei ad usus suos.[1] Alia vice, dum idem dux ad scaccos luderet, oblata est ei justa aurea gemmis mirabiliter adornata; qui statim dedit eam clerico secum colludenti, et clericus statim expiravit. Cujus rationem reddebant medici, dicentes[2] quod sicut præ nimio dolore cor clauditur, et nisi citius aperiatur mortem inducit, ita præ nimia lætitia cor aperitur, et nisi citius recludatur causa erit mortis. Item quadam vice quidam attulit duci Roberto duos cultellos pulcherrimos. Cui fecit statim dari centum libras. At dum ille[3] numeraret, dati sunt duci duo equi generosi, quos statim dedit eidem. Sed et ille his acceptis festinanter abiit, ne quid impedimenti ei forsan obveniret. Interea data est duci cuppa argentea, et quæsito nec invento qui cultellos prius attulerat, conquestus est dux quod[4] parum remunerationis accepisset. Asserebatur[5] de isto Roberto quod quicquid sibi daretur illud erogaret illi qui sibi primo aliquid honorificum

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[1] *ad usus suos*] om. B.; *ad usus proprios*, A

[2] *dicentes*] om. A.

[3] *nummos*, add A.B.

[4] *quia*, A.

[5] *enim*, B.

as he hadde receyved, þan he putte holy all up on þe auȝter ; and when he was i-asked why he hadde done so, he answerde, "For þey were gyffen for to offre." When þe duke herde þat, he ȝaf hym an oþer hondred pound to his owne use. Anoþer tyme, when þe same duke plaied at þe chesse, hym was ȝoven a viste of gold, honoured wonderfully wiþ precious stones, and he also sone ȝaf it to þe clerk þat pleyde with hym, and þe clerk also sone deide; of whiche þing phiciciens and leches tolde þe cause, seienge þat riȝt as for overmoche sorwe the herte is stoken and spered, and bot it be þe sonner opned, it bryngeþ yn deth, riȝt so for overmoche gladnesse þe herte is oponed, and bot it be þe sonner spered it schal be cause of deth. Also anoþer tyme a man brouȝte to Robert þe duke two ful faire knyȝtes,[1] to whom he made giffe al so sone an hondred pound, and whiles he tolde þe penyes two gentil hors were ȝefen to þe duke, whiche al so sone he ȝaf to þe same man; and he, when he hadde taken þese, hastily wente awey, þat þere schulde no lettynge peradventure come unto hym. In þe mene tyme a selver cuppe was ȝefen to þe duke, and he þat brouȝt þe knyves i-souȝt and nouȝt i-founde, þe duke pleyned hym þat he hadde i-take to litel rewardynge. It was seide of þis Robert þat what some evere was ȝeven hym, he wolde ȝeve it unto hym þat ȝaf hym any worschipful þing þat day, but if peraventure þe ȝifte war

TREVISA.

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be taken to hym ; whiche receyvynge that summe, offrede hit holle. That knyȝhte inquirede why he did soe, ansueryde that hit was ȝiffen to hym to offre. The duke herynge that, commaunded an c^ti. to be taken to hym to his awne use. That duke playenge an other tyme at the chesse, a botelle of golde onorned mervellousely with gemmes, was brouȝhte to hym, whom he ȝafe anoon to a clerke playenge with hym, and the clerke diede anoon after. Leches assignede this to be the cause, seyenge that lyke as a herte schutte for grete sorowe, and not opened soone, inducethe dethe, so the herte openede for grete ioye, and not schutte soone, inducethe dethe. Also a man brouȝhte to the duke ij. ryalle knyfes, to whom he ȝafe a c^ti., whiche tellynge that money, in the meane tyme ij. noble horses were ȝiffen to the duke, whom he ȝafe also to þe same man, the man ȝiffenge thonkynge to þe duke departede prively awey. After that a cuppe of sylver was taken to the seide duke, that man bryngynge the knyfes to the duke souȝhte and not founde, the duke was soory, sayenge that he hade not a condigne rewarde for his knyves. Hit was seide that this duke wolde have ȝiffen to a man that hade brouȝhte hym enythynge of worschip or pleasure whatsoever thynge that hade ben ȝifen to

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] Sic in MS., *see* Harl.

daret eo die, nisi forte [1] datum esset comestibile. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro iii°., in primis.*[2] Transiens aliquando iste Robertus per Phalesiam urbem Normanniæ, vidit puella Arlet nomine, pelliparii filiam, inter [3] cæteras in chorea tripudiantem;[4] de nocte illam sibi conjunxit, quam vice uxoris aliquamdiu tenens Willelmum conquestorem ex ea generaverit.[5] Cujus futuram magnitudinem matris somnium portendebat, quo intestina sua per Angliam et Normanniam viderat dilatari. In [6] ipsaque partus effusione pusio [7] humum attingit, ambasque manus de pulvere pavimenti implevit, constrinxit,[8] et complodit.[9] Ex hoc obstetrix ipsum regem fore [10] futurum pronunciavit. Hæc [11] itaque puella Arleta [12] dum prima nocte ad lectum ducis Roberti duceretur, fregit camisiam propriam a mento usque ad pedes, et requisita a duce cur sic fecisset, respondit, "non esse fas neque "facetia ut ima pars camisiæ, quæ pedes suos ambierat, "ad os domini sui verteretur." [13] Igitur [14] dux Robertus Jerosolimam tendens, convocatis proceribus suis apud Fiscanum, fecit omnes jurare fidelitatem Willelmo filio

De procreatione Willelmi per Robertum ducem Normanniæ ex illicito concubitu.

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[1] *aliquid quod edi aut bibi posset*, C.D.

[2] *in primis*] om. B.; *in principio*, A. Scrip. post Bedam, p. 95.

[3] *inter . . . pronunciavit*] om. C.D.

[4] *quam adamavit et*, add. B.

[5] *generat*, A.

[6] *In*] om. A.

[7] *per incuriam obstetricis*, add. B.

[8] *construxit*, A.

[9] *compegit*, B.

[10] *fore*] om. B.

[11] *quæ cum ad lectum*, &c., C.D.

[12] *Arlet*, A.B

[13] C.D. insert: "Genuit ex illa "dux filium nomine Willelmum, "postea Angliæ conquestorem. At "illa obdormiens sompniavit ar"borem de ventre suo procedere "quæ totam Normanniam obum"bravit; sed et puer natus per "incuriam obstetricis in stramine "projectus est, et puer multum "de stramine in brachiis retinuit, "quidam signum futuræ potentiæ "prognosticabat."

[14] *Igitur . . . dicetur* (page 126)] om. C.D.

able to be eten. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 3°. Þis Robert somtyme passynge þoruȝ Phalesiam, a citee of Normandy, he saw a mayden, Arlek by name, þe douȝter of a skynner, daunsynge in a carroll among oþer maydouns; þat nyȝt he took hir to hym, þe whiche he hilde longe tyme in stede of his wif, and on hir he gat William conquerour, whos gretnes to come bytokened þe dreeme of his moder, in whiche sche saw hir bowels spred þoruȝ Engelond and Normandye. And also in þe schedynge of þe burþe, þe ȝong childe, when he touched þe erþe, he filled boþe his hondes of poudre of þe pavement, he constreyned and helde to gidre; of þat the mydwif schewed byfore þat he schulde be a kyng. Þis mayden forsoþe Arlek, þe firste nyȝt þat sche was ledde to þe duke Robert his bedde, sche brak hire owne smok fro the chyn unto þe foot, and when sche was asked of þe duke why sche dede so, sche answerde þat it was nouȝt laweful nor curtesye þat þe lowest party of hir smok, þat hadde gone aboute hir fete, schulde be torned to his lordes mouth. Þe duke Robert þerfore goynge to Ierusalem, i-called alle his gentiles at Fiscan, and he made þaim alle for to swere truþe and feaute to William his sone, seven ȝere of age þat tyme; to whom he ordeyned child

TREVISA.

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hym in þat day, withowte the ȝifte hade ben to eite.[1] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tertio.* This duke Robert goynge in a tyme thro Phalesia a cite of Normandy, perceyvede the doȝhter of a skynner, Arlet by name, dawnesynge amonge oþer women, and takynge hir to hym in the nyȝhte, and usynge here a certeyne season in the maner of his wife, gate of here William þe noble conquerour. The magnitude of whom to comme the dreame of his moder portended, thenkynge hire bowells to be spredde over Ynglonde and Normandy. And also in the tyme of hire childynge, William Conquerour here son towchynge the erthe, fyllede bothe his hondes of hit, and helde hit faste; wherefore the myddewife seide hit was a signe that he scholde be a noble kynge and prince. This maide Arlet brouȝhte to the bedde of the duke, in the firste nyȝhte brake here smokke from the chynne unto here feete. The duke inquirenge the cause, sche answerede and seide that hit was ageyne norture and curtesye that the laweste parte of here smocke, whiche hade compassede here feete, scholde be turnyde to the mowthe of here lorde. This duke goynge to Ierusalem, and callynge afore to hym the noble men of Normandy, caused theyme to swere and to promise fidelite to William his sonne, havynge that tyme

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 321 a.

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[1] Sic in MS.

suo tunc[1] septenni. Cui Gylbertum comitem constituit tutorem, tutelamque tutoris Henrico regi Francorum designavit; sed hanc fidem usque ad obitum Roberti proceres pupillo servavere; sed morte ejus audita unusquisque sibi prospexit, et pupillum neglexit. Tandem interfecto Gilberto prædicto[2] per Gadulphum[3] pueri patruelem, ubique cædes[4] fiebant, patriaque intestinis discidiis ulcerata. Willelmus tamen in armis adolescens Gydonem[5] Burgundium, ex filia Ricardi secundi sibi consanguineum, totius factionis auctorem, cepit et extinxit; Odonem fratrem regis Franciæ, contra se venientem, fugavit. Quo audito Henricus rex Franciæ cum ampla occurrens multitudine turpiter fugatur;[6] sed intercurrentibus mediatoribus pax formata, et regii captivi liberantur: ubi summe notandum est quod cum Willelmus iste sæpius cum rege Franciæ conflixerit, nunquam subito, sicut nostri modo faciunt, sed pronunciata belli die, superiorem semper manum reportaverit.[7] Inde[8] mortuo rege Franciæ terras Normanniæ apprehendit[9] quamvis[10] diu absolutas, puta Cenomanicum[11] comitatum, Britan-

Nota magnalia Willelmi conquestoris in suis primitivis.

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[1] *tunc*] om. A.
[2] *prædicto*] om. B.
[3] *Radulphum*, A.; *rˢdiū*, B.
[4] *sedes*, A.
[5] *Guidonem*, A.; *Gwydonem*, B.
[6] *profugatur*, A.B.
[7] *reportavit*, B.
[8] *Unde*, B.
[9] *apprehendit*] from B.; *appendi*, MS.
[10] *appendices quamvis*, A.
[11] *Cenomanniæ*, B.

Gilbert to be tutour, and he assigned the kepynge and defendynge of his tutour to kyng Henry of Fraunce. Þe gentiles keped hir feiþ to þe childe unto þe deienge of Robert, but his dede i-herde, everichon loked to hym self, and was necligent to þe childe. At þe laste þe forseide Gilbert i-slay by Rauf, þe childes eme sone and cosyn, over al was done menslauȝter, and þe contray was alto wounded wiþ ynward dissenciouns. William, whan he was wexynge in armes, toke Gy of Burgoyn, þat was cosyn to hym, of þe douȝter of Richard þe secounde, auctour of alle þe doyng, and slow hym ; he made Odoun, þe kynges broþer of Fraunce comynge agayne hym, for to flee ; whiche i-herde, kyng Henry of Fraunce, comynge wiþ a greet multitude, was made fouly for to flee, but mediatours goynge bytwixe, pees was made and þe kynges prisoners delyvered. Where it is sovereynly for to wite þat when þis William often tymes fauȝt wiþ þe kyng of Fraunce, nevere sodenly, as oure men doþ now, but þe day of batayle i-schewed, and assigned byfore, evermore i-bore awey þe overmore and þe hyȝer hond ; afterward þe kyng of Fraunce cesede þe londes þat were appendaunt to Normandie, as þe erldome of Cene and þe lasse

Trevisa.

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vij. yere in age, makynge Gilbertus the erle his tutor, and the specialle charge of theim bothe to Henre kynge of Fraunce. Whiche promyse and fidelite was kepede to the seide William unto the dethe of Roberte, þat noble duke his fader, but his dethe knowen, every man allemoste amonge theyme despised the childe, and made provision for þeim selfe. But the seide Gilberte sleyne by the sonne of the broþer to the seide Roberte, Radulphus by name, and William Conqueroure but tendre in age, mony batelles were movede betwene parties. Nevertheless the seide William Conquerour gedrenge an hoste toke and did sle Guido of Burguyn, cosyn to hym, getyn by the doȝhter of Richarde the secunde, auctor of those batelles, and causede Odo, broþer to the kynge of Fraunce, to flye, commynge with an hoste to ȝiffe batelle to hym. Henre kynge of Fraunce herynge that, and commynge with a grete multitude, was causede to fle by the seide William also ; but pease was reformed by mediators, and the men of the kynge taken in captivite were restorede. Wherefore hit is to be attended that this noble William Conqueroure ȝiffynge mony batelles to the kynge of Fraunce, did not comme on hym not provided, as men use nowe, but assignenge a day and the place, hade victory contynually ageyne the kynge. The kynge of Fraunce dedde, William Conqueroure gate by grete victoryes Cenomannia and Briteyne the lesse, pertenynge of olde tyme to Normandy, whom

MS. Harl. 2261

niam Minorem, quam rex Karolus cum filia sua Gylla dederat Rolloni, probe adquisivit. In quo bello fuit Haroldus Anglicus, prout infra dicetur.[1] Dux[2] igitur Robertus Jerosolimam tendens transivit per Burgundiam, ubi dum mane ultimus omnium peregrinorum portam[3] exiret,[4] a portario cum baculo percussus est; qui statim Deo gratias agens dixit suis, "Nolite me vindicare, " quia majori malo dignus sum. Ego plus diligo istum " ictum quam totum Rothomagum." Inde Romam veniens ut crucem a domino papa susciperet, imposuit pallium suum pretiosum statuæ Constantini magni, deridens in hoc Romanos, qui noluerant,[5] vel[6] saltem semel in anno, dare domino suo unam vestem.[7] Mulam etiam[8] quam equitavit fecit auro ferrari, prohibens omnibus suis hominibus ne quando ferratura caderet eam recolligerent. Divertens quoque per imperatorem Constantinopolim, dum[9] cum eo loquens nullum scamnum in domo videret, sedit super pallium proprium secundum morem patriæ suæ, et id idem fecerunt milites sui. Surgentes autem, sicut dux præceperat, dimiserunt ibidem pallia sua, dicentes se non debere secum auferre sedilia sua.[10] Et dum[11] rogaretur ab imperatore

De ignominiosa morte Roberti ducis patris Willielmi conquestoris.

[1] See note 14, page 122.

[2] *Dux etiam iste antequam Jerosolimam iret, filium suum Willelmum regi Franciæ commendavit, ut eum dominum Normanniæ constitueret. Unde dux per Burgundiam proficiscens*, &c., C.D.

[3] *portas*, B.

[4] *exiens ac moras aliquantulum nectens*, C.D.

[5] *nolebant*, A.

[6] *vel*] om. B.

[7] *unum indumentum*, C.D.

[8] *suam*, A.B.

[9] *dum*] om. A.

[10] *dicentes . . . sua*] om. C.D., and add: "Ac dum moniti fuissent a " curialibus ut pallia sua resume- " rent, respondit rex, Nolimus " scamna nostra nobiscum auferre."

[11] *Et dum dux*, A.; *Et dux*, B.

Britayne whiche kyng Charles ȝaf wiþ Gille his douȝter to Rolloun, worþely he wan it. In whiche bataille was Harold of Engelond, as it schal be seide wiþynne. Þe duke Robert þerfore goynge to Ierusalem wente þoruȝ Burgoyne, where whiles he went out at þe ȝate in a mornynge laste of alle þe pilgrimes, he was smeten of þe porter wiþ a staf, and also sone doynge þankes to God, seide to his men: "Keþe nouȝt in wil for to "venge me, ffor I am worþy moche more evel; I love bettre "þis stroke þan al Rothomage." Fro þens comynge to Rome þat he myȝte receyve þe croyce of þe pope, he put his mantel, þat was precious and riche, on þe ymage of Constantyn þe grete, skornynge in þat þe Romayns, þat wolde nouȝt ones a ȝere at þe leste ȝeve þaire lord a cloþe. He made also þe mule þat he rood uppon for to be schodde uppon[1] wiþ gold, forbedyng al his men þat when þe schone fel awey þat non schulde gadre þaym up. Also tornynge by þe emperour of Constantynnoble whiles he spak wiþ hym, sawe þat þere was no benche in þe hous, satte on his owne mantel, after þe manere and þe custume of his contre, and þat same dede his knyȝtes; and whan þey rose þay lefte þaire mantels þere as þe duke comaunded, seienge þat þey oghte nouȝt for to take awey wiþ þaym þaire benches and þaire sittynges; and whenne þe duke was prayed of þe emperour for to take costage and spence for the way, he answerde þat he

Trevisa.

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kynge Charls ȝafe to Rollo with Gilla his doȝhter. In whiche batelle Harolde off Yngelonde was, as hit schalle be schewede after. Robert this duke of Normandy goynge to Ierusalem thro Burgundye, and commynge laste from the ȝate of the cite of alle pilgremes, was smyten with a staffe in the hedde by the porter, and thonkynge God, seide to his men that they scholde not do eny hurte to the porter, for he was worthy to have moore correccion, "ffor y luffe this stroke better than Roone." After that this duke commynge to Rome to take the crosse of the pope, putte his precious palle on the ymage of noble Constantyne, skornynge the Romanes, in that thei wolde not ȝiffe oon tyme in the yere a clothynge to theire lorde. Also he causede the mule on whom he did ryde to be schodde with golde, prohibitynge his men to take the schoone and if thei did falle ofte. After that, he returnynge by the emperour of Constantinopole, and spekynge with hym, founde noo benche þer, sate uppon his palle after the maner of the cuntre, and his knyȝhtes in like wise. The duke arysynge and his men also lefte theire palles þer, seyenge that hit was not honeste to take theire seetes aweye with theyme. Themperoure proferynge grete ȝiftes to the duke, he refusede theyme, seyenge that he wolde

MS. Harl. 2216.

f. 321 b.

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[1] Sic in MS.

sumptus [1] ob iter accipere, respondit se velle dum peregrinaretur de suo vivere, sed in redeundo vellet imperatoris facere voluntatem. Unde rex prohibuit ne quis ei ligna venderet [2] ad coquendum victualia sua; at [3] dux [4] nuces emit quibus [5] coxit. Rex autem ducis probitatem admirans, bancos deinceps in curia sua statuit loco palliorum prædictorum. Post hæc dux ita ægrotavit in itinere quod nec ire nec equitare potuit; qua de causa conduxit pauperes Saracenos qui eum de die ferrent in feretro super humeros. Unde cuidam Normanno domum redeunti injunxit dux ut [6] Normannis rumores de duce quærentibus diceret quod viderat dæmones ducem ferre versus cœlum; Saracenos namque vocabat dæmones, et [7] Terram Sanctam vocabat [8] cœlum. Erat quippe tunc consuetudo quod nullus Christianus urbem sanctam nisi pretio dato intraret; unde et multi audientes de adventu hujus ducis, auxilium ab eo [9] petierunt. Quibus ille per cor ventris sui juravit quod quamdiu sibi duraret unus denarius ipse ultimus introiret. Quod audiens nobilis Saracenus dominus urbis, qui etiam de aliis hujus ducis probitatibus audierat, prohibuit statim ne quicquam de eo aut de eum [10] comitantibus caperetur, quin etiam tota oblatio eo die facta duci daretur; quam ille acceptam statim pauperibus erogavit. Et cito post, ut prædictum est, in Bithynia [11] obiit.

Obitus Roberti ducis in Betania.

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[1] *ut sumptus ad viandum caperet respondit*, &c., C.D.

[2] *etiam*, B.; *aut ministraret*, C.D.

[3] *At ille ex ciphis confractis, curribus et bigis minutim sectis, ac etiam nucum corticibus rogum fieri admonens, cibaria sua coqui edocuit. Rex*, &c., C. (not D).

[4] *dux*] from A.B.; *dum*, MS.

[5] *coxit victualia*, A.

[6] *ut*] om. B.

[7] *et*] ; , B.

[8] *vocabat*] om. B.

[9] *ab eo*] om. B.

[10] *de eo aut de eum*] aut de ejus, B.; de eo aut de ejus, A.

[11] *Bithinia*, MS.

wolde whiles he schulde goo in pilgrimage lyve on his owne, bote in comynge aȝen he wolde doo the emperours will; wherfore þe kyng and emperour forbeed þat any schulde selle hym woode ȝe forto seþe his mete and vitailles wiþ, but þe duke bouȝte notes wiþ þe whiche he seþe his mete and vitailles; þe emperour forsoþe, wondrynge þe worþynesse of þe duke, fro[1] þat tyme forthe he ordeyned benches in his court in stede of þe forsaide mantelles. It was þat tyme forsoþe custome þat none schulde entre into þe holy citee, but he gaf prise or mede, wherfor meny men herynge of þe comynge of þis duke, asked help of hym; to whom he swore by þe herte of his body þat also longe as o peny he schulde hym self entre þe laste; whiche herynge a noble Sarcene þat was lord of þat citee, which also hadde herde of þe worþynesse of þis duke, forbede also sone þat þere schulde noþing be taken of hym ne none þat folowed hym, and þat al þe offrynge þat was made þat day schulde be gyfen aȝen to þe duke; whiche also sone as he receyved it, he ȝaf it unto pore men; and sone aftir, as it saide bifore, he deide in Bithinie. TREVISA.

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lyve of his awne goode in his pilgremage and goynge to Ierusalem, but in returnynge he wolde fullefylle the wylle of themperoure. Wherefore themperoure commaunded that he scholde have woode y nowe necessary to hym thro his empyre withowte eny price. But the seide duke bouȝhte nuttes, with whom he caused his meyte to be made redy. Themperoure mervellynge moche the manhode of that duke, ordeynede benches and bankers in his place afterwarde. After that the duke was soo soore seke, that he myȝhte neiþer go ne ryde, wherefore he hirede poore Saracenys to beere hym on a beere in the day uppon theire schulders. Wherefore he commaunded a man of Normandy returnynge to that cuntre to say to men inquirynge for hym, that he see develles berrynge the duke towarde hevyn, ffor he callede the Saracenys develles, and the holy londe hevyn. The consuetude was in þat tyme that noo pilgreme scholde entre into the hooly cite, with owte that þei payede a certeyn summe of moneye; where mony Cristen men herynge of the commynge of that duke, come to hym, askynge helpe for the luffe of Criste; to whom he did swere by the herte of his wombe that he wolde be the laste of Cristen peple that scholde entre into that cite in that day, as longe as eny peny wolde dure. The noble Saracene and lorde of that cite herynge of the grete curtesye of that duke and manhode, commaunded that eny thynge scholde not be taken of hym or of men commynge with hym, and that offrenge of alle that day scholde be ȝiffen to the duke, whiche the duke distribute to poore men, and diede after þat in Bithinia. MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *for* MS.

Cap. XX.

De pontificibus Romanorum.[1]

Gratiæ MXXV. Canuti IX. Johannes papa vicesimus post Benedictum sedit in papatu annis novem. Hoc etiam anno natus est Marianus Scotus, cujus labore multum aucta est præsens chronica.[2] Norregani regem suum sanctum Olavum propter ejus simplicitatem respuentes, regem Canutum [3] superinduxerunt; qui quarto post hoc anno nefarie est peremptus.[3] *De regibus Francorum.*[4] Robertus rex Francorum obiit; cui[5] successit filius suus Hugo. Quo etiam anno Canutus de Dacia Romam ivit, larga donaria beato Petro dedit,[6] scholam Saxonum ibidem ab omni tributo liberavit. In redeundo versus Angliam largas eleemosynas dispersit[7] passagium peregrinantium magno pretio multis in locis redemit. Clausuras itinerum aperiri procuravit. Pretium[8] quod primates regni sui pro pallio habendo consueverant dare papæ[9] relaxari procuravit.[8] De quibus omnibus epistolam suis proceribus Angliæ misit, monens eos ut ante adventum suum omnia prava corrigerent. Benedictus nonus post Johannem sedit in papatu annis octo. Iste tamen de papatu ejectus est et alius Silvester nomine subrogatus sed et illo ejecto[10] restitutus est[11] Benedictus. Sed adhuc isto ejecto institutus est Johannes archipresbyter sancti Johannis ante portam Latinam, qui dictus est infra Gregorius vius. Iste Benedictus obtento papatu,

Gratiæ MXXVIII. Canuti XII.

Gratiæ MXXXI. Canuti XV.

Gratiæ MXXXV. Canuti XVIIII.

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[1] A.B. omit heading.

[2] *Marianus*, add. B.

[3] *receperunt, sanctus Olavus rex et martir filius Horaldi regis Norveganorum nepharie in Norvegia perimitur a suis*, C.D.

[4] A. omits heading.

[5] *cui*] om. A.

[6] *annuente papa Johanne viginti*, B.

[7] *pauperibus*, A.

[8] *Pretium . . . procuravit*] om. C.D.

[9] *populo*, A.

[10] *jecto*, B.

[11] *iste*, add. A.B.

Capitulum vicesimum.

Iohn þe twentiþe pope satte in þe popehode after Benet ix. ȝere. Þis ȝere was Marianus of Scotland i-borne, by whos labour þis present cronycle is moche ledde. *Marianus.* Norweies forsakyng þair kyng seint Olavum for his sympelnes, brouȝte yn kyng Kanut;[1] whiche Olayve in þe fourþe ȝere after was wickedly slayn. Robert þe kyng of Fraunce deide, to whom succede his sone Hewe; whiche ȝere also Canute wente out of Denmarch into Rome; he ȝaf large ȝiftes to seint Petre; he delyvered þere þe scole of Saxons of al tribut; in comynge aȝen toward Engelond, he deled large almesse; he raunsoned out þe passage of pilgrimes in many places for gret prys and payment, þat þe primates of his reme were wont for to giffe unto þe pope: for to relese it of al whiche þinges he sent a lettre and a pistle to þe gentiles of Engelond, warnynge and amonyshynge þaym þat bifore his comynge þey schulde amende all evelles. Bene[2] ix., after Iohn, sat in þe popehode eiȝte ȝere; þese was cast out of þe popehode, and anoþer Silvestre by name undir ordeyned; but he also i-cast downe, Benet was restored. Bot ȝif eft he cast out, Iohn þe archepreest, þat is þe cheef preest of Seynt Iohn Portlatyn, was ordeyned, whiche wiþynne is i-called Gregorius vi. Þis Benette, Trevisa.

Capitulum vicesimum.

Iohn þe xx^ti^ succedid Benedicte the pope ix. yere. In whiche yere Marianus the Scotte was borne, thro the labor of whom this presente cronicle was encreasede moche. *Marianus.* Men of Norway repellynge seynte Olavus theire kynge for his grete mekenesse, toke Canutus to theire kynge, whiche was sleyne wikkidly in the iiij^the^ yere folowynge. Roberte kynge of Fraunce diede in this tyme, whom Hewe his sonne did succede; in whiche yere also Canutus, levynge Denmarke, wente to Rome, ȝiffenge regalle ȝiftes to seynte Petyr, and delyverede the scole of Saxons þer from every tribute. Also he ȝafe large almes in returnynge towarde Ynglonde, and redemede the passage of pilgremes in mony places with grete goodes, and releschede to the pope that the primates of Ynglonde were wonte to ȝiffe to hym for the palle, sendynge letters to the gentilmen of Ynglonde that they scholde correcte alle thynges to be correcte afore his commynge. Benedicte the ix^the^ succedid pope Iohn viij. yere; this pope was eiecte, and an oþer callede Silvestre subrogate; but that pope Silvestre eiecte, Benedict þe pope was restorede. This Benedict made MS. Harl. 2261. f. 322 a.

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[1] *wickedly slayn* wrongly repeated here in MS.

[2] Sic in MS.

cum esset rudis litterarum, alium papam ad exsequenda officia ecclesiastica substituit; quod cum multis displiceret, superinductus est et tertius qui vices duorum expleret, uno tandem contra duos, duobusque contra unum de papatu[1] contendentibus. Henricus imperator, gener et successor Conradi,[2] illis tribus depositis, Ramburgensem[3] episcopum, qui Clemens ii^us^ dicebatur,[4] violenter substituit, a quo et ipse Henricus coronatus est. Coegit etiam iste Henricus[5] Romanos jurare quod nunquam sine suo consensu papam[6] eligerent. Sed et iste papa Benedictus apparuit cuidam post[7] mortem suam in effigie monstruosa cum cauda asinina et capite ursino asserens se sic[8] apparere sicut prius vixerat. Hoc anno Robertus dux Normanniæ in peregrinando obiit. Cui successit Willelmus filius suus[9] adolescens, de quibus[10] supra dictum est.[11] Hoc[12] anno rex Canutus parum ante obitum suum constituit super Noreganos regem Swanum quendam, qui ipsius Canuti et Elgivæ Hamptunensis filius putabatur. Asseverabant siquidem nonnulli ipsam Elgivam, cum prolem de rege concipere non posset, præfatum Swanum de quadam presbyterissa recenter natum sibi decumbanti supposuisse, regemque Canutum ad id credendum subdole[13] inflexisse. Super Danos quoque regem constituit suum et Emmæ filium Harde-

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[1] *de papatu*] om. B.
[2] *primi fuerat*, C.D.
[3] *Lambergensem*, B.
[4] *infra dictus est*, C.D.
[5] *coronatus . . . Henricus*] om. B.
[6] *Romanum antistitem*, C.D.
[7] *post*] om. B.
[8] *taliter qualiter*, C.D.
[9] C.D. add : " ex concubina filia " pelliparii Phalesiæ progenitus. " Quo adhuc puerili ætate cum " Henrico rege Francorum ma- " nente Normannia fiscus regalis " erat, sed postmodum ope regis ad " ducatum promotus, quosdam de " sibi resistentibus relegavit, quos- " dam corpore debilitavit. Tandem " post xxx^m^ ducatus sui annum, " mortuo rege Anglorum Edwardo, " tribus de causis mente stimulatus " est ut Angliam adiret, de quibus " circa conquestionis suæ annum " plenius dicetur. Hoc quoque " anno Malcolmus primus rex " Scotorum obiit. Canutus rex " parum ante obitum suum con- " stituit regem super Norreganos " Swanum," &c.
[10] *quo*, B.
[11] *Marianus*, add B.
[12] *etiam*, add A.
[13] *sub dolo*, A.

whenne he hadde i-geten þe popehode for he was boistous and symple of lettrure and konnynge, he ordeyned anoþer pope for to execute þe office of holy chirche, whiche, when it displesed many men, þere was brouȝt in þe þridde, whiche schulde fulfille þe holy office of boþe, oon stryvynge aȝen two, and two aȝenst oon for þe popehode. Henry emperour, þe sone in lawe and successour of Conrad, þise þre i-put doun, violentliche ordeyned þe bisshop Rambergensis, whiche was called Clement þe secounde, of whom Henry hymself was corowned. Also his Henry compelled þe Romayns for to swere þat þey schulde nevere chese pope wiþ oute his consente. Þis pope Benet after his deth appered to a man in a wonderful liknesse, wiþ an asse tayle and a beres heved, seynge þat he apperede so as he lyved byfore. Þis ȝere deide Robert duke of Normandye, in pilgremage; to whome succeded William, his sone, waxynge a ȝong man, of whom it is told above. *Marianus.* Þis ȝere also kyng Canute, a litel bifore his deienge, made Swane kyng uppon Norway, whiche was supposed þe sone of þe self Canute and Elgyve of Hamptoun. Som men seiþ þat Elgyve, when sche myȝte nouȝt conceyve a child of þe kyng, þat sche underput to hir self lyenge in childebedde þe forseide Swane, þat was freschely borne of a preostes womman, and wilily enclyned. TREVISA.

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pope but symple in connynge, made an oþer pope under hym to supplye his office; þat thynge displeasynge mony men, an other pope was made; and so hit was þat tyme that tweyne did stryve ageyn oon, and oon ageyne tweyne. Wherefore this contencion hade for that office a longe season, Henre themperoure, sonne-in-lawe and successour to Conradus, deposynge theyme, made the bischop Rambergense pope, whiche was callede Clemens, of whom Henre themperoure was crownyde, constreynynge the Romanes to swere that thei scholde not electe the pope with owte his consente. And this pope Benedicte appered to a man after his dethe, in a monstruous similitude, with the tayle of an asse, and a hedde lyke as of a beere, seyenge to hym that he appered lyke as he lyvede afore. Roberte duke of Normandy diede in this yere at Bithinia, levynge his yonge son William his successour. *Marianus.* Canutus the kynge, a lytelle afore his dethe, made Suanus his sonne, as men supposed, geten by Elgiva, kynge of Norway in þis yere. But mony men say that Elgiva havynge noo childe by Canutus, feynede her as with childe, and hade the childe of a myncheon, brouȝte to here bedde, delyverede and brouȝhte into the worlde but newly afore, and caused Canutus to beleve that hit was his sonne. But Canutus made Hardeknutus kynge of the Danes MS. HARL. 2261.

kanutum.[1] Canutus rex obiit apud Septoniam,[2] sed in veteri monasterio Wyntoniensi[3] sepelitur. *Henricus, libro vi°.*[4] Cujus tria feruntur fuisse insignia: primum[5] quod filiam suam imperatori Conrado maritavit; secundum quod Romam solemniter visitavit, et rediit portans secum magnam partem dominicæ crucis;[6] tertium, quod semel sedile suum in littore maris æstuantis posuit, imperans mari quod terram suam non ascenderet, aut vestes domini sui humectaret. Mare vero de more naturæ suæ ascendit, et regis crura[7] madefecit. Rex autem resiliens ait: "Sciant mortales[8] vanam esse regum "potentiam, nec regis nomine quempiam[9] dignum "præter illum cujus legibus omnia[10] substernuntur:" et ab illa hora[11] coronam in capite non gestavit,[12] sed super caput crucifixi Wyntoniæ posuit. Mortuo Canuto facta est apud Oxoniam magna altercatio[13] de regni successione; nam Leofricus consul Cestrensis[14] et cæteri principes ex boreali parte Thamisiæ,[15] una cum Londoniensibus, Haraldum[16] Harefot, ut putabatur Canuti et Elgivæ Hamptunensis filium, erexerunt, quamvis Godwynus[17] pro Hardeknuto zelaret. *Marianus, libro ii.*[18] Ferebant nonnulli istum Haraldum fuisse

Gratiæ MXXXVI. Haraldi primo.

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[1] *Hardeknutum*, A.
[2] *quæ est Schaftesbury*, add. C.D.
[3] *Wyntoniensi*] om. B.
[4] C.D. omit reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 364.
[5] *primo*, A.
[6] *Angliæ reportavit*, C.D.
[7] *irreverenter humectavit*, C.D.
[8] *frivolam et*, C.D.
[9] *quemquam*, B.
[10] *omnia*, from B.
[11] *scilicet regni sui tertii*, add C.D.
[12] *gestabat*, B.
[13] *magnum placitum*, C.D.
[14] *Cestriæ*, B.
[15] *Thamasis*, A.
[16] *Harold*, B.
[17] *comes Westsaxonum sentiret contrarium. Hardecanutus secundus, filius Canuti et Emmæ apud Daciam tunc regnans, licet per Godwinum venire plurimum rogatus fuisset, moratum egit. Emma vero regina cum familia regis defuncti conservavit Westsaxoniam ad opus filii sui Hardecanuti, adhibito sibi Godwino in re militari*, C.D.
[18] *libro ii.*] om. A.B.

Kyng Canute deide at Septoun, bote he was buried in þe olde abbay at Wynchestre. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Of whom are tolde prevable and famous þinges: first þat he maried his douȝter to þe emperour Conrade; þe secounde þat solempnely he visited Rome, and come aȝen bryngynge wiþ hym a grete partie of þe crosse of our Lorde; þe þridde þat he sette ones his sittynge and his chaier in þe banke of þe see, when it bygan to folowe, comaundynge þe see þat it schulde nouȝt ascende uppon his londe, or þat it schulde nouȝt wete his lordes clopes; þe see forsope of þe custome of his kynde ascended and weted þe kynges legges: þe kyng forsope, lepynge abak, seide: "Witeþ "al mortal and dedley men þat the power of kynges is vayne, "ne none worþy of þe name of kyng, outtake hym to whos "lawes all þinges are underloute;" and fro þat tyme and houre he bare no crowne on his heved, but sette it on þe heved of þe crucifex at Wynchestre. Canute is dede; þere was a greet stryvynge at Oxenforde for successioun of þe rewme, for why Leofricus erle of Chestre, and oþer prynces and lordes of þe norþ partie of Tempse, wiþ men of Londoun, reysed up Harold Harefoot, as it was supposed, þe sone of Canute and Elgyve of Hamptoun, ȝaf al Godwyn desired for Hardeknute. *Marianus.* Som men tolde þat þis Harold was a sowter sone, and

TREVISA.

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sonne of Emma, gemme of Normandy. Canutus the kynge diede at Septonya or Shaftesbury, and was beryede at Wynchestre, in the olde monastery. *Henricus, libro sexto.* This Canutus was seide to have done iij. noble thynges. The firste was that he mariede his doȝhter to Conradus themperour; the secunde was that he visitte Rome solennely, and come ageyne bryngynge with hym a grete parte of the holy crosse. The thrydde was that he commaunded in a tyme a cheire to be sette in the side of þe see, whiche commaunded the water that hit scholde not towche his grownde, or make moyste the clothes of his lorde. But the water of the see ascendynge after the consuetude, and makynge moyste the clothes of Canutus, the kynge seide, "I wylle that mortalle men knowe the "power of kynges to be veyne, and noo man to be worthy the "name of a kynge, excepte hym to whom alle thynges be "subiecte:" and after that day he bare noo crowne on his hedde, but putte hit on the hedde of the crucifix at Wynchestre. Canutus the kynge dedde, agrete altercacion was hade for the succession at the universite of Oxenforde, for Leofricus erle of Chestre, and other princes of the northe parte of Thamys, erecte into kynge Haraldus Harefote, son of Canutus and Elgiva, as hit was supposed, thauȝhe Godewynus laborede for Hardeknutus. *Marianus.* Mony men say this Haralde to have

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 322 b.

Haraldi.

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[1] Sic in MS.

cujusdam sutoris filium sed dolose per Elgivam [1] suppositum.[2] *De regibus Anglorum.*[3] [4] Haroldus [5] ergo in regem erectus, opes regias Emmæ adimens,[6] de Anglia expulit, quam tamen [7] comes Flandriæ reverenter fovit. Ethelnotus Dorobernensis archipræsul obiit. Post quem viio die obiit Ethelricus [8] Wyntoniensis,[9] qui jugiter Dominum [10] rogaverat ne ipse Ethelnotum [11] diu superviveret. Unde et Edsius capellanus [12] Haroldi ad sedem Dorobernensem, et Stigandus alter regis capellanus ad sedem Wyntoniensem successit, qui et [13] postmodum post Edsium sedem [14] Cantuariensem usurpavit. Iste Haroldus post quartum regni sui annum decessit Londoniæ, [et] [15] Westimonasterio sepelitur. Quo mortuo miserunt proceres terræ pro Hardecanuto,[16] tunc [17] cum matre [18] morante.[19]

Gratiæ MXXXVIII. Haraldi tertio.

Cap. XXI.[20]

[*De rege Hardekanuto et de Henrico imperatore.*]

Hardekanutus Angliam veniens tribus annis regnavit, nil tamen gloria dignum egit; nam mox Alfricum [21] Eboracensem archiepiscopum cum Godwyno Londoniensi misit, corpus Haraldi regis nuper sepulti [22] in ultionem

Gratiæ MXXXIX. Hardekanuti primo.

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[1] *prædictam*, A.B.

[2] *sicut aliquando Swanum sibi supposuerat*, add A.B.

[3] A.B. omit heading.

[4] *Henricus, libro sexto, et Marianus, libro tertio*, A.

[5] *Haraldus*, A.

[6] *ipsam*, C.D.

[7] *sic expulsam*, C.D.

[8] *Etheldricus*, B.

[9] *episcopus*, B.

[10] *Deum*, A.B.C.D.

[11] *Egelnotum*, A.

[12] *regis Haraldi successit in archiepiscopatum, et Stigandus quidam alius regis capellanus successit Ethelrico ad sedem Wyntoniæ. Haroldus Harefot post quartum*, &c., C.D.

[13] *et*] om. A.

[14] *sedem*] om. A.

[15] *et*] from B.

[16] *rege Dacorum*, B.

[17] *filio Canuti tunc ibidem*, C.D.

[18] *apud Londoniam*, B.

[19] *apud Flandriam*, A.

[20] B. does not mark this as the commencement of a new chapter, by an error of the scribe.

[21] *Affricum*, A.

[22] *defuncti*, C.D.

queyntly underput by þe forseide Elgive, as somtyme sche underput Swane. Harold þerfore reysed up into kyng, takynge fro some þe kynges richesse, put hir out of Engelond. Neverþeles þe erle of Flaundres norsched hir ful reverently. Ethelnoth archebisshop of Dover deide; after whom þe sevenþe day deide Ethelrik bisshop of Wynchestre, whiche hadde prayed God besily þat he schulde nouȝt longe overleve Ethelnoth. Wherfore Edsius, þe chapeleyne of Harold, succeded to þe see of Dover, and Stigand, anoþer chapeleyn of þe kynges, on to þe see of Wynchestre: þe whiche aftirward usurped þe see of Caunterbury after Edsius.[1] Þis Harold, after þe fourþ yere of his reigne, deide at Londoun, and i-buried at Westmynstre; þe whiche whan he was deed, þe gentiles of þe lond sente for Hardeknute þe kyng of Denmark, dwellynge wiþ his moder at Flaundres. TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum primum.

Hardeknute comynge to Engelond, regned þre yere. Neverþeles he dede noþing þat was worþy of lovynge of fame; for why also sone he sente away Alfricus archebisshop of ȝork wiþ Godewyn bisshop of Londoun; he made þe body of

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bene the sonne of a sowter, and brouȝhte to Elgiva by gyle lyke as Suanus was. This Harald erecte into kynge, toke anoon the treasure of the kynge from Emma wife to Canutus, and expellede here from Ynglonde; whom the erle of Flaundres norisched tenderly. Ethelnothus archebischop of Cawnterbery diede, and in the vij^the^ day folowynge, Ethelricus bischop of Wynchestre diede, whiche preyede God oftetymes that he scholde not lyve longe after Ethelnotus. Wherefore Edsius chapelayn of kynge Harald reioyced the seete of Cawnterbery, and Stigandus, an other chapeleyne, was made bischop of Wynchestre, and archebischop after Edsius. This kynge Harold diede at London after the iiij^the^ yere of his reigne, and was beryede at Westemynstre; after the dethe of whom gentylle men of Ynglonde sende, for Hardeknutus kynge of Denmarke, taryenge at Flaundres with his moder. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum vicesimum primum.

HARDEKNUTUS commynge to Ynglonde reignede þer iij. yere, doynge not eny thynge worthy glory; sendynge anoon Alfricus archebischop of Yorke, with Godewinus the erle, to London, causede the body of kynge Harald, beryede but late

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[1] *Edsium* MS.

maternarum suarum injuriarum exhumari fecit, et capite abscisso in Thamisim projici,[1] sed piscatores corpus ejus invenientes competenti tradiderunt sepulturæ.[2] Item Hardekanutus octo marcas argenti unicuique remigi suæ classis de importabili Angliæ tributo fecit solvi;[3] totum regimen regni sui consilio matris[4] et Godwyni commisit. Hic[5] rex dum[6] importabile tributum Anglis imponeret, duo hujus negotii regii ministri apud Wygorniam[7] sunt occisi. Qua de causa urbs illa depopulata est et succensa. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.*[8] Hic etiam rex Gunnyldam[9] sororem suam speciosissimam, ex Canuto[10] et Emma progenitam, a multis proceribus tempore patris suspiratam nec obtentam, imperatori Henrico copulavit; quæ[11] post longum tempus adulterii accusata, alumnum suum quem ex[12] Anglia secum adduxerat contra delatorem,[13] gigantiæ molis hominem, ad pugnandum opposuit;[14] qui Dei virtute insimulatorem[15] succiso poplite stravit. Gunnylda[16] inde tripudians viro perpetuum repudium dedit, nec ullo rogatu viri complexibus assentiens, velum sacrum suscepit. *Henricus, libro vi.*[17] [18]Hoc[19] in tempore Elfledus[20] et Edwardus, filii quondam regis[21] Egelredi et Emmæ, post

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[1] *fecit. Marianus*, B.

[2] *sed . . . sepulturæ*] om. C.D.

[3] *Insuper et matrem suam Emmam de exilio revocavit, totum regnum suum*, &c., C.D.

[4] *suæ*, add. A.

[5] *Hic . . . libro vi.*] om. C.D.

[6] *cum*, B.

[7] *Wygoton.*, B.

[8] Cap. xii. Script. post Bedam, p. 77.

[9] *Gonildam*, B.

[10] *Knuto*, A.

[11] *est*, B.

[12] *de*, B.

[13] *delatorem*] om. B.

[14] *opponit*, A.

[15] *insidiatorem*, B.

[16] *Gunilda*, B.

[17] *et Marianus*, B. See note 5, Script. post Bedam, p. 365.

[18] *Tempore hujus Haraldi supradicti Alfredus*, B.

[19] A. omits reference, and commences *Hujus Haraldi tempore.*

[20] *Elfredus*, A.; *Aluredus*, C.D.

[21] *regis*] om. A.

kyng Harold newely i-buried in vengeaunce of his modir wronges, and þe heved i-kutte of to be cast into Tempse; but fisshers fyndynge his body, ȝaf it to covenable sepulture. Also Hardeknute, of the unportable tribute of Engelond, made viii. marc to be paide to every steresman of his navy; alle þe governaunce of his reme commytted he to þe counseil of his modir and Goodwyn. Þis kyng whiles he put a tribut to Englisshe men þat myȝte nouȝt be borne, two[1] mynystres of þe kyng for þat erand were slayn at Worcestre, for whiche cause þe citee was destroyed and brend. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. Also þis kyng coupled to Henry emperour Gonnyld his suster, a ful faire womman i-getten of Canute and Emme, desired moche of many gentiles in his moder tyme, bot not i-graunted ne geten; whiche was longtyme after accused of avowtrye; sche putte hir nurri, whiche sche had brouȝt with hir out of Engelond, for to fiȝte aȝenst þe accuser, a man of ageantȝ mochilnesse, whiche þoruȝ Goddes grace, þe hamme i-kut and hoxened, overcome þe accusour. Guynuld glad for þat, and gaf to hire housbonde a perpetuel dyvorsynge and forsakynge, ne for no prayere assented to her housbonde halsynges, but took þe holy veyle. *Henricus, libro* 6°, *et Marianus.* In þe tyme of þis Hardeknute, Alfrede and Edward, þe sones of Egelrede

TREVISA.

afore, to be taken from the erthe, and the hedde kytte aweye, hit was caste into the water of Thamys, in signe and vengeaunce of the iniuryes doen to his moder by hym. But fischers fyndynge the body, beryede hit nobly. Also this Hardeknutus causede viij. marke of silvyr to be paiede to every schippe man in his schippes of the importable tribute of Ynglonde. Also he callede ageyne Emma his moder from exile, governynge the realme after hire cownesaile, and after Godewinus. This kynge puttynge to men of Ynglonde a tribute importable, ij. of the collectors of the seide kynge were sleyne at Worcestre. Wherefore that cite was destroyede and brente. *Willelmus de Regibus libro secundo.* This kynge Hardeknutus maryede his beautuous sustyr Guinulda to Henre the emperour, whiche accusede after that of adultery, her sonne whom sche brouȝhte from Ynglonde with here was assignede to fiȝhte ageyne the accuser of his moder; whiche yonge man hade victory ageyne the accuser of his moder, by the helpe of God. Guinulda, gladde of that victory, wolde not assente to themperour that he scholde fullefille the pleasure of the flesche with here after þat tyme; but sche refusynge his felowschippe, toke the habite of religion. *Henricus, libro sexto.* In the tyme of this Hardeknutus, Alfridus and Edward, sonnes of Emma, after theire longe taryinge in

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *to* MS.

longam in Normannia moram, sumptis secum Normannicis[1] militibus quamplurimis,[2] ad matris suæ colloquium Wyntoniam venere. Godwynus præcogitans filiam suam Edwardo tanquam simpliciori et juniori maritare, Alfredumque[3] primogenitum tales nuptias parvipendere, intimavit proceribus Anglorum non esse tutum si quisquam obtentu cognationis tantam copiam externæ et subdolæ gentis adduceret, et ideo qui advenerant pœnas solvere oportere. Igitur apud Gyldeford[4] sexcentos viros interfecit. Nam de Normannis adductis novem semper decapitatis decimus remansit. At cum nimium adhuc superesse videretur, decimam partem adhuc decimari fecit; de quibus primordia viscerum[5] fecit ad palos erectos figi et tunc corpora circumduci donec novissima intestinorum extraherentur. Alfridus vero apud Hely[6] missus post[7] excœcationem suam paucis supervixit diebus. Hoc audito Emma celeriter filium suum Edwardum Normanniam transmisit.[8] Godwynus vero de his a proceribus et a[9] rege Hardekanuto postmodum inculpatus, juravit quod nusquam talia fecit nisi vi regis Haraldi[10] coactus.[11] *De imperatoribus Romanorum.*[12] Mortuo imperatore Conrado primo, successit Henricus secundus gener suus,

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[1] *Normannis*, A.

[2] *quampluribus*, B.

[3] *Alfridum quoque*, B.

[4] *Giltefort*, A.

[5] *Quod Godwinus comes graviter ferens Aluredum cathena socios suos disturbavit, quosdam excœcavit, quosdam mutilavit, quosdam cute capitis abstracta trucidavit, sexcentos virorum apud Gildeford interfecit, de quibus viscerum primordia*, &c., C.D.

[6] *Heli*, A.

[7] *primo excœcatur, deinde monachorum custodiæ traditus paucis*, &c., C.D.

[8] *Henricus, lib. vi.*, C.D.

[9] *a*] om. B.

[10] *vi regia coactus*, A.

[11] *Venientibus ad Angliam ut præfatum est duobus fratribus prædictis, Godwinus prædictus præcogitans*, &c. . . . *decimam adhuc partem fecerunt decimari. Sed Aluredus erutis oculis apud insulam Hely decessit. Oritur hinc contra regem Hardecanutum cujus conniventia hæc processisse dicebantur, et etiam contra Godwinum, magna ira. Sed Godwinus coram primoribus Angliæ se purgavit quod nunquam in necem Aluredi consensit nisi regina coactus*, C.D.

[12] A.B. omit heading.

somtyme and of Emmes, after longe dwellynge in Normandie, i-taken many kny3tes of Normandie, come to Wynchestre to speke wiþ þer moder. Godwyne þynkynge byfore for to marie his dou3ter to Edward, as to þe 3onge and þe more symple, and þat Alfrede wolde sette suche weddynge at litel, schewed to þe gentiles of Engelond, þat it was nou3t siker if any man under colour and geting of kynrede schulde brynge so greet plente of straungers and deceyvable folk, wherfore it byhoved hem þat were i-comen be punsched. Þerfore at Gildeforde he slew sixe hondred men, ffor why of the Normandes þat war i-brou3t þider nyne evermore i-heveded þe tenþe abood; but 3it when hym þou3te þat þere was lefte to manye, he made 3it þe tenþe parte to be tiþed, of þe whiche he made þe firste endes of her bowels to be festned to stakes reised up, and þanne þe bodies for to be led aboute unto þe laste of þaire entreilles were drawen out. Alfridus forsoþe after his blyndynge sent unto Hely liffed over but fewe dayes. Þis þing i-herd, Emme sent hastily Edward hir sone to Normandie. Godwyne forsoþe, blamed aftirward of þe kyng Hardeknute and þe gentiles of þise þinges, swore þat he didde nevere suche þinges, bot constreyned by þe force of kyng Harold. Þe emperour Conrade þe firste deide, succeded Henry þe secounde, TREVISA.

Fraunce and Normandy, and also of Egelredus the kynge, come to Wynchestre to speke with theire moder, takynge mony kny3htes of Normandy with theym; Godwynus thenkynge to mary his do3hter to Edwarde the yonger broþer, in that Alfridus his elder broþer wolde have skorne to marye with his do3hter. Neverthelesse he seide to gentyllemen of the realme, that Alfride and Edwarde comme to the londe with so moche peple for somme treason, and not to speke with theire moder, wherefore thei were worthy to suffre dethe. Wherefore he did sle vj. c. of theyme at Gilleforde, for ix. of the Normannes were heded and the x^{the} was reservede; and after that he made theyme to be tythede ageyne, thenkynge the nowmbre over moche, causenge oon of theire guttes to be taken owte and fastede to a pale, and the bodye to be turnede abowte unto the laste partes of the inwarde partes or bowelles were extracte. Alfride takyn and made blynde, and after sende to Hely, lyvede not longe after; Emma herynge that sende Edwarde her sonne to Normandy. That erle Godewinus blamede of the gentyllemen of the realme, and of Hardeknutus the kynge, for that offense swerede and made a protestacion, that he hade not do so but he was coacte by the stren3the of kynge Harald. Conradus the firste and emperour dedde, Henre the secunde, his sonne in lawe, was successoure MS. HARL. 2261.

de quo mira supra[1] et infra leguntur, et regnavit xvii. annis. Hic nempe a curia sua omnes joculatores et mimos amovit, et quæ illis prius dare consueverant, pauperibus erogavit. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro ii.*[2] Hic[3] quoque sororem habens sanctimonialem, tantum eam dilexit quod vix eam[4] unquam lateri suo deesse permitteret. Unde cum quadam nocte clericus quidam de curia cum illa usque mane dormitasset, et [nix][5] terram cooperuisset, librato consilio inter eos clericus fecit eam se portare in dorso suo extra curiam. Quod rex dum minctum surgeret e fenestra conspexisset, substituit[6] donec vacante uno episcopatu clerico sic diceret, "Accipe episcopatum, et vide ne ultra "equites supra[7] dorsum mulieris." Et iterum vacante monasterio sanctimonialium dixit sorori suæ, "Accipe hanc[8] abbatiam,[9] et vide ne unquam portes clericum equitantem." Illi autem sic deprehensi abstinuerunt. Item accedens aliquando iste imperator Dominica Quinquagesimæ ad quandam capellam juxta forestam ut missam latenter audiret, ubi deformis quidam sacerdos ministrabat; mirabatur autem rex in animo cur Deus

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[1] *superius*, C.D.
[2] C.D. omit reference. Cap. xii. Script. post Bedam, p. 77.
[3] *Hic . . . Martinus* (page 148)] om. C.D.
[4] *eam*] om. A.
[5] *nix*] from A.B.; *juxta*, MS.
[6] *subticuit*, A.B.
[7] *super*, A.B.
[8] *hanc*] om. A.
[9] *abbatissam*, B.

his sone-in-lawe, of whom above and wiþynne ben red wonderful þinges, and he regnede seventene yere, forsoþe he gaf to pore folk.[1] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. He also hadde a suster a nonne, and he loved hire so moche þat unneþe any tyme wolde he suffre hir be fro his side; wherfore whiles uppon a nyght a clerk of þe court hadde i-sleped wiþ hire unto þe mornynge, and snow had covered al þe erþe, by counseil avised atwixe hem, þe clerk made hire for to bere hym on hir bak out of þe court, whiche þe kyng sawe out at a wyndowe whiles he rose for to pisse. He hilde hym stille unto þe tyme þat a bisshopriche was vacant, and þan he seide unto þe clerk þus: "Take þis bisshopriche, and "loke þat over þis tyme þou ride not on a wommans bak." And eftsones an abbey of nonnes vacant, he seide to his suster, "Take þis abbay,[2] take þis abbay, and loke þat þou bere nevere "no clerk rydynge." Þey forsoþe taken absteyned þaym ever aftirward. Also þe emperour comynge ones on þe Sonday of Quynquagesme to a chapel beside þe forest, þat he myȝte prively here a masse, where a foule and unschaply preost mynistred, þe kyng forsoþe marveilled why God, þat was so

Trevisa.

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to hym xvij. yere, of whom mony mervellous thynges be redde. This emperoure Henre putte from his cowrte alle ioculers and mynstrelles, and ȝafe to poore men the goodes he was wonte to ȝiffe to theyme. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.* This emperour hade a sustyr made a myncheon, whom he myȝhte unnethe suffre to be from hym. But hit happede a clerke of the courte to be of suche familiarite with the myncheon that he lay with here alle a nyȝhte. That clerke perceyvynge that hit hade snowede moche, and that the snawe hade coverede the grownde, thenkynge bothe perelle and schame to be taken þer, causede the myncheon to bere hym on here backe owte thro the courte. But hit happede themperoure to aryse to make uryne the same tyme, and goynge to the wyndowe of his chambre, perceyvynge that, lauȝhed in his mynde, kepynge that thynge secrete. But a bischoppes seete vacante, he made that clerke bischop, sayinge, "Ryde not "after this tyme on the backe of a woman." And also a monastery of myncheons vacante of a governoure, he toke hit to his suster, seyenge, "Take this monastery, and attende "that thow bere not a clerke rydynge after this tyme;" and so thei abstenede from that wickid lyfe after that. This emperoure goynge to here masse at a chapelle nye to a foreste, in the Sonneday of Quinquagesima prively, where a preste of grete deformite as in bodily beawte ministred, this emperour mervaylede moche in mynde that alle myȝhty God,

MS. Harl. 2261.

f 323 b.

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[1] The scribe has made some omission here. See Harl. below.

[2] Bis in MS.

formosus tam turpem creaturam sua permitteret tractare sacramenta. Cum autem [1] ad versum [2] tractus ventum fuisset quo canitur.[3] *Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus.*[4] Sacerdos quasi socordiam clerici sui increpans, respiciendo versus imperatorem dixit, "Ipse fecit nos, et "non ipsi nos." Quo dicto imperator repercussus, ipsum cito post [5] promovit in episcopum; qui locum et gradum probis [6] moribus honestavit. Nam quendam divitem qui sanctimonialem quandam [7] abduxerat, separavit ab illa, et ipsam monasterio proprio restituit. Sed et postmodum ipsum divitem recidivantem excommunicavit cum communicantibus. Ille autem sic demoratus in hortulo suo usque ad extremam infirmitatem, rogavit episcopum si eum vellet absolvere. Cui ille [8] respondit "Si [9] vir ille maledictus maledictam illam [10] dimiserit, "sit absolutus; si autem noluerit, hodie [11] ad annum qua "hora ego obdormiero, ipse morietur, coram summo "Deo de facto suo responsurus." Quod et factum est, nam tali die anno revoluto ambo obierunt. *Narratio de Henrico imperatore.*[12] Idem rex habuit in capella sua clericum quendam litterarum peritia et vocis elegantia præstantem, sed lubrico carnis laborantem; quem dum imperator die quodam solemni jussisset Evangelium legere, renuit ille, eo quod nocte præcedenti cum

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[1] *autem*] om. B.
[2] *adversus*, A.
[3] *dicitur*, B.
[4] *&c.*, B.
[5] *post*] om. P.
[6] *bonis*, B.
[7] *quam*, B.
[8] *episcopus*, B.
[9] *sic*, B.
[10] *mulierem*, B.
[11] *hos*, A.
[12] A.B. omit heading.

faire, wolde suffre his creature, þat was so foule, for to trete and handele his sacramentes; when forsoþe it was comen toward þe tracte in whiche it is songen, *Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus*,—þat is, "Wete ȝe oure Lord hym self "is God," þe preost, as it ware blamynge þe dulnes and sleuþe of his clerk, byholdynge to þe emperour, seide, *Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos*,—þat is, "He made us, and nouȝt we oureself." Þe whiche i-seide, þe emperour i-smyten aȝen promoted hym sone into a bisshop; whiche honested with worþy maneres his place and his degre. For why he parted and dissevered a riche man þat hadde ladde away a nonne from hir,[1] and restored here aȝen to hir abbay. Bot afterward þe same man fallynge aȝen, he cursed hym and alle þo þat comuned with him; he forsoþe dwellynge so in his gardyne unto his laste infirmite, prayed þe bisshop þat he wolde assoyle hym. To whome he answerde, "If þat cursed man leve þat cursed "woman, assoilede be he; and if he wil nouȝt, þis day twelf- "monþe, what houre I die, he schal die, and answere byfore "hiȝe God of his dede:" whiche þing was i-doo; for why suche a day þe ȝere overtorned þey boþe deide. The same kyng hadde in his chapel a clerk passing in konnynge of lettrure and semelynes of voyce, but travailled wiþ freeltee of flesche, whome þe emperour in a solempne day commaunded to rede þe gospel, but he refused it, for in þe nyȝt byfore he

Trevisa.

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excellente in beawte, wolde suffre so fowle a creature to ministre abowte his precious body. And this preste commynge to this verse, "Scitote quia Dominus ipse est Deus," in the tracte of the same day, as blamynge his clerke, turnede his face to the emperour, sayenge, "Ipse fecit nos, et non ipsi nos." The emperoure seenge and herynge that made hym a bischop soone after, whiche was a man of vertuous life. Whiche bischop departede a myncheon from a ryche man, and restorede hir to her monastery, and excommunicate that ryche man with men havynge communication with hym, in that he returnede to synne ageyne with the seide myncheon. This man taryenge and contynuynge in synne, sende to the bischop, preyenge hym of absolucion; whom the bischop answerede seyenge, "If that "cursed man leve that cursede woman, y assoyle hym; and if "he wille not, he schalle dye afore God in this day twelf- "monethe, in what houre that y dye, and ȝiffe an answere of "his dedes;" and the man diede as the bischop seide, and he also." The same princé hade a pleasawnte synger in his howseholde, usynge moche the synne of the flesche; themperoure commaundede hym to rede the gospelle in a solemne feste, but the clerke wolde not in that he hade ben pollute with

MS. Harl 2261.

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[1] Sic in MS.

meretrice se fœdasset. Tunc rex ait: "Aut lege aut "terram meam desere." Mox ille congestis sarcinulis[1] suis[2] parabat proficisci. Injunxerat[3] autem imperator ministris suis[4] ut latenter insequentes si ipse abiret illi[5] revocarent. Quod dum fieret, ait ad eum rex, "Congratulor probitati tuæ quod[6] pluripenderis Dei "timorem quam patriam[7] tuam, respectum cœlestis iræ "quam minas meas. Igitur renuncia insano amori quo "laboras, et pontificem te faciam." Item dum iste[8] Henricus juvenis esset in curia Conradi, tulit a quodam [clerico fistulam][9] argenteam quo pueri solent ludere, pro quo pactus est clerico illi episcopatum cum imperator fieri[10] contingeret. Ipso tandem imperante petitum est quondam promissum et obtentum. Cito post concussus est[11] imperator gravi morbo, ita ut tribus diebus nihil sentiret aut gustaret. Tandem post orationes bonorum virorum astantium respirans, advocavit clericum illum sic promotum, et sententia consilii illum fecit deponi: fatebatur nempe per illud triduum se infestatum a dæmonibus, qui sibi flammam ardentissimam per medium illius fistulæ in eum jactabant, respectu cujus flammæ noster ig-

[1] *tercunculis*, A.
[2] *se*, add. B.
[3] *Injunxit*, B.
[4] *suis*] om. B.
[5] *illum*, A.; *ipsum*, B.
[6] *quod*] om. B.
[7] *pœnitentiam*, B.
[8] *iste*] om. B.
[9] *clerico fistulam*] from B.; *quodam fistulam*, A.
[10] *cum imperator fieret*, B.
[11] *est*] om. A.

viled hym self with a comoun womman. "Þan," seide þe emperoure, "ouþer rede it, or forsake my lond." Also sone his bagges and harneys i-gadred to gidre, he made hym redy for to goo, þe emperour forsoþe commaunded to his mynistres þat prively sche[1] schulde folwe hym, and if he wente away þat þey schulde calle hym aȝen; whiche whiles it was i-done þe kyng seide unto hym, "I am glad of þy stedfastnesse, þat "þu settest more by þe drede of God þan be my lond and "my contre, and more reward of hevenly wreþþe þan of my "manassynges, þerfore leve þat wode love þat þou labourest "with, and I schal make the a bisshop." Also þis Henry whan he was in þe court of Conrad, he took fro a clerk a silver pipe, as childre be wont to playe wiþ, for the whiche he hiȝt to þe clerk by covenant a bisshopriche whan he were emperour; at þe laste, whan he was emperor, þe þing þat was somtyme hiȝt was asked and graunted. Sone after þe emperour was i-smyte with a grevous seeknes, so þat adaies he felt noþing ne tasted. At þe laste, after þe prayers of good men þat stood beside he i-quykned aȝen, called to hym þe clerk þat was so promoted, and þoruȝ sentence of counseile he made hym be deposed. He knowleched forsoþe þat by þe space of þo þre dayes he was dissesed of þe develes, whiche kest on hym þoruȝ myddes of þat pipe most brennynge flamme, in reward of whiche flamme

TREVISA.

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a woman in the nyȝhte afore. Themperoure seide, "Other "rede the gospelle, other departe from my londe." The clerke tayknge his goodes departed, and themperoure commaundid his men that and if he departede thei scholde folowe hym, and brynge hym ageyne to his pressonce. That doen, themperoure seide to hym, "Y lawde and commende thy manhode "that thou dredes God moore then me, and the respecte of "hevyn moore then thy cuntre; þerfore refuse the synne that "thow haste usede, and y schalle make the a bischop." This prince beynge in the courte of Conradus themperoure in his tendre age, toke a whistille of silvyr, with whom childer have delectacion to play, from a clerke in the courte, in this condicion, and if he were emperour he scholde make hym a bischop. This prince made emperoure, the clerke was made a bischop. After that, within fewe dayes folowynge, themperour was vexid soore with infirmite, insomoche that he felyd not or tastede eny thynge in thre daies. But at the laste, at the preiers of men stondynge abowte, he began to revive, and callede that bischop so promotede by hym by the cownesaile of other bischoppes to be deposede. For themperoure seide that he was tormentede by devells with brennynge flammes thro the myddes of that whistelle whom the

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 324 a.

[1] Sic in MS.

nis tepidus est. Sed accedens quidam juvenis cum calice aureo aqua repleto, laticis aspergine ardores illos extinxit. Ephebum illum dixit fuisse beatum Laurentium, cujus ecclesiam longa carie dissolutam reparaverat, compaginaverat, et [1] calicem dederat. *Martinus.* Hujus [2] Henrici tempore tantum schisma fuit in ecclesia Romana quod tres viri in summos eligerentur pontifices. Nam quidam presbyter nomine Gracianus data pecunia papatum obtinuit. Sed isti Henrico pro schismate sedando Romam venienti quamvis Gracianus prædictus coronam auream obtulisset, de symonia tamen convictus depositus est, et alius subrogatus. *Mirabile de Pallante*[3] *gigante.*[4] Hujus etiam [5] imperatoris diebus repertum est Romæ [6] illud incorruptum Pallantis corpus, cum hiatu vulneris quatuor pedum et semis. Corpus ejus altitudinem muri vincebat. Lucerna inextinguibilis [7] ad caput ejus [8] nec flatu nec humore extingui poterat, donec subtili foramine sub flamma facto aer ingrederetur. Ejus [9] epitaphium hos duos tenebat [10] versus. *Versus sive* [11] *epitaphium illius. Willelmus de Regibus, libro ii.*[12]

Mirabile notabile.

Filius Evandri Pallas quem lancea Turni
Militis occidit more suo jacet [13] *hic.*[14]

Hos [15] versus non credo tunc factos quando gigas ille sepeliebatur, quamvis Carmentis mater Evandri litteras Latinas prius reperisset, sed potius postmodum ab Ennio vel aliquo alio poeta puto compositos. Et

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[1] *eidem*, add. B.

[2] C.D. resume from *Hujus*, &c.

[3] *Pallas*, MS.

[4] A.B.C.D. omit heading.

[5] *autem*, B.

[6] *giganteæ staturæ corpus incorruptum, cujus vulneris hiatus quatuor pedes longitudinis et semis habebat*, C.D.

[7] *ardens*, C.D.

[8] *reperta est*, C.D.

[9] *Hunc dicitur Turnum occidisse cujus tale erat epithaphium*, C.D.

[10] *continebat*, B.

[11] *sive*] om. B., which places the reference after the epitaph.

[12] A. omits heading. Cap. xiii. Script. post Bedam, p. 86.

[13] *jacet*, from A.B.C.D.; *latet*, MS.

[14] *Willelmus Malmesburiensis de Regibus, libro secundo*, A.

[15] *Hos . . . cute*] om. C.D.

oure fire is but lewk. Bot a ȝong man comynge to hym wiþ a chalice of gold filled ful of water, with sprinkelynge of þe water quenched þoo brennynges. Þat ȝong man, he seide, was seint Laurence, whos chirche dissolved and lowsed þoruȝ longe rotnes he reparailde and made aȝen, and ȝaf a chalys. *Martinus.* In tyme of þis Henry, so moche scismacye was in þe chirche of Rome, þat þre men were chosen popes, for why a preost, Gracianus by name, gat þe popehode for money i-giffen; bote þogh al þis Gracianus by name profred a crowne of golde to þis Henry comynge to Rome for to cese þe cismacie, neverþeles he was convicte of symonye and deposed, and anoþer i-ordeyned and underput. Also in þe dayes of þis emperour was i-founde at Rome þe body of Pallantes, unroten and incorupt, wiþ openynge and gapynge of a wounde of foure feet and an half, his body overcomen þe heiȝt of þe wal; at his [illegible] heved was a lanterne unquenchable, þat myȝt nouȝt be quenched nouþer wiþ wynde ne wiþ none moysture ne wetnes, unto þe tyme þat a litel hole y-made under þe flamme þe eyer entred in. His epithphy [1]—þat is, writynge on his grave—helde þese two vers: *Filius Evandri Pallas, quem lancea Turni militis* [2] *occidit, more suo jacet hic;*—þat is, "Pallas Evandre sone,[3] whom knyȝte Turnus spere slew, "lieth here on his manere." *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. I trowe þat þise vers was nouȝt made þan whenne þis geaunt was i-buryed, þouȝ alle Carment, Evandre modir, fonde first Latines lettres; bot raþer I trowe þat þey were i-made aftirward, of Ennyo or som oþer poete. And in

TREVISA.

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clerke toke to hym, in respecte of the heete of whom this fyre materialle is but as warme warm water unto scaldynge water. But a yonge man come to hym in that peyne with a peace of golde conteynynge water in hit, whiche castenge water on hym extincte that soore brennynge, whom he seide to be seynte Laurence; wherefore themperoure repairede the churche of seynte Laurence, and ȝafe a ryalle chalice of golde thyder also. *Marianus.* In the tyme of this emperoure there was so greet division in the churche of Rome that iij. men were electe to be pope. For a preste, Gracianus by name, was made pope for goodes that he hade ȝiffen; but this emperoure comynge to Rome to mitigate that rumor, receyvyde a crowne of the seide Gracianus; neverthelesse he was deposed in that he was convicte of symony, and an other subrogate. In the tyme of this emperoure the body off Pallas was founde at Rome incorrupte, havynge a wounde in hit of iiij. foote and a halfe, havynge a lawnterne inextinguible at his hede, the altitude of whom excellede the altitude of the walle of the cite; and that lampe

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] Sic in MS.
[2] *militus*, MS.
[3] *sone*] bis in MS.

procedente tempore corpus illud rorulentis stillicidiis infusum communem mortalium corruptionem agnovit, nervis fluentibus et soluta cute.

CAP. XXII.

[*De Pontificibus Romanis et quædam de rebus Anglicis.*]

Gratiæ MXLI. Hardekanuti III.

Gregorius sextus, prius [1] dictus Gracianus, post Benedictum sedit annis ferme quatuor. *Willelmus* [2] *ubi supra.*[3] Iste vir magnæ religionis et severitatis homo [2] cum Henrico imperatore aliquando [4] bellum gessit.[5] Hic quoque statum [6] Romani papatus ita invenit collapsum, ut præter pauca oppida urbi vicina et oblationes fidelium vix quicquam pro se et cardinalibus ad victum haberet. Reliqua a prædonibus aut [7] ablata [8] aut possessa fuerant, adeo ut ipsæ oblationes sub nudatis [9] gladiis ab ipsis altaribus direptæ fuerant, aut in stratis publicis deprædatæ. Quamobrem cessatum est ab omni provincia Romanum iter aggredi, propter prædones in via, propterque sicarios in ipsa Petri ecclesia. Hæc videns Gregorius iste, primo leniter et ex amore verbis cœpit cum illis agere ; sed cum nil proficeret, cauterio excommunicationis illos ab ecclesiæ corpore secuit qui talia agerent, vel qui

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[1] *prius*] om. C.D.

[2] *Willelmus . . . homo*] om. C.D. Sic in MS.

[3] *de Regibus*, B. Cap. xiii. Script. post Bedam, p. 83.

[4] *aliquando*] om. A.

[5] *habuit. Et cum oblationes beato Petro factæ violenter asportarentur, necnon et peregrini illuc adventantes spoliarentur, hic papa raptores hujusmodi ut desisterent primo admonuit, secundo contemptores excommunicavit, tertio manum armatum apposuit, qua malefactores aut fugabantur aut tricidabantur. Hac de causa cum ipse a cunctis pene et ab omnibus cardinalibus homicida acclamaretur, novissima ægritudine laborans ad circumstantes ait: Ut vere pateat me rectum zelum pro domo Domini habuisse, cum mortuus fuero corpus meum ante ecclesiam januis clausis statuite, et si divinitus portæ non fuerunt patefactæ, de corpore meo quod vultis facite. Cumque sicut jusserat factum fuisset, turbo repente adveniens portas ecclesiæ dirupit et funus usque ad parietem impulit*, C.D.

[6] *status*, B.

[7] *aut*] om. B.

[8] *oblatæ*, A. ; *ablatæ . . . possessæ*, MS.

[9] *nuditatis*, B.

processe of tyme þat body y-wette wiþ dewy droppes knowe þe comoun corrupcioun of dedly men, þe snowe[1] folwynge and þe skyn y-loused. TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum secundum.[2]

GREGORIE þe sixte, first called Gracianus, after Benet, sat almost foure ȝere. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 3°. Þis man was a man of religioun and felnes, dede bataille somtyme wiþ Henricus emperour. Also he fonde þe state of þe popehede of Rome so i-fallen doun þat outtake a fewe walled townes þat were nere to þe citee, and þe offrynges of trewe men unneþe hadde he to hym and his cardinals any þing to lyflode; al oþer were taken away of robbours, oþer elles oþere hadde possessioun, in so moche þat þe self offrynges were reft fro þe autters under naked swerdes, or elles þay were robbed in open wayes. Wherfore eche province cessed for to take Rome way, for robbours and for brigantes þat was ther armed þeves in Seynt Petres chirche self. Þis Gregorie seynge þese bygan for to do softely wiþ þaym wiþ love and wordes, but when he profite no þing, wiþ þe sentence of cursynge he cutte þaym fro þe body of holy chirche þat dide such þinges or ham þat comuned wiþ hem þat dide so. Forsoþe when þe pope sigh it

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cowthe not be extincte with blawynge or eny moistere untyl that a subtile hoole was made with a nelde and so the aier causede hit to be extincte. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum vicesimum secundum.

GREGORIUS the vj^the^, callede afore Gracianus, succedid Benedicte allemoste iiij. yere. *Willelmus de Regibus.* This pope, a man of grete religion and audacite, ȝafe batelle on a season to Henre the emperoure, whiche founde the state of the churche of Rome so decreased that he hade unnethe eny thynge to hym and to the cardynalles excepte fewe cites and places nye to the cite of Rome, and the offerynges of tru peple. For theire goodes were taken awey by thefes and robbers, insomoche that thei come to the churches and toke awey goodes offrede in þeim; and mony of theym usede woodes and robbede pilgremes, that the visitacion of Petyr and of Paule was not usede, what for robbers in the wey, and what for murdre of peple in the cite and in the churche of Seynte Petyr. Gregory the pope perceyvnge this, movede the wickede peple by feire wordes to amende theire wickede lyfe, but noo profyte folowynge, he cursede all those wicked men solemnly, and alle men havynge communicacion with theyme. The pope prevaylynge

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[1] Sic in MS.; lege *senowe*.

[2] On the margin of MS. is written: *Thys chapter ys good to be sene well.*

cum taliter agentibus communicarent. Cum autem papa per hæc[1] non solum[2] non proficeret, sed etiam mortis discrimen in se magis concitaret, scripsit imperatori ut ecclesiam labentem juvaret. Ille vero per Wandalum[3] bellum se excusans, rogat papam ut vice sua et sumptu manum apponat. Qua de causa ferro abscisionis utendum papa judicans, arma et equites undecumque conquisivit;[4] qui primo basilicam Petri præoccupantes, oblationum raptores aut effugarunt aut extinxerunt. Inde papa prædia diu amissa recuperavit. Quirites interea rapto vivere assueti[5] papam vocabant sanguinarium, altaris officio indignum, adeo ut multi cardinalium in hanc sententiam flexi[6] decreverunt ipsum papam in ecclesia non humandum. Quod ipse sub[7] extrema valitudine perpendens, cœtum cardinalium concionatus est in hunc modum: "Multum admiror, " fratres, quod vos sic præcipitanter præsulem vestrum " dijudicatis, qui sic vixi ut patrimonium meum in com- " moda vestra transfuderim,[8] qui famam mundi pro " vestra liberatione neglexerim. Quare si alii contra me " talia sinistra procuderent,[9] vos opiniones stultorum " meliori interpretatione lenire deberetis. Prædones " victum vestrum sustulerunt, quod ego ferre non valens " bellum prædonibus indixi. Cum[10] omnis actus

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[1] *hæc*] hujusmodi, A.; hius, MS.
[2] *per . . . solum*] sic, B.
[3] *Wandalicum*, A.B.
[4] *conquæsivit*, A.
[5] *consueti*, B.
[6] *deflexum*, B.
[7] *sub*, from A.B.; *cum*, MS.
[8] *transfuderem*, A.
[9] *providerent*, A.
[10] *ergo*, A.; *igitur*, B.

profited nouȝt, but stired more perille of deth ageyns hym self, he wroot unto the emperour þat he schulde helpe holy chirche in hir labour. He forsothe excusynge hym by the Wandale bataille, prayed to the pope þat in þe emperoures stede, and wiþ þe emperours costage, he wolde putte to his handes. Wherfore þe pope demynge þat it was for to use cuttynge and scherynge iren, he gat hym armes and horsmen on every side, whiche occupienge first Seint Peter chirche, ouþer they drowe out or slow þe robbours of þe offringes. After þe pope recovered his lordschippes þat were ilost. In þe mene tyme þe Romayns knyȝtes þat were wont for to lyve of ravayne, called þe pope a blood schewere, unworþy to þe office of þe autre, in so moche þat many of þe cardinals enclyned into þilke sentence, ordeyned and demed þat þe pope be not beried in holy chirche. Whiche in his last sekenes perseyvynge þat, he aresoned þe companye of cardynales[1] in þis manere: "Breþeren, I mervaille moche þat "ȝe deme so hastely ȝoure pope þat haþ lyved so þat I have "ȝitte out all my patrimonye into ȝoure prophetes, þat I have "despised þe loose and þe fame of þe world for ȝoure delyver- "ynge; wherfore if oþere wolde have made suche froward þinges "aȝenst me ȝe auȝt for to soften þe opiniouns of fonde men "wiþ better interpretacioun[2] þe robbours; þerfore siþen eche

Trevisa.

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not þerby, but excitynge trowble and perelle to his person, sende to þe emperour that he wolde helpe the cherche allemoste destroyede. The emperoure excusynge hym by batelle ageyne the Wandalynges, preyde the pope to gedre an hoste and to expelle the enemys of the seide churche, sendynge to hym grete goodes þerto. Wherefore the pope gedrenge an hoste putte those robbers of the churche of Seynte Petyr other to fliȝhte, other elles thei were sleyne, whereby the pope recurede mony lordschippes to the churche of Seynte Petyr. But somme of the wickede peple usede to raven and extorcion callede the pope a sleer of men and unworthy that office, in so moche that mony of the cardinalls declynyde unto that parte thouȝhte and ordeynede that the pope scholde not have ben beriede in the churche. The pope laborynge in his extreme infirmite callede the convente of cardinalls to hym, and seyenge to them in this manner: "I mervayle moche, breþer, that ye iugge "youre bischoppe so boldely withowte discrecion, whiche have "lyvede so that y myȝhte transfude my patrimony to youre "utilite, and have despysede the ioye of the worlde for youre "liberacion. Wherefore, and if eny other persons hade seide "wickidly of me, ye were bownde to have rebukede theym; for "thefes toke aweye youre exhibicion, and y havenge not "power to suffre that ȝafe batelle to theyme. Wherefore sithe

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *enclyned . . . cardynales*] repeated in MS. by error of scribe.

[2] Something omitted.

" humanus secundum intentionem agentis debeat librari,
" secundum illud, si oculus tuus fuerit simplex, id est,
" intentio recta, totum corpus tuum lucidum erit, id est,
" congeries actionum. Feci aliquando pauperi eleemo-
" synam; ille beneficium meum prædoni ostendit, unde
" et ipse spoliatus est et occisus: num ego ex hoc cul-
" pandus sum quia peregrino dedi unde ipse mortem
" incurrit? Absit. Quia profecto aviditas prædonem
" ad hoc impulit, non mea liberalitas. Sic et apud
" leges unum idemque factum diverso respectu punitur
" et laudatur: nam[1] punitur latro occidens in occulto,
" laudatur miles sternens hostem in bello; quia primus
" pro aviditate, secundus pro salute[2] patriæ occidit.
" Item laudatus est aliquando papa Adrianus primus
" quod concesserit[3] Karolo investituras prælatorum;
" laudantur modo nostri præsules quod contrarium fa-
" ciunt, auferentes a principibus talem potestatem; tunc
" rationabiliter propter aliquas [causas][4] subsistentes
" concessum est, quod modo rationabiliter negatum est,
" quia tunc animus Karoli non erat cupiditate infectus,
" et sedes apostolica ab ipsis[5] electis remota erat, et
" juxta erat princeps qui nil per avaritiam disponeret;
" sed modo ambitus principum omnia fœdat. Isto modo
" potest causa mea in utramvis partem flecti, infirmari

[1] *nam*] om. B.
[2] *salvatione*, B.
[3] *concessit*, A.; *concesserat*, B.
[4] from A.
[5] *ipsis*] om. B.

" man dede aught to be poundred or demed after þe entencioun of hym þat doþ, after þis, ȝif þyn eyȝen be symple, þat is þyn intencioun riȝt, al þy body schal be briȝt, þat is al þe hepe of þy dedes. I dede somtyme almesse to a pore man, he schewed my benefete to a robbour, wherfore he was spoylled and slayne. Whether þat I am to be blamed for I gaf to a pilgryme whereþoruȝ he wente into deth ? God forbede, ffor þe covetise forsoþe stered þe robbour þerto, and nouȝt my liberalnes. So also in þe lawes, for in dyvers rewardes on dede is punsched, and a knyȝt þat cast doun his enemy in bataille is loved, for þe firste sleuþe for covetise, and the secounde for helþe of þe contre. Also somtyme pope Adrian þe firste was praysed for þat he graunted to Charles þe mynistres of prelates,[1] oure prelates aren loved for þat þey doon þe contrarie, takynge away suche power fro princes: þan was it graunted resonably for som cause þere beynge þat now resonably is denyed, for þan Charles soule was nouȝt infecte wiþ covetise, and þe pope see was fer fro þe elites, and þe prince disposed noþing by avarice. But now þe covetise of princes feleþ al þing. On þis manere may my cause be in- TREVISA.

" that everyche operacion or dede of man awe to be ponderate after the intencion of the doer, after the seyenge of the gospelle, 'si oculus tuus fuerit simplex,' that is to say, if that the intencion be ryȝhte, alle the body schalle be bryȝhte and schynynge, that is to say, the laboure of thy dedes. I ȝafe to a poore man almes in a tyme, and he schewynge my benefite to a robber, was sleyne for hit; am y to be blamede in that y ȝafe almes to the poore man, thro whom he was sleyne ? God forbede; for covetise causede the robber to sle hym, and not my liberalite. Soe in lyke wyse as anendes lawes oon dede is rewardede and to be reprovede in diverse respectes. For a thefe sleynge a man is punyschede, a kny ȝhte sleynge his enemye is commended; for a thefe fiȝhtethe for goode, and a knyȝhte for the ryȝhte of his cuntre. Also pope Adrian the firste was commended somme time in that he 'grauntede to kynge Charls the investitures of prelates; now bischoppes be commended that they do contrary, takynge from princes that power whiche was ȝiffen to theyme in that tyme for causes resonable, whiche thynge is denyede by reason nowe at this tyme. For in that tyme the sawle of kynge Charls was not infecte with covetise, and the seete apostolicalle was ferre from men electe, and princes were nye whiche wolde not dispose eny thynge by avarice; but nowe in this tyme the ambicion of princes makethe alle thynges as vile. My cause may be appliede to either parte, MS. HARL. 2261. f. 325 a.

[1] *of prelates*] bis in MS.

" vel allevari. Sed dicitis non est episcopi officium " ut sanguinem fundat aut fundi faciat; concedo. " Spectat tamen ad eum ut si videat innocentiam nau- " fragari, et lingua[1] et manu occurrat. Nam[2] Ezechiel " accusaat sacerdotes quod non steterint ex adverso,[3] nec " se fecerunt murum pro domo Domini. Duæ sunt " personæ in ecclesia Dei ad resecanda[4] vitia consti- " tutæ, una quæ acuit eloquium, alia quæ portat gladium. " Ego teste Deo et vobis armavi linguam contra hostes " ecclesiæ quamdiu proficere potui. Illum autem cujus " interest gladio rem agere per nuncios[5] et epistolas " certioravi. Ille rescripsit se fore occupatum bello " Wandalico, rogans ut meis laboribus et suis sumptibus " latrones deturbarem. Quid ergo tunc facerem cum " ipse in me funderet[6] preces suas, videns cædem " civium, damnum peregrinorum, inediam papæ et car- " dinalium ? At qui parcit latroni causam dat ut inno- " cens occidatur. Sed forte obicitur. Non est sacerdotis " ut sanguinem fundat. Volo ; sed si ille se inquinat qui " sontem premens insontem liberat, et beati qui custo- " diunt judicium et faciunt justitiam ; laudantur Phinees[7] " et Matathias,[8] qui delinquentes confoderunt ; sed multo

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[1] *ligna*, B.
[2] *et*, B.
[3] *steterint adverso*, B.
[4] *resecandum*, A.B.
[5] *literas et nuncios*, B.
[6] *refunderet*, A.B.
[7] *Finies*, B.
[8] *Mathathias*, MS.

" clyned into anoþer partie, it may be made lethy, and it may TREVISA.
" be reysed up. But ȝe say it is nouȝt þe office of a bisshop
" þat he schede blood or for to make it to be sched. I graunte,
" neverþeles it is byholdinge to hym þat if he se an innocent
" perische, þat he goo þere agayne wiþ tonge and hond, for
" why Ezechiel accuseþ þe preostes þat þey stood nouȝt agayn
" þe contrarie party, he [1] made nouȝt þeym self a walle for þe
" house of oure Lord. Þere beeþ two persones in þe chirche of
" God ordeyned for to kutte away synnes, oon þat scharpeþ
" his spekynge, þe toþer þat bereþ a swerd. Witnes God and
" ȝow, I armed my tonge aȝenst enemyes of holy chirche als
" longe as I myȝte profete by messangers, and by epistles and
" lettres I certefied hym whom it falleþ for to doo any þing
" with þe swerd. He wroot agayn þat he was occupied wiþ
" the bataille of Wandale, prayeng þat wiþ my labour and his
" costage I wolde destourble þe þeves, þerfore what schulde I
" doo þanne whanne he sente me his partys, seynge þe sleynge
" of þe citeseyns, þe harmynge of pilgrymes, myscheve and
" poverte of þe pope and cardinales? And who so spareth a
" þeef he geveþ cause þat an innocent be slayn. Bot pera-
" venture þere is an objectioun, it falleþ nouȝt a preost þat
" he schede blood; I graunte wele. But if þat he fele hym
" self þat deliverep þe innocent, and oppressith þe gilty, and þey
" beþ blessed þat kepeþ dome and doþ rightwisnesse, and Phi-

" but ye say the office of a bischop is not to schede bloode or MS. HARL.
" to cause bloode to be schedde: I graunte þerto. Neverthe- 2261.
" lesse hit longethe to hym and if he see innocency to peresche
" to resiste the causers of hit bothe by tonge and honde. For
" Ezechiel accusethe prestes in that thei resiste not suche peple,
" and made theyme as a walle for the howse [1] God. There be
" persons tweyne ordeynede in the churche of God to destroye
" vices, oon that makethe scharpe eloquence, an other person
" that berethe a swerde. I take God to my wittenesse and
" yow, y armede my tonge ageyne the enemys of the church
" while that y myȝhte profite; after that y certifiede in
" writyng to themperour of the state of the churche, havynge
" power temporalle. Whiche wrote to me schewynge his
" labors and batells ageyne the Wandalynges, prayenge that
" thro my labours and his costes those thefes myȝhte be de-
" stroyede or taken. Wherefore y perceyvynge the soore
" hurte of citesynnes, the dethe of pilgremes, and the poore
" lyvynge of the cardinalls, gedrede an hoste to resiste theyme,
" and he that sparethe a thefe ȝiffethe occasion that an
" innocent be sleyne. But peraventure ye obiecte, and say
" hit longethe not to a preste to schedde bloode; I graunte
" þerto; but what seithe the prophete, 'Blissede be men that
" 'do ryȝhteousnesse in every tyme.' For Finees and

[1] Sic.

" minus debemus nos vera sacra nostra tolerare pro-
" fanari quam illi sua umbratica mysteria; et Zakarias
" pontifex expulit de templo regem Oziam thurificantem
" et procul dubio eum occidisset nisi cessisset. Denique
" ego contuli beneficium his quibus videor intulisse
" exitium; nam sceleratus quantum [1] diutius vivit, plus
" sibi de culpa et pœna adquirit; propterea qui tali
" breviat vitam, minuit ei culpam et pœnam, et sic ei
" tribuit beneficentiam. Sed ut in [2] his nec fallar nec
" vos fallimini, ponite corpus meum cum obiero ante
" fores ecclesiæ firmissime obstructas, ut si divinitus
" portæ non fuerint patefactæ de corpore meo facite quod
" vultis." Cumque sicut jusserat factum fuisset, turbo repente adveniens portas cum seris dirupit, et funus usque ad interiorem parietem ecclesiæ impulit.[3] Quo viso miraculo cardinales cum populo ipsum in ecclesia [4] Petri humaverunt.[5] Hoc quoque [6] anno rex Hardekanutus, dum in [7] convivio nuptiarum apud Lambeth [8] juxta Londoniam lætus et sospes stando biberet, repente corruit, et sic obtumescens vi$_o$ idus Junii expiravit; sepultus apud Wyntoniam cum patre suo.[9] *Henricus libro sexto.*[10] Qui tantæ liberalitatis fertur extitisse ut

Gratiæ MXLIII. Hardekanuti III.

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[1] *quanto*, A.
[2] *in*] om. B
[3] See note 5, page 150.
[4] *beati*, add. B.
[5] *Quo. . . humaverunt*] om. C.D.
[6] *etiam*] om. A.
[7] *in*] om. B.
[8] *Lambheth*, A.; *Lamhegh*, B.
[9] *juxta patrem suum*, C.D.
[10] *octavo*, B.; C.D. omit reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 79.

TREVISA.

" nees and Mathathias ben praysed, whiche stiked þaym þat " trespassed. Bot moche lesse[1] owe we for to suffre oure holy " sacramentes for to be polute and defouled, þan þay þaire " derke privetees; and Zacharie the bisshop put out of þe " temple þe kyng Osyam þat encensed, and wiþ oute doute he " hadde slayn hym, bote if he hadde gyfen stede. For soþe I " gaf benefice to þaym þat to whiche me semeþ have giffen " torment or deþ. For why? a wicked synful man þe lenger " he lyveþ þe more synne and payne he geteþ, þerfore who so " schorteþ hym his lyf, he lesneþ hym syn and payne, and so " he gyfeþ hym benefeet. But þat in þese þinges noþer I be " bygiled ne ȝe be bygiled, put my body when I am dede bifore " þe dores of þe chirche ful faste spered, and ȝif þe dores " þoruȝ þe sonde of God be nouȝt opened dooþ of my body " what so ȝe wil." And when it was done, as he commaunded, sodenly a whirlewynd comynge caste doun the dores wiþ þe lokkes, and keste in þe dede body unto þe innere wall of þe chirche; whiche myracle i-sene þe cardinals with þe peple beried hym in Seynt Peter his chirche. Also in þis ȝere when Hardeknute þe kyng at a bridale feste at Lambehithe beside Londoun drank stondynge hole and murye, sodenly he fil doun, and so waxynge dombe he deide þe vi. idus of Iunii, and i-buried at Wynchestre wiþ his fadir. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Whiche was seide þat he was of so moche liberalte þat he made

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MS. HARL. 2261.

" Matathias were commendede in that thei extincte men " offendynge, moche moore we awe not to suffre oure " hooly thynges to be defilede, when that thei kepede so " solennely theire misterys beynge but as a schado. Also " Zacharias the bischop expulsede from the temple kynge " Osias sensynge, and wolde have sleyne hym but that he " departede. Also I have doen a benefite to þeim to whom " ye thenke y have doen hurte; for ever the longer a wickide " man lyvthe he augmentethe his synne and peyne; wherefore f. 325 b. " he that schortethe the lyfe of suche a man mynyschethe his " synne and peyne, and so he dothe to hym a benefite. " Neverthelesse, that y be not deceyvede, neiþer ye, putte my " body after my dethe afore the churche[2] lockede and made " sure, and if thei be not openede by the power of God, " do with my body after youre pleasure." That doen as after his commaundemente, a wynde come as sodenly, and brekynge the lockes of the durre brouȝhte the corse unto the interialle walle of the churche. The cardinalles and moche peple seenge that miracle, beriede the body in the churche with grete solemnite. Hardeknutus the kynge beynge at Lambeth nye to London, mery and gladde, felle downe sodenly, and so wontynge speche diede the vi^the idus of Iunius, and was beryede at Wynchestre with his fader. *Henricus, libro sexto.* This man was called

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[1] *awe*, wrongly inserted in MS. | [2] Sic in MS.

quater in die fercula regalia parari faceret, malens ab invitatis apposita prandia dimitti quam apponenda reposci.[1] [2]*Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.*[3] Mittitur illico apud[4] Normanniam pro Edwardo in regem coronando, datis obsidibus, ita quidem ut paucos Normannos secum adducat. Juvabant tunc partem Edwardi Leofricus comes Cestrensis, Godewynus dux Westsaxonum, et Livingus episcopus Wygorniensis. *Ranulphus.* Verumtamen Marianus tradit quod rex Hardekanutus miserat prius pro Edwardo fratre suo, et eum in curia sua stare[5] fecerat.[6]

Cap. XXIII.

[*De rebus Anglicis sub Edwardo Confessore.*]

Gratiæ MXLIII. Edwardi primo.

Edwardus igitur[7] Angliam veniens coronatur in regem apud Westimonasterium ab Edsio[8] archiepiscopo,[9] et regnavit pæne viginti quatuor annis. Hic itaque rex Goditham filiam Godewyni desponsabat,[10] quam tali arte tractabat, ut nec a[11] toro amoveret nec tamen virili more cognosceret, quod an familiæ illius odio an castitatis zelo id[12] fecerit compertum non habeo. Istud tamen celeberrime fertur quod semper vixerit rex sine mulieris contagio;[13] matrem autem

[1] *deposci*, B.

[2] *Cujus frater Edwardus, annuentibus potissime Leofrico comite Cestriæ, Godwino duce Westsaxonum, et Livingo Wygornensi episcopo, in festo sancti Paschæ sequenti erigitur in regem apud Westmonasterium, sive Wyntoniam secundum quosdam*, C.D., omitting the rest of the chapter.

[3] *libro secundo*] om. B Cap. xiii. Script. post Bedam, p. 75.

[4] *in*, B.

[5] *stare*] from A.B.; *stari*, MS.

[6] *Willelmus Malmesburiensis de regibus et Marianus*, A.

[7] *tertius in regem erectus cartam talem scripsit, quæ apud Westmonasterium adhuc servatur, quod quotiens ipse aut quisquam successorum suorum regium diadema apud Westmonasterium, Wyntoniam, seu Wigorniam portaret, eo die præcentor loci recipiat de fisco regio dimidiam marcam, et conventus* 100 *semenellos et unum dolium vini. Rex quod Godwinum honorabat filiam ejus Goditham desponsabat. Matrem autem propriam*, &c., C.D.

[8] *Edisio*, B.

[9] *Cantuariensi*, add. A.B.

[10] *desponsavit*, B.

[11] *a*] om. B.

[12] *illud*, A.

[13] *Angliam... contagio*] om. C.D.

þe kynges and messes be diȝt redy foure tymes in a day, for hym had lever þat þe metes þat were sette bifore þaym þat were boden were i-left, þan eny þing þat schulde be sette to fore þaym schulde be asked. *Willielmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. Also sone it was sent into Normandye ffor Edward to be coroned kyng, hostage i-giffen, so ferforþ þat he brynge wiþ hym but fewe Normandyes. Þan helped the partie of Edward Leofric erle of Chestre, Godwyn duke of Westsex, and Levynge, bisshop of Worcester. ℟. Neverþeles Marianus telleþ þat Hardeknute sent first for Edward his broþer, þat he schulde make hym abide wiþ hym in his contree. *Willielmus de Regibus et Marianus.* TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum tertium.

EDWARD þerfore comynge to Engelonde was corowned kyng at Westmynster of Edsye, archebisshop of Canturbury, and he regned almost foure and twenty ȝere. This kyng forsoþe wedded Edithe, Edwynus douȝter, whiche he treted wiþ suche craft, þat nouþer he removed hir fro his bed, ne he knewe her nouȝt on womanis manere, whiche wheþer he dede for hatreden of hir kynrede or for love of chastite I have nouȝt certayn proved. Neverþeles þis is seide most comounly, þat þe kyng lyved evermore wiþoute touchynge of woman: his owne moder

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of so grete liberalite that he commaunded regalle festes to be ordeynede iiij. or v. tymes in a day, sayenge that hit was a pleasure to hym his gestes to leve raþer meytes untowchede then that þei scholde have desyrede moo. *Willelmus de Regibus.* Wherefore peple off Ynglonde sende to Normandy for Edwarde to be crownede into kynge, suertes made in this condicion, that he scholde brynge with hym fewe men from Normandy; the parte of whom Leofricus the erle of Chestre did helpe, Godewinus duke of Westesaxons, and Livingus bischoppe of Worcestre. ℟. Neverthelesse Marianus rehersethe that Hardeknutus the kynge sende afore Edward his broþer, and made hym to tary in his cowrte. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum vicesimum tertium.

Willelmus de Regibus et Marianus. Edward commen into Ynglonde was crownede into kynge at Wynchestre of Edsius archebischop of Cawnterbury; whiche reignede xxiiij^{ti} yere. This kynge maryede Editha doȝhter of Godewinus the duke, whom he entretede soe that he expellede hir not from his bedde, neither hade eny fleschely knowelege of her; I knowe not wheþer hit was doen for hate of her bloode, or for the luffe of chastite. But this is for a trawthe, that the kynge lyvede in alle his dayes with owte eny actualle fleschely synne with

propriam nec plene colebat rex, nec publice confundebat. Tamen de consilio Godewyni quæque pretiosa ab ea abstulit, vel quia[1] nimis dura sibi[2] fuerat, vel quia aliquid ei conferre minus curabat. De Neustria quoque quosdam, qui sibi ibidem familiares fuerant,[3] remunerandos advocabat. Inter quos quendam Robertum Gemmeticum monachum, primo Londoniensem episcopum, demum Cantuariensem fecerat. Cujus consiliis rex ipse simplex[4] in tantum adquievit, ut nacta[5] opportunitate ipsum Godewynum socerum[6] suum cum filiis[7] exlegaret, matrem propriam, ob suspectam cum Wyntoniensi præsule familiaritatem, bonis omnibus[8] privatam, in monasteriam de Werewelle[9] detruderet, et Alwynum episcopum incarceraret. Sed Emma laxius custodita scripsit episcopis Angliæ, in quibus confidebat, se plus de præsulis[10] dedecore quam de sua verecundia torqueri, paratam[11] se probare Dei judicio ferrique candentis examine episcopum[12] fore injuste diffamatum. Convenientes tandem episcopi regem ad rogata inflexissent nisi Robertus Cantuariensis obstetisset.[13] "Quo-
" modo," inquit, "fratres episcopi, feram illam, non
" fœminam, audetis defendere, quæ filium suum regem
" diffamavit quæ amasium suum lubricum[14] Christum
" Domini nominavit. Sed esto quod fœmina[15] vult

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[1] *ipsa*, C.D.
[2] *ante susceptum regnum*, C.D.
[3] *benefecerunt*, C.D.
[4] C.D. add: "qui nunquam nisi
" aliquo consilio ductus perperam
" egit."
[5] *nacta . . . exlegaret*] om. C.D.
[6] *socerum*] Space left in B.
[7] *suis*, B.
[8] *matrem propter nimiam Alwini episcopi familiaritatem bonis*, C.D.
[9] *Wherwell*, B.
[10] *episcopi*, B.
[11] *paratamque*, B.
[12] *præsulem*, B.
[13] *his utens verbis*, B.
[14] *Deum*, add. B.
[15] *fœmina*] om. A.

forsoþe nouþer he worschipped fully ne confounded hire openly. Neverþeles by þe counseille of Godwyne he took fro hire al hire precious þinges oþer for sche was over hard unto hym, or for sche charged to litel to gif hym any þing. Also he called out of Normandie some þat was famuliar to hym, þerfore to be rewarded, among whiche he made oon Robert, a monk of Gementicus, bisshop of Londoun, and after archebisshop of Canturbury; in whos counseilles þe kyng hym self, þat was symple, so moche rested þat, opportunite i-gete, he outlawed Godwyne his fader in lawe wiþ his sones, his owne moder for suspecte famuliarite and homlynes deprived of al hire goodes, putte hire in þe abbay of Werwelle, and prisoned bisshop Aylewyn. But Emme lousely i-kept, wroot unto þe bisshoppis of Engelond, in whiche sche tristed þat sche was more tormented and disesed of the unworschippe and blamynge of þe bisshop þan of hire own schame, and þat sche was redy for to prove by þe dome of God and examynynge of þe brennynge fire þat þe bisshop was unriȝtfully diffamed. At þe laste þe bisshoppes comynge to þe kyng, þey hadde inclyned hym [by] þeyre prayers, bot þat Robert bisshop of Caunterbury agayn-stood it. "How," quod he, "breþeren and bisshoppes, dar ȝe diffende þat " wood best and no womman, whiche diffamede þe kyng hir sone, " whiche calleþ her leccherous lemman oure Lordes preest? But

TREVISA.

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woman, whiche luffede not moche his moder, neither he despisede her overmoche, neverthelesse he toke alle her precious goodes from here by the cownesayle of Godewinus. Whiche callede from Normandy diverse men of grete familiarite with hym, that he myȝhte rewarde theym; amonge whom a monke was callede Robert, whom he made bischop of London, and after metropolitan of Ynglonde, after whom the kynge was governede, insomoche that he putte to exile Godewinus his fader in lawe; and his awne moder, for suspicion with þe bischop of Wynchestre hade, here goodes taken from her, and putte her to the monastery of Werwelle, and imprisonede Alwinus the bischoppe. But Emma his moder beynge in liberalle kepynge did wryte to the bischoppes of Ynglonde in whom sche truste, seyenge that sche was vexede moore for the trowble of the bischop then for here awne schame and peyne, seyenge that sche wolde prove that bischop to be diffamede by the iuggemente of God and examinacion of hoote yrne. The bischoppes gedred hade movede the kynge to mercy, but that Robert archebischop of Cawnterbury caused hym to do the contrary, seyenge to peyme, "O þe bischoppes " my breþer, howe darre ye defende that beste and noo woman, " which diffamed the kynge here awne sonne. But thauȝhe sche

MS. HARL. 2261.

" purgare pontificem, sed[1] quis purgabit eam, quæ
" dicitur consensisse in necem filii[2] Aluredi, et pro-
" curasse venenum Edwardo. Sed esto, quod aucto-
" ritatem habeat supra sexus conditionem, si autem[3]
" pro seipsa quatuor passus et pro episcopo quinque[4]
" passus continuos super novem ignitos vomeres nu-
" dis pedibus et plenis vestigiis illæsa transierit, ab
" impetitione ista evadat absoluta." Præfigitur[5] illico dies examinis, quo rex et cæteri proceres excepto solo Roberto convenerunt; sed nocte præcedente diem examinis mulier ad sepulcrum sancti Swythini Wyntoniensis perorans confortata est. Unde et die sequenti velatis oculis ignitos[6] vomeres nil læsa[7] pertransiit. Tunc rex ingemiscens, et veniam petens, disciplinam ab utroque præsule et etiam a matre sua recepit, ablataque illis[8] restituit. Tunc regina Emma dedit sancto Swythino[9] novem maneria, et episcopus alia novem maneria, propter illos novem vomeres quos Emma pertransiit; Robertus vero Cantuariensis fugit in[10] Normanniam. Edwardus[11] Londoniensis præsul, et quondam abbas Eveshamiæ, dum tanto regimine præ nimia corporis valitudine minus[12] sufficeret, Eveshamiæ præsidere voluit; sed fratribus loci id[13] recusantibus, ablatis rebus et libris quos vel ipse vel prædecessores sui Eveshamiæ contulerant, monasterio

Gratiæ MXLIIII. Edwardi II.

[1] *sed*] om. B.
[2] *sui*, A.B.
[3] *tamen*, A.
[4] *passus . . . quinque*] om. B.
[5] *Igitur*, B.
[6] *igneos*, A.
[7] *illæsa*, A.B.
[8] *ei*, B.
[9] *Emma sedit* (sic) *Swithino*, B.
[10] *extra Angliam*, add. C.D.
[11] *Elfwordus*, A.; *Marianus. Elfwordus*, B.
[12] *non*, B.
[13] *id*] om. B.

" siþen a womman wil purge the bisshop, who schal purge hire, TREVISA.
" whiche is seide [to] have consented unto þe deth of hir sone
" Alurede, and procurede venym unto Edward? Bot be it þat
" sche have auctorite above þe condicioun of hire kynde. Never-
" þeles if sche passe unhurte bare foot and fulsteppes foure paas
" for her self, andfyve contynued paas forþe bisshop, uppon nyne
" brennynge cultres or schares, let here eskape of his enpeche-
" ment." Also sone þe day of examinacioun was sette, in þe whiche þe kyng and all oþer gentiles out take bisshop Robert come þider. Bot þe ny3t þat went byfore þe day of exame-nynge, þe womman prayenge at þe sepulcre of seynt Swithyne of Wynchestre was conforted; wher yn þe day folwynge, hir ey3en i-covered, sche passed unhert nyne brennynge cultres. Þan þe kyng sorwynge, and askynge forgifnes, took discipline of eiþer bisshop, and also of his moder, and restored þat he hadde taken fro þaym. Þan þe queene Emme gaf unto seynt Swithyn nyne maneres for þe nyne cultres þat sche hadde passed. Robert forsoþe þe bisshop of Canturbury fled unto Normandie. *Marianus.* Elfworde bisshop of Londoun, and somtyme abbot of Evesham, for he sufficed not inow for overmoche seeknes of his body unto so moche governaunce, wolde have bene president at Evesham, but þe breþer of þe place denyenge þat, godes and bookes þat oþer he or his predecessours hadde giffen

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" wolde excuse the bischoppe, who schalle excuse here, whom MS. HARL.
" men say to have conspired the dethe of Alfrede her sonne, and 2261.
" to have procurede poyson to Edward but with owte dowte sche
" hathe a preeminence above the kynde of woman. Neverthelesse
" and if sche goe iiij. passes on iiij. cultres of hoote yrne for here
" selfe, and v. for the bischop, with owte eny hurte, sche schalle be
" excusede of this cryme." Wherefore the day of examinacion was prefixede, but in the ny3hte afore, this Emma preyenge at the sepulcre of seynte Swithyn was comforted moche. The day commen sche keverenge her face, passede by fulle stappes the ix. cultres or sughes with owte eny hurte. Then the kynge sorowynge moche, askynge mercy and for3ifnesse, toke disciplyne of either bischop, and also of his moder, restorynge to her goodes taken aweye. Then Emma the qwene 3afe to seynte Swithyn ix. maners, and to the bischop other ix. maners, for the ix. cultres or schares that sche passed; and Roberte archebischop of Cawn-terbury fledde into Normandy. *Marianus.* Elfwordus bischop of London, and somme tyme abbot of Evysham, thenkynge hym not apte to kepe that governayle for grete infirmite, wolde have bene presidente at Evysham, but the breþer refusenge hym, he takynge awey the goodes of the monastery and ryalle

Ramseye se contulit; ibique[1] cito post moriens sepelitur;[2] cui[3] successit Robertus. Rex Edwardus congregavit classem pervalidam apud Sandicum[4] portum, contra regem Norreganorum Haraldum Harfagum,[5] Angliam impugnare disponentem, sed bellum per Swanum regem Dacorum illi illatum totum[6] impedivit. Alio tempore tradunt ipsum regem Edwardum inter missarum solemnia contra morem risisse. Mirantibus qui aderant, et causam inquirentibus, ait rex, "Convenit "inter Danos et Noreganos Angliam invadere; sed "cunctis ad navigandum paratis, obtulit quispiam ipsis "navigaturis calicem medonis ad potandum, imprecans "illis probrosum nomen si non biberent: at dum "calix calici successit, ebrietas versa est in loquaci-"tatem, loquacitas in litem, lis in pugnam, sicque "dispersi ab[7] invicem dissilierunt. Et spero quod in "diebus meis alienigenæ non vexabunt terram meam."

Gratiæ MXLV. Edwardi III.

Gratiæ MXLVI. Edwardi IIII.

De pontificibus Romanorum.[8] Benedictus decimus[9] post Gregorium sedit papa annis ferme duobus. Hic cum papatum emisset, ab Henrico imperatore depositus est, Clemente Secundo substituto, cui post annum defuncto successit Prospero, qui et Damasus secundus, mensibus duobus sedit.[10] Quo defuncto successit Leo nonus annis

[1] *ibique . . . Robertus*] om. B.
[2] *unde rex Robertum præfecit Londoniæ*, C.D.
[3] *cui*] om. A.
[4] *Sandiacum*, A.
[5] *Harefax*, B.
[6] *et propositum*, add. C.D.
[7] *a proposito resilierunt*, C.D.
[8] A.B.C.D. omit heading.
[9] *decimus*, from B.; *quartus*, MS.
[10] From A.B.C.D.

to Evesham i-taken away, he wente to Ramesey, and þere sone aftir he deide and was i-buried; to whom succedit Robert. *Marianus.* Kyng Edward gedred a strong navey at Sandwiche haven, in wil for to fi3te a3enst Harold Harfage, kyng of Norwaye, but þe bataile [1] giffen hym by Swane þe kyng of Denmark letted alle. Anoþer tyme þey telle þat kyng Edward agayns his custome lough among þe solempnetes of þe masses. Þey þat stood aboute merveillynge, and askynge the cause, þe kyng seide: "It was acorded atwixe þe Danes and þe Norweyes for to assaille Engelond, bot alle þyng redy for to schippe profred to þaym þat schulde shippe a coppe of meth for to drynke, prayeng a opprobrious a reprevynge name unto þaym but if they drank, and whiles coppe folowe3 to cuppe dronkenhede was torned into jangelynge, jangelynge into stryvynge, stryvynge into fi3tynge, and so disparbled þay and twynned asondre. And I trowe þat in my dayes aliens schal nou3t wexe in my land." Benette þe tenþe, pope after Gre- TREVISA.

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bookes, wente to Ramesey, where he diede soone after and was beried þer. *Marianus.* Kynge Edwarde gedred a grete navy of schippes at Sandewiche, intendynge to have 3iffen batelle to Haralde Harefag kynge of Norway; but a batelle 3iffen to hym by Suanus kynge of the Danes did lette that viage. Also hit is rehersed, this kynge Edwarde to have la3hede hertily in a tyme at masse, ageyne the use of peple. Men of his companye mervellynge and inquirynge the cause, the kynge seide: "Men of Norway and of Denmarke make a convencion to entre into Ynglonde, and alle men made redy to take schippe, a man brou3hte to theym firste oon pece of wyne, preyenge God thei scholde not sped welle with owte thei drunke; and so thei drynkynge moche were made drunke, and drunkenesse was turnede to talkynge, and speche to stryfe, and stryfe into fi3htynge, and so the peple was dispersed; wherefore y suppose that aliauntes schalle not vexe this realme in my time." Edward consecrate to be kynge of Ynglond in Ester day at Wynchestre of Edsius and Alfricus, archebischoppes of Cawnterbery and of Yorke; the lyfe of whom was hooly and fulle of miracles; electe to be kynge afore that he was borne, and the noble men of the realme promisynge fidelite to him. Ethelredus his fader diede miserably, as hit is schewede afore, and the Danes trowblede the realme incessantely. That kynge considerynge hym unworthy that glory, and how he was made kynge by the dethe of his broþer, willede an oþer to be kynge if that the realme my3hte be in moore prosperite. Wherefore a convocacion hade, the kynge spake to theym of the succession of the realme, and what MS. HARL. 2261. f. 326 b.

[1] and here inserted in MS.

quinque. [1] Rex Noreganorum Haraldus prædictus, frater sancti Olavi ex parte matris, fugato rege Danorum Swano, Daciam sibi subjugavit.[2] Rex autem Swanus [3] sic expulsus petivit auxilium a rege Anglorum ; assensit Godwynus comes, sed cæteri proceres dissuaserunt ; unde

Gratiæ MXLVII. Edwardi V.

rege [4] Haroldo obeunte Suanus Daciam recuperavit. Hoc anno Lyvingo Wygorniensi præsule defuncto, Aluredus,[5] qui primo [6] Wyntoniensis deinde apud Tavestoke [7] extiterat, in sedem Wygorniensem successit.[8] Nix [9] magna cecidit in occiduis partibus Angliæ, ita ut ligna silvarum frangeret, et duravit a kalendis Januarii usque

Gratiæ MXLVIII. Edwardi VI.

diem [10] Patricii. Inde subsecuta est mortalitas hominum, lues animalium, et fulgur segetes ustulavit.[11] Hoc [12] anno commissum est bellum inter Henricum regem Franciæ et proceres Normanniæ, pro eo quod

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[1] *Magnus*, C.D.

[2] C.D. add here : " Nix quoque " magna a kalendis Januarii usque " ad festum sancti Patricii duravit."

[3] *nuper de terra sua rogavit regem Anglorum ut classem sibi contra Norreganorum mitteret. Assenciente ad hoc Godwino, ceteri proceres dissuaserint, sed rege Norreganorum cito post obeunte, Swanus Daciam recuperavit. Mortalitas*, C.D.

[4] *rege*] om. B.

[5] *Aldredus*, A.

[6] *monachus*, B.

[7] *abbas apud Tavistok*, A. ; *abbas de Tavenstoke*, B.

[8] *succedit. Marianus*, B.

[9] *Quo et anno nix*, A.

[10] *sancti*, B.

[11] *Mortalitas hominum et animalium multas Angliæ provincias occupavit, et ignis aereus vulgo dictus silvaticus in Derbigensi provincia villas et segetes ustulavit*, C.D.

[12] *Hoc . . . effectus*] om. C.D.

gory, was pope almost two ȝere, þe whiche for he hadde bouȝt þe popehede was deposed of þe emperour Henry, and Clement þe secounde i-ordeyned, þe whiche of oo ȝere in dede succedid Poppo, whiche was called Damasus þe secounde, and he was two monþes, whiche in dede succedid Leo þe nynþe fyve ȝere. Þe forseide Harolde, kyng of Norway, þe broþer of seint Olave on þe modir side, subjectid unto hym Denmark, Svane þe kyng of Denmark dryven out. Kyng Svane forsoþe so i-put out, asked help of þe kyng of Engelond. Þe erle Godwyn assented, and oþer gentiles counseilled nay; wherfore kyng Harolde y-ded Svane recovered Denmark. Þis ȝere Levyngus þe bisshop of Worcestre y-dede, Alrede, whiche was monk at Wynchestre, and after was abbot at Tavestok, suceeded in þe see of Worcestre. *Marianus.* A greet snow[1] fil in þe west parties of Engelond, so þat it brak þe trees of þe wodes, and it dured fro þe kalends of Januarii unto seynt Patrik his day; after þat fol- TREVISA.

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man scholde be moste apte to the governayle of hit. Whiche kynge hade ij. sonnes, Edmund Irenside geten by a concubyne and Alfride geten by Emma his quene, whiche was also with childe also in þat tyme, whiche chosen to be kynge and borne afterwarde was callede Edward. Whiche certifiede of the dethe of his broþer, sorowede moche, makynge a promise to God and to seynt Petyr, that he scholde visitte the apostles at Rome and if he reioyced the realme of Ynglonde. And after that he was made kynge, he wolde have taken his iourney to Rome, but noble men of the realme purchasede of the pope that iourney to be prohibite, and to be chaungede into oþer meritorious dedes, for men of Ynglonde dredde the incourses of Danes. Benedicte þe x^the^ succedid pope Gregory allemoste ij. yere, whiche byenge that office was deposed, and Clement the secunde subrogate as for oon yere; whom Poppo or Damasus the secunde succedid ij. monethes, whom Leo the ix^the^ succedid v yere. Haralde kynge of Norway, and broþer of seynte Olavus by his moder, expellynge Suanus the kynge of Denmarke, subduede to hym that londe. And Suanus so expulsede commynge to Ynglonde, desirede helpe of the kynge, but noble men of the realme movede the kynge unto the contrary. Neverthelesse, Haralde dedde, Suanus recurede his londe. Livingus bischop of Worchestre dedde, Aldredus, firste monke at Wynechestre, after abbot of Thavesstoke, was successour to hym. *Marianus.* A grete snawe felle in this tyme in the weste partes of Ynglonde, in so moche that hit brake grete trees in woodes, contynuynge from the kalendes of Ianuary unto the feste of Seynte Patrikke; and MS. HARL. 2261. f. 327 a.

[1] *swow*, MS.

nollent admittere Willelmum in ducem; qui cum devicti fuissent, dux Willelmus quosdam exlegavit, quosdam suspendit. Circa hæc tempora Herelewynus [1] miles in Normannia, relicta militia temporali, apud Beccum [2] in Normannia construxit monasterium quod adhuc Bekherlewyn [3] nominatur, non veritus ipse abbas et rector lapides et cementum ad fabricam apportare, panes coquere, aut cæteras mundicias facere. Cui Deus in auxilium et consilium duas mundi lucernas, eximiæ litteraturæ viros, Lanfrancum et Anselmum, destinavit; quorum unus post alium in dicto loco prior, et postmodum Cantuariensis archiepiscopus [4] est effectus.[5] [6] Hoc anno Leo papa et Suanus [7] rex Dacorum perrexerunt cum imperatore Henrico contra Baldewyn Flandrensem comitem, et rex Angliæ Edwardus mare observabat cum classe sua [8] donec imperator beneplacitum suum obtinuisset.[9] Iste quoque papa Leo IX., cum conscientiam haberet cauteriatam,[10] quod aliqualiter fuisset per imperatorem intrusus,[11] cessit papatui, sed denuo, canonice [12] eligitur.[13] [14] Hoc etiam anno Hibernienses piratæ Sabrinum mare ingressi, cum auxilio

Constructio monasterii de Bekherlewyn a milite Herlewyno, in quo professi erant duo mundi lucernæ Lanfrancus et Alselmus.

[1] *Herlewinus*, B.
[2] *Bekcum*, B.
[3] *Becherlewin*, A.; *Becherlewyng*, B.
[4] *episcopus*, B.
[5] *Marianus*, B.
[6] C.D. add: "Leo nonus, qui et "Brimus, post Damasum sedit "annis quinque mensibus duobus; "qui primo papatus sui anno rogatu Hermanni abbatis Franciam "venit, et dedicato monasterio Re"mensi magnum synodum episcoporum et abbatum sex diebus "ibidem tenuit, in qua fuerunt "abbates Ramesiensis et Cantuariæ "pro rege illuc directi. Quod et "anno ipse papa et rex Dacorum "Swanus," &c.
[7] *Swanus*, B.
[8] *sua*] om. B.
[9] *de Baldewino habuisset*, C.D.
[10] *eo*, C.D.
[11] *esset sponte*, C.D.
[12] *ab hiis quorum intererat*, C.D.
[13] *est electus*, A.B.
[14] C.D. add: "Hujus papæ tempore ecclesia cœpit plurimum turbari per Berengarium quemdam "archidiaconum, qui asseruit corpus Christi et sanguinem in altari "non vere existere, sed fantastice; "contra quem Lanfrancus Beccensis prior egregie postmodum "disputavit in hoc suo quod Scintillarium intitulavit."

wede mortalite of men, rotynge of bestes, and thunder lemynge brend þe cornes. Þis ȝere also was done a bataille atwix þe kyng of Fraunce and þe gentiles of Normandie, for þat þey wolde nouȝt admitte William for duke; whiche when þey were overcomen, duke William outlawed some of þaym, and som he honged. Aboute þise tymes knyȝte Harlewyne in Normandie, temporal knyȝthode forsakyn, he made Becc abbey in Normandie, þat ȝit is called Becherlewyn; hym self abbot and governour was nouȝt aschamed for to bere stones and cement and morter to þe makynge, for to bake brede, and forto doo oþer unclennesse. To whom God sente in helpynge and counseillynge two lanternes of þe world, men of ful passynge letterature, Lanfranc and Anselme, of þe whiche þat one after þat oþer was i-made priour in þe forseide place, and afterward archebisshop of Canturbury. *Marianus.* Þis ȝere pope Leo, and Svane kyng of Denmark, went wiþ Henry emperour ageyns Baldewyne erle of Flaundres; and Edward kyng of Engelond keped þe see wiþ his navey unto þe tyme þe emperour hadde geten his wille. Also þis pope Leo þe nynþe havynge remorse of conscience þat he was somwhat put yn by þe emperoure lefte the popehede but eft sones was he chosen truly. Also þis ȝere Irische men were robbours on þe see, and entred into þe see of Severne, and wiþ the help of Gryffyn, kyng of

Trevisa.

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also a grete dethe of men folowede hit, and of bestes; and the lyȝhtynge destroyede the cornes that yere. A grete batelle was hade in this yere betwene Henre, kynge of Fraunce, and the noble men of Normandy, in that they wolde not admitte William to theire lorde and governoure. But the seide William made duke, hongede mony of theym, and put mony to exile. Herlewinus, a knyȝhte of Normandy, refusenge the ioyes of the worlde, wente abowte this tyme to Bettun in Normandy, where he made a monastery callede Bethlewyn; beynge abbot and governoure, not aschamede to bere stones and cement to the makynge of the churche, to bake brede, and to dresse þeire meyte; to whom God sende ij. noble and excellente men in vertu and connynge, as ij. lawnternes of the worlde, Lanfrancus and Anselmus, bothe governoures of that place by succession, and after metropolitanes of Ynglonde. *Marianus.* Leo the pope and Suanus kynge of Denmarke wente with Henre themperoure ageyne Baldewyn erle of Flaundres, and kynge Edwarde kepede the see with a navy of schippes untille themperoure hade his purpose. This pope Leo, put to that office be the seide emperoure, and not by tru eleccion, resignede that office, and was electe ageyne by the convente of clergy. Men of Yrlonde havynge helpe of Gryffyn kynge of Wales, entrede the wate[r] of

MS. Harl. 2261.

Griffini [1] Walensis regis multas circa Vagam [2] flumen prædas agebant. Interea Swanus [3] filius Godewyni primogenitus, qui nuper Edgivam Leofmonasterii abbatissam corruperat, et duxisse proposuerat, et ob hoc Angliam reliquerat, Angliam rediit, si forsan cum rege pacificari posset; sed in suo adventu Beornum comitem et consobrinum suum, quicum pacificasse intenderat, occidit; inde Flandriam profugit, donec per Aldredum [4] Eboracensem et Wygorniensem episcopum reconciliaretur

Cap. XXIV.

[*De comite Godwino et quædam de pontificibus Romanis.*]

Gratiæ MLI. Edwardi VIII. Gratiæ MLII. Edwardi IX.

[5] Rex Edwardus absolvit Anglos a gravi tributo quod pater suus Egelredus [6] Danicis soldariis solvi fecerat, et jam per xl. annos duraverat.[7] Hoc anno mortuo Edsio Dorobernensi archiepiscopo,[8] rex Edwardus dedit archiepiscopatum [9] familiari [10] suo Roberto, quem dudum fecerat Londoniensem episcopum. Post hoc, mense Septembri, Bononiensis [11] comes Eustacius, qui sororem regis Edwardi Godam [12] duxerat, Dovoriæ applicuit

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[1] *australium Britonum transito Vaga fluvio multas in vicinis locis prædas fecerunt*, C.D.

[2] *Wagam*, B.

[3] *comes filius Godwini Angliam rediit, si forsan cum rege pacificari posset. Corruperat namque Edgivam Leofmonasterii abbatissam, et eam matrimonialiter sibi copulasse disposuerat. Sed a rege et proceribus impeditus Angliam nuper relinquerat, unde et hoc anno Franciæ rediens Beornium comitem et consobrinum suum qui eum pacificare intercedebat, subdole interfecit. Indeque*, &c., C.D.

[4] *Aluredum*, B.

[5] *Marianus*, B.

[6] *Alfridus*, C.D.

[7] *durabat*, B.

[8] *Hoc . . . archiepiscopo*] om. C.D.

[9] *episcopatum*, B.; *Cantuariæ*, ins. C.D.

[10] *famulo*, B.

[11] *Benonensis*, A.

[12] *Gedam*, A.

Wales, þey dede moche robberie about þe water of Vaga. In þe mene tyme Svane, þe eldest sone of Godwyne, þat late hadde leyne by Edgyve abbesse of Leof abbay, and hadde purposed to have wedded here, and þerfore hadde forsaken and left Engelond, come aȝen to Engelond ȝif peraventure he myȝte be accorded wiþ the kyng. Bot in his comynge he slowȝ erle Beorne, his sustre sone, whiche purposed for to have accorded hym; þerfore he fledde into Flaunders unto the tyme þat he myȝte be reconciled by Aldrede þe archebisshop of ȝork and by þe bisshop of Worcestre. *Marianus.* TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum quartum.

KYNG Edward discharged Englische men of þe grevous tribute þat Egelrede his fader made for to be paide to þe Danysche soudeours, and it hadde endured þanne fourty ȝere. Þis ȝere Edsy, þe archebisshop of Dovore, deide. Kyng Edward ȝaf þe archebisshopriche to Robert his familier, whom he made somtyme bisshop of Londoun. After þis, in þe monþe of Septembre, Eustache þe erle of Bonone, whiche hadde wedded Godan, kyng Edward his suster, rove up at Dovere, whos

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Severne, spoylede the cuntre nye to theyme, and returnyd. Suanus the eldeste sonne of Godewinus, whiche hade corrupte but late Edgiva abbesse of the monastery of Leof, and hade intendede to have mariede here, levynge Ynglonde þerfore, come to Ynglond ageyne, if he myȝhte have mercy of the kynge. But in his commynge he did sle Beornus the erle, and son of the suster of þe moder of Suanus, whiche laborede for to have geten grace for hym, wherefore he fledde to Flaundres; reconsilede after by Aldredus bischop of Yorke and of Worcestre. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum vicesimum quartum.

EDWARDE kynge of Ynglonde releschede to men of that londe a grete tribute whiche thei were wonte to pay to sawdiours of the Danes as by xl^{ti} yere. Edsius archebischop of Cawnterbery dedde in this yere, kynge Edwarde ȝafe that seete to Robert, made bischop of London afore by the seide kynge. And in the monethe of September nexte folowynge Eustachius the erle Bononiense, whiche hade maryede but late afore Goda, suster of kynge Edward,[1] londed at the cite of f. 327 b.

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[1] *E.*, MS.

Cujus milites dum imprudenter hospitia quærerent, unum e civibus peremerunt;[1] cives autem unum de ejus militibus ceciderunt.[2] [3] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.*[4] Facto tandem grandi[5] conflictu cives xx. viros de comitatu comitis occiderunt, aliis[6] innumeris vulneratis. Ipse comes cum altero socio vix evadens regem apud Glavorniam adiit, quem contra Anglos graviter incitavit. Inde Godewynus comes Cantiæ ad curiam citatus, jussus est ut cum exercitu suo comitis vindicet injuriam. Ille autem videns alienigenas apud regem prævalere, ac suos cives volens tutari, respondit[7] justum fore custodes castelli Dovoriensis conveniri, qui se si possent explicitare illæsi abirent, sin alias in rebus suis et corporibus regi et comiti satisfacerent. Quia ergo regi videbatur suum jussum parvipensum, convocantur regni proceres apud Gloverniam, potissime Leofricus comes Merciorum et

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[1] *quod videntes concives*, C.D.

[2] *occiderunt*, A.B.

[3] C.D. insert: "Sed dum insultum " comitis ferre non possent ad re- " gem Edwardum Gloverniæ mo- " rantem accessisse conquesturi. " Videns autem comes Godewinus " talia in comitatu suo geri, ira " commotus ipse de comitatu suo " Canciæ sive Southreye, West- " saxoniæ, et filius suus primo- " genitus Swanus comes de comi- " tatu suo Barrocensi, Oxoniensi, " Glovernensi, atque alter ejus " filius Haraldus de comitatu suo " Estsexia, Estanglia, Huntyng- " donia numerosum exercitum col- " legerunt. Hoc comperto, rex " Edwardus misit ad comites " Northimbrensium Siwardum et " Merciorum Leofricum ut copio- " sum militem ad impediendum " Godwinum recolligerent. Interea " Godwinus comitem sub denun- " ciacione belli a rege deposcit, sed " legatis vacuo recedentibus dum " hic mora de discriminoso timetur " conflictu obsides ad invicem dan- " tur de placitando apud Londoniam " certo die. Quo quidem adveni- " ente militibus Godewini ob me- " tum regii exercitus paulatim de- " fluentibus, ipse Godwinus cum " filiis suis et eorum uxoribus de " nocte fugit. Habuerat enim God- " winus ex Githa uxore sua Danica " sorore Swani, sex filios, Swanum, " Wilnotum, Leofwinum, Haral- " dum, Tostium, et Gurth. Unde " ipse, &c."

[46] *et Marianus*, B. The passage is an expansion of Scriptores post Bedam, p. 81.

[4] *gravi*, A.B.

[5] *alteris*, B.

[6] *dixit*, A.

[7] *si se*, A.

kny3tes, whiles þey sou3te unwisly þaire herbergage, þey slou3 oon of þe men of þe citee; the citeseyns forsoþe slow3 oon of his kny3tes. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro 2°, et Marianus.* At þe laste þere i-made a greet fi3tynge, þe men of þe citee slow3 twenty men of þe companye of þe erles, oþer wiþoute noumbre i-wounded, þe erle hym self wiþ anoþer felawe unneþe eschapynge[1] when the kyng of Gloucestre, whom he stired grevously ageyns Englische men: wherfore Godwyn erle of Kent was warned by þe kynges court þat he wiþ his oost venged þe wrong of þe erle. He forsoþe seynge þat aliens were more my3ti anence þe kyng, and willynge þat his owne citeseyns were defended, answerd þat it were ri3t þat þe kepers of þe castel of Dover were called and aresoned, whiche 3if þey my3te excuse þaym self and make an ende, þey my3te goo away unharmed, and elles þat þey schulde make satisfaccioun to þe kyng and to þe erle in þeire goodes and þaire bodies þerfore. For it semed to þe kyng þat his comaundement was sette litel by. Þe gentiles of þe reme ware called to gedre at Gloucestre, namely, Leofric

TREVISA.

Dovor. The kny3htes and men of this erle sekynge loggynge indiscretely, did sle oon of the citesynnes, and the citesynnes did sle oon of kny3htes. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.* At the laste a grete conflicte made the citesynnes did sle xx^ti^ men longynge to that erle, mony other wounded soore, insomoche that the erle unnethe escapynge wente to Gloucestre to the kynge with oon man, whom he moved soore ageyne men of Ynglonde. Wherefore Godewinus erle of Kente was commaunded to venge the iniury doen to the erle. But erle Godewinus seenge aliauntes to prevayle with þe kynge, and his peple like to be troubled, seide to the kynge that the kepers of the castelle of Dovor scholde by ry3hte appere afore his hihenesse, and if thei were founde gilty to be entretede in theire bodies and goodes to þe pleasure of þe kynge. Wherefore the kynge perceyvynge this erle Godewinus as to despise his commaundement, callede the noble men of þe realme to hym, commaundynge specially Leofricus erle of þe Marches, and Siwardus erle of

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] Sic in MS. For the sense see Harleian below.

Siwardus Northumbrorum, ut obsisterent Godwyno, qui de comitatibus[1] suis Cantiæ, Southsey,[2] Westsaxoniæ, et Swano primogenito ejus, qui de comitatibus suis Barrocensi, Oxoniensi, Gloverniensi, et Haraldo qui de comitatibus suis Estsex, Estangliæ, Huntundoniensis[3] copiosum exercitum collegerant apud Beverstanum.[4] Inculpatus[5] Godwynus quod tantum exercitum adunasset, respondit ad compescendum Walenses sic fecisse; sed Walenses offensam in offensam in[6] illum retorserunt. Igitur quantulacumque concordata[7] procurata, consilium super hac re Londoniæ est assignatum ita quidem quod Godewynus cum Haraldo[8] et[9] xii. tantum hominibus ad curĩam inermes venirent, et quod servitia militaria illis per Angliam debita regi contraderent. Econtra illi allegarunt non posse sine vadibus et obsidibus ad conventiculum factiosorum hominum pergere nec sine periculo et opprobrio cum tam paucis et inermibus procedere. Interea militibus Godwyni ob metum regii exercitus paulatim[10] subtrahentibus, proclamatum est publice per regios præcones ut aut Godwynus in forma præscripta se curiæ præsentaret aut Anglis cederet infra quinque dies.[11] Unde Godewynus

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[1] *comitibus*, A.
[2] *Southraye*, A.; *Surreie*, B.
[3] *Huntyngdoñ*, B.
[4] *Beverstañ*, A.B.
[5] *autem*, B.
[6] *offensam in*] om. B.
[7] *concordia*, B.
[8] *et Haraldus*, B.
[9] *cum*, B.
[10] *se*, A.B.
[11] *Willelmus de . . . dies*] om. C.D.

erle of Merscheland and Siward of Norþhumberlond, þat þey schulde agaynestonde Godwyn, þe whiche of his erldomes of Kent, Sotheraye and Westsex; and also Suano, his first sone, þe whiche of his erldomes and schires of Barkschire, Oxenfordschire and Gloucestreschire; and Harolde, þe whiche of his erldome and schires Essex, Estangle and Huntyngdon had gedred a greet hoste at Beverston. Godwyne i-blamed þat he hadde gadred to gedre so greet an oost, he answerde þat he did so forto pese and refreyne Walschemen; bot men of Wales turned þe greve and þe offense unto hym. Þerfore a litel somwhat accordement procured, a counseille was assigned at Londoun for þis þing, so forsoþe þat Godwyne wiþ Harold and twelve men allone schulde come to þe court unarmed, and þat þey schulde gif ageyn to þe kyng þe kny3tes service þat were dewe to þaym þoru3 Engelond. Agaynward þay allegged þat þay my3te not wiþ oute plegges and ostage come ne goo to þe semble of deceyvable peple, ne wiþ oute perille ne reprove þey my3te nou3t walke wiþ so fewe men and unwarned. In þe mene tyme þe kny3tes of Godwyn wiþdrawynge þaym for drede of þe kynges hooste, it was opounly cried by þe kynges criers and bedelles, þat oþer Godwyn schulde presente hym self to þe kynges court in þe forme written bifore, or elles þat he schulde go out of Engelond wiþ ynne fyve dayes; wherfore Godwyn

Trevisa.

Northumbrelonde, to obsiste Godewinus the erle, whiche hade gedred a grete hoste from Kente, Southerey and Westsex. And also Suanus, his eldeste sonne, whiche hade gedrede an hoste from the cuntres of Baroksbire, Oxenfordeschire and Gloucestreschire; and Haralde that hade areysede a grete hoste in Estesex and Huntyngdon at Beverstan. This erle inquirede why he gedrede suche an hoste, answerde for men of Wales; but men of Walles returnede that offense to hym. Wherefore a cownesaile was hade at Londe,[1] where hit was assignede that Godwinus the erle and Harald sholde come to the kynges cowrte withowte eny armoure with xij. men, and that thei scholde take to the kynge servyces of kny3hte dew to theyme in Ynglonde. But thei seide hit was not for theyme to come with soe fewe men with owte grete suerte made, and specially into the hondes of theire adversaries. After that the companye of this Godewynus decreasynge for drede of the kynges hoste, a proclamacion was made by the kynge that either Godewynus scholde presente hym [at][2] the kynges courte withyn v. daies nexte f. 328 a.

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Londe*] sic in MS.

[2] This word appears to have been written, and then scratched out.

cum tribus filiis suis Swano, Tosti, Gurth[1] per insulam Thorneyam[2] navigavit Flandriam ad comitem,[3] cujus filiam Judith[4] Swanus desponsaverat. Haraldus vero et[5] Leofwynus per Bristolliam usque Hiberniam sunt advecti. Cujus[6] comitatum Algarus filius Leofrici[7] recipiens rexit nobiliter; reverso postmodum Haraldo restituit hilariter; et[5] postmodum Haroldo translato ad comitatus paternos repetiit viriliter.[6] Quamobrem rex Edwardus in pleno parliamento Godewynum cum[8] filiis[9] exlegavit. Reginam vero[10] Edgitham[11] filiam Godewyni[12] cum una pedissequa apud monasterium[13] de Warewelle sine honore[14] detrusit. Exiliati[15] igitur pater et filii pleno biennio in confinibus[16] Anglorum prædas agebant, adeo ut tandem grandi[17] classe congregata statuerunt cum rege naviter dimicare, sed proceribus intervenientibus pax est tandem post biennium reformata, et regina revocata, ita quidem quod[18] Wylnotus filius Godwyni et Hacun filius Suani dati sunt obsides pacis, quos statim misit rex Edwardus duci Normanniæ Willelmo[19] custodiendos.[20] Durante tamen[21] exlegatione prædicta, [22] Willelmus comes Normannicus cum magna

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[1] *et Griffo*, B.
[2] *fugiens nave parata ad comitem Flandriæ Baldewinum, cujus, &c.*" C.D.
[3] *Baldewinum*, B.
[4] *Juditham*, A.
[5] *et*] om. B.
[6] *Cujus . . . viriliter*] om. C.D.
[7] *Leofridi*, B.
[8] *suis in pleno parliamento*, C.D.
[9] *suis*, B.
[10] *suam*, A.
[11] *Goditham eo quod filia esset*,
[12] *Godewyni*] om. A.
[13] *Wherwelle monasterium*, B.
[14] *custodienda transmisit*, C.D.
[15] *Exulati*, B.
[16] *confinio*, B.
[17] *gravi*, B.
[18] *quod*] ut, A.; om. B.
[19] *Willelmo*] om. A.
[20] C.D. invert the passage.
[21] *tandem*, A.
[22] *Interea*, C.D.

wiþ his þre sones, Suane, Tosty, and Gurth, by þe ile of Thorney schipped into Flaundres to þe erle Baldewyne, whos douȝter Judith Swane his sone hadde wedded. Harold forsoþe and Leofwyne at Bristoll wer ledde unto Irlond, whos irldom Algar Leofrices sone receyvynge governed it nobly. Afterward unto Harold i-comen agayn he restored it gladly, and after Harold translated unto his fadres erldom he asked it manfully; wherfore kyng Edward in pleyn parlement outlawed Godwyne wiþ his sones, his owne queene, forsoȝe Edithe Godwyne his douȝter, wiþ one mayden, he putte with oute any worschippe at þe abbey of Werwell. Þe fader of þe sones outlawed þerfore two ȝere fully, þey dede moche robberie in the marches and costes of Yngelond, in so moche þat a grete navey i-gedred þey ordeyned for to have fouȝten by schippe wiþ the kyng; but þe gentiles goynge bytwixe at the laste, after two ȝere pees was reformed atwixe hem, and queene i-called agayne so forsoþe þat Wilnote, Godewyn sone, and Hacun Suane sone, were giffen ostages and plegge of þe pese, þe whiche kyng Edward sent also sone unto William duke of Normandye for to be keped. Neverþeles[1] durynge þe outlawynge, William þe erle and duke of Normandye come into Engelond, þe TREVISA.

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folowynge in the forme aforeseide, other he scholde departe from Ynglonde. Wherefore Godewynus the erle, takynge with hym his sonnes Suanus, Tostius, and Gurth, sailed to Flandres to Baldewyne the erle, Iuditha, the doȝhter of whom, Suanus hade mariede. And Harald and Leofwyne wente unto Yrlonde; the cowntee of whom Algarus sonne of Leofricus receyvynge, governede hit nobly; and Harald returnede to Ynglonde, he resignede hit to hym with goode wille; but this Harald restorede to the patrimony of his fader, he askede hit manfully ageyne. Wherefore kynge Edwarde kepynge a parliamente banyschede Godewinus the erle with his sonnes, and putte Editha his quene, doȝhter of the seide erle, to the monastery of Werwelle with oon gentylle woman. This Godewinus and his sonnes putte to exile, robbed the costes of Ynglonde by ij. yere, and gedrenge a grete hoste at the laste hade purposed to have ȝiffen batelle to the kynge. But by laboure of gentylmen pease was reformede, and the qwene was restorede to the kynge, insomoche that Wilnotus son of Godewinus, and the sonne of Suanus, were taken to plegge, whom kynge Edward sende to William duke of Normandy to kepe theym. In the tyme of exile as of þe persons aforeseide William duke of Normandy come MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] A part of this sentence is written twice in MS.

multitudine Angliam venit,[1] qui liberaliter muneratus Normanniam rediit;[2] et Emma regina, regis mater, obiit, et Wyntoniæ sepelitur.[3] Marianus quoque Scotus anno ætatis xxv. sæculum reliquit, et peregrinando[4] attonsus est apud Coloniam, Alemanniæ urbem, in monasterio Scotorum.[5] *Willelmus de Pontificibus.*[6] Hoc anno concordati sunt cum rege Edwardo Godewynus et omnes filii sui, excepto Swano primogenito,[7] qui pœnitentia ductus pro morte Beorni consobrini sui, de Flandria nudipes Jerusalem ivit,[8] et inde Lyciam tendens ex frigore[9] contracto[10] obierat. Ex[11] hinc Normanni regis consiliarii, qui iniqua regi persuaserunt, exlegantur, potissime Robertus Cantuariensis, qui contra Godwynum et Anglos prius in hac parte classicum suum[12] clarius[13] sonuerat, timens sibi et prejudicium perveniens Romam ivit,[14] ac cum apostolicis litteris rediens apud monasterium suum Gemmeticum obiit. Cui successit Stigandus, qui quondam dimisso Schireburensi[15] præsulatu Wyntoniensem sedem invaserat, vir quidem ex rebus ecclesiasticis publicas nundinas exercens vir utique, sicut pœne cæteri tunc temporis in Anglia episcopi, illitte-

Marianus.

Gratiæ MLIII. Edwardi XI.

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[1] *quem rex Edwardus magnis honoribus donatum Normanniam remisit*, C.D.

[2] C.D. insert here: "Godwinus "igitur per biennium exulans, "prædas in confiniis Anglorum "agebat, &c."

[3] In C.D. this passage, "Emma, "quondam regina," &c., follows immediately after the above insertion.

[4] *peregrinus pro Christo factus* C.D.

[5] *apud . . . Scotorum*] om. B.

[6] *libro primo*, A.B. This passage is in the *De Regibus*, Scrip. post Bedam, p. 82.

[7] *suo*, B.

[8] *adierat*, A.B.

[9] *pedum in Alpibus*, C.D.

[10] *concepto*, B.

[11] *Ex . . . Conventrensis* (p. 186)] om. C.D.

[12] *suum*] om. B.

[13] *latius*, B.

[14] *adiit*, B.

[15] *Shireburne*, A.

whiche liberally rewarded and ȝeven ȝiftes went aȝen to Normandye. And queene Emme, the kynges moder, deide and was i-buried at Wynchestre. Also Mariane of Scotlond, in þe fyve and þritty ȝere of his age, lefte þe world, and goynge in pilgrymage, he was schaven in an abbey of Scottische men at Coloyne, a citee in Almeyn. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 1°, *et Marianus.* Þis ȝere were accorded wiþ kyng Edward Godwyne and al his children, out take Suane his firste sone, whiche i-led by repentaunce for þe deþ of Beorn his suster son,[1] wente barefoot out of Flaundres unto Ierusalem, and fro þens, goynge unto Luciam, deide for cold þat he hadde taken. Fro þis tyme forþ þe Normandes, þat were þe kynges counseillours, and hadde counseilled þe kynge any evel þinges or wicked, war outlawed, namely, Robert archebisshop of Canturbury, þat agayns Godwyne and Englisshe men first in þis partie hadde souned more cleerly his horne and his voys, whiche dredynge hym and goynge byfore his preiudice, went unto Rome, and comynge agayn wiþ the popes lettres, deide at his owne abbey of Gementicum. To whom succeded Stigand, whiche somtyme admitted in þe bisshopriche of Schirbourne, assailled þe bisshopriche of Wynchestre; a man forsoþe, as almost al oþer bisshoppes þat tyme in Engelond, þat was unlettred, but ful

Trevisa.

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to Ynglonde with a grete multitude of peple, whiche rewarded gretely returned to Normandy. And Emma the qwene and moder of Edward the kynge diede in this yere, and was beryede at Wynchestre. Marianus the Scotte lefte the worlde in the xxv^ti^ yere of his age, and was made monke at Colonia, a cite of Alemayne, in the monastery of Scottes. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo, et Marianus.* Godewynus and alle his sonnes were accorded with kynge Edward in this yere, Suanus excepte, whiche contrite and compuncte in herte for the dethe of Beornus his cosyn, wente from Flanders barefote to Ierusalem, and after that to Licia, diede for colde. And after this tyme the Normannes cownsellours of the kynge were exiled, and specially Roberte archebischop of Cawnterbery, whiche causede specially Godewinus the erle to be put to exile. Whiche goynge to Rome, returnede with letters of the pope to his monastery Gementike, where he diede. Whom Stigandus did succede; whiche levynge somme tyme the seete of Schirburne, entrede the seete of Wynchestre by presumpcion and supportacion; a man makynge marchandise openly of the goodes of the churche, not instructe in connynge, as alle bischoppes

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 328 b.

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som, MS.

ratus existens, sed pecuniis et blanditiis multum potens. Quamobrem pallium a Roma nunquam promeruit, quamvis venalitas ibi multum operetur. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.*[1] Palam tunc in triviis cantabatur non esse idoneum episcopatu qui nesciret abuti pompis sæculi, exercitiis nemorum, irritamentis gularum, vestium apparatu, satellitum[2] strepitu, equitum[3] comitatu, sed et de lucris animarum parum cogitare. Cumque eis obiceretur episcopum debere pensari ex religione et litteris, non ex ambitione et nummis,[4] respondebant illud metricum. *Versus.*[5] *Nunc aliud tempus, alii pro tempore mores:* atrocitatem videlicet rei lenientes facilitate responsi. [6]His diebus clericus barbosus apud Hiberniam famosus et vir miræ religionis erat, adeo ut clericorum, laicorum, et puellarum magnam teneret scholam. At quia puellas more scholarium suorum tondebat,[7] de Hibernia pulsus est. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro ii.*[8] Circa hos dies obiit sanctus Alfwoldus, ultimus Shireburnensis præsul, qui ex monacho Wyntoniensi præsul factus,[9] inter profusa convivia quæ tunc in Anglia a Danorum adventu celebrabantur, pane et

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[1] *tertio*, B. The passage is lib. i. Script. post Bedam, p. 204.
[2] *satellitum . . . equitatu*] om. A.
[3] *equitatum*, B.
[4] *cogitare . . . nummis*] om. B.
[5] *Versus*] om. A.B.
[6] *Marianus*, B.
[7] *tonderet*, B.
[8] Script. post Bedam, pp. 248, 249.
[9] *est*, A.

myghty in money, and plesynge, and fongyng; wherfore he deserveþ nevere for to gete his pal to Rome þouȝ al þat byenge and sellynge wirk moche þere. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Þan was it openly songen in þe hiȝe weies þat he was not able[1] a bisshopriche þat couthe nouȝt mysuse þe pompis of þe world, þe hauntinge of leccherous þynges, þe entisementis of glotenye, þe apparaillynge of cloþinge, þe noyse and crienge of mynystres, þe folwynge and companye of horsmen; but litel for to þynke of þe profete and wynnynge of soules. And when it was put unto þaym þat a bisshop auȝte for to þinke on religioun a lecchour,[1] and nouȝt of ambicioun and covetise and moneye, þey answerde þis vers of metre: "Nunc aliud "tempus, alii pro tempore mores;" þat is, Now it is anoþer tyme, and oþer maneres for þe tyme; so by þe auctorite of þe þing softnynge þe liȝtnesse of þe answere. *Marianus.* In þese dayes a famous clerk, Barbosus, was at Irland, and a man of wonderful religioun, so moche þat he helde a greet scole of clerkes and lewed men and maydons; but, for he schare þe maydens in manere of his scolers, he was put out of Irlond. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Aboute þese dayes deide seynt Alfwold, þe laste bisshop of Schirborne, whiche of a monk of Wynchestre was made bisshop. Among þe grete festes þat þan were holden and customed in Engelond fro þe comynge of þe Danes, he usede breed and water; a man þat was devoute

TREVISA.

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were in Englonde allemoste in that tyme, myȝhty in langage and in money; wherefore he cowthe not have the use of a palle, thauȝhe money may do moche þer. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* That tyme men songe openly in stretes that the man was not able to be a bischoppe that cowthe not abuse the pride of the worlde, surfettes, lecchery, ryalle apparayle, and grete company of knyȝhtes and of other men. The bischoppes were wonte to say to that objeccion, "Nowe is an oþer tyme, "and the disposicion of us is after the disposicion of the tyme." *Marianus.* A famose clerke was in Yrlonde abowte this tyme, Barbosus by name, a man of mervellous religion, insomoche that he kepede a grete scole of clerkes, laymen, and of maydens; but he was put from Yrlonde in that he did rownde the maydes after the consuetude of men. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* Seynte Alfwolde, the laste bischop of Schireburn, diede abowte this tyme; whiche made bischop of a monke of Wynchestre, usede brede and water, grete festes usede of other peple in Ynglonde from the commynge of Danes into that londe;

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] Sic in MS.

aqua utebatur, vir per omnia beatæ Mariæ et sancto[1] Cuthberto devotus. Cujus sedem post obitum ejus nullus potuit[2] dormitando premere quin tetris[3] imaginibus territus resiliret. Igitur dum aliquando simultas quædam anxia inter ipsum et Godewynum comitem esset suborta, nec die ad pacificandum statuto sedari possent, iratus episcopus dixit recedendo, "Per domi- " nam meam Mariam male sibi erit." Nec ab illa hora quievit Godewynus[4] a viscerum tortura donec benedictionem ab episcopo percepisset. Tandem vir iste episcopus ad Dunelmum[5] profectus est, ubi, quod magnæ videbatur audaciæ, revulsa sarcophago ad sanctum Cuthbertum velut ad amicum loquebatur, ubi munus amoris deposuit et abiit.

Cap. XXV.

[*De rebus Anglicis sub Edwardo Confessore.*]

Gratiæ MLIII. Edwardi XII.

Victor secundus post Leonem sedit papa annis duobus, mensibus tribus. Qui facta synodo apud Florenciam Italiæ, multos episcopos deposuit[6] propter symoniam et fornicationem. *Marianus.*[7] Hoc anno[8] strenuus dux Northimbrorum Siwardus jussu regis Edwardi equestri exercitu et classe Scotiam contrivit,

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[1] *beato*, A.
[2] *impune*, A.B.
[3] *nisi cæteris*, B.
[4] *Godewynus*] om. B.
[5] *Dunelmam*, B.
[6] *defuit*, B.
[7] *Marianus*] om. A.
[8] *Hoc anno*] om. B.

in alle þinges to seint Marie and seint Cuthbert; whos see after his deth none myȝte oppresse slepyng unpunsched, þat he ne schulde sterte aȝe afferd wiþ blak and foule ymages. Þerfore somtyme when þer was risen a disesy discord atwixe hym and erle Godewyn, and myȝt nouȝt be seced þe day þat was set for to have peesed it, þe bisshop wrooþ seide in goynge away: "By my lady seint Marie, it schal be evel unto hym;" and Godwyne fro þat houre hadde no rest for gnawynge of his bowels, unto he hadde taken þe blessing of þe bisshop. At þe laste þis bisshop wente unto Duram, where, as it semed of greet booldenesse and hardinesse, þe grave i-pulled away, he spak to seint Cuthbert as to his frend, where he put doun þe gifte of his love and wente away. TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum quintum.

VICTOR þe secounde, after Leon, satte in þe popehede two ȝere and þre monþes, whiche, a seyne and a convocacioun made at Florence of Italie, deposed many bisshoppes for symony and fornicacioun. *Marianus.* Þis ȝere þe noble duke Siward of Norþhumberland, by þe comaundement of kyng Edward, with an ooste of horsmen and wiþ a navey, al to-brak and defouled Scotland; he droof out þe kyng, and ordeyned Malcolne, þe

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a man havynge grete devocion to oure ladye Marye, and to seynte Cuthberte bischop. Wherefore a division movede betwene hym and Godewinus the erle, and not accorded in the day of accordemente prefixede, the bischop, beynge trowblede with a passion of wrathe, seide in returnynge, "By my ladye "Marye he schalle repente;" and the seide erle was peynede soore in his body untille that he was blissede of the bischop after that tyme. At the laste this bischoppe wente to Dirham, and openynge the beryalle of seynte Cuthberte, spake to hym as to his frende, levynge þer a token of luffe, and departede. MS. HARL 2261.

Capitulum vicesimum quintum.

VICTOR the secunde succedid Leo the pope ij. yere and iij. monethes; whiche kepynge a cownsaile at Florence in Ytaly, deposed mony bischoppes for symony and fornicacion. *Marianus.* The noble duke of Northumbrelonde, Siwardus by name, contrivede the cuntre or londe of Scottes with ij. hostes, oon in the see, an other in the londe, by commaundemente of Edwarde kynge of Ynglonde, and expellede the kynge of Scottes, makynge

regem fugavit, Malcolmum regis Cumbrorum filium regem in ea constituens.[1] In eo tamen bello filius Siwardi occisus;[2] quem cum pater cognovisset ex vulnere in anteriori[3] parte corporis recepto occubuisse, quamvis de nece doleret, de animositate tamen[4] filii gaudebat. Eo anno Ulsius[5] Lichfield episcopus obiit, cui successit Leofwynus Conventrensis.[6] Hoc etiam anno[7] in crastino Paschæ apud Wyndesoram,[8] dum comes Godwynus in mensa regi Edwardo assideret, contigit unum de pueris regiis cum scypho regio intrasse, et uno pede offenso in alio pede se sustentasse, nec liquorem fudisse; quod videns Godewynus dixit ridendo, "Nunc adjuvit unus frater alterum[9] fratrem." Rex ad hæc[10] respondit, "Sic me frater meus[11] juvisset "si Godewynus permisisset." Perpendens ex his comes, se[12] superflua dixisse,[13] et regem de proditione fratris sui significasse, dixit regi, "Domine, ut video, sæpe tibi "delatum est[14] me[15] in necem fratris tui et in[16] pro- "ditionem tuam insudasse: sic incolumis transglutiam[17] "buccellam[18] quam manu teneo sicut in hujusmodi "culpabilis non sum." Et mox suffocatus est. Haraldus autem ad jussum regis eum de sub mensa extraxit,

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[1] *constituit*, B.
[2] *est*, A.B.
[3] *interiori*, B.
[4] *tamen*] om. B.
[5] *Wlsius*, A.; *Wulsius*, B.
[6] *abbas*, B.
[7] *ut legitur apud Windesoram cum rege convivans dum buccellam ori porrigeret imprecans eam suam suffocationem et mortem subitam si unquam regis traditor extitisset, buccellæ subito successit interitus ut rogaverat; unde jussit rex canem illum de sub mensa sua per pedes trahi et alicubi sepeliri*, C.D.
[8] *Windeshoram*, A.
[9] *alium*, B.
[10] *rex*, B.
[11] *Aluredus*, A.B.
[12] *se*] om. B.
[13] *dixisse*] om. B.
[14] *de*, B.
[15] *me*] om. A.
[16] *in*] om. B.
[17] *transglutiam*, from A.B.
[18] *istam*, B.

kynges sone of Comberlond, kyng þerynne. Neverþeles in þat bataille Siward sone was slayn; whiche when þe fadir knewe þat he deide of a wounde receyved in þe furþer partie of his body, al þogh he sorwed of þe deeth, neverþeles of þe hardines of his sone he ioyed. Þis ȝere Wolsy þe bisshop of Lichefeeld deide, to whom succeded Leofwyne, þe abbot of Coventre. Also þis ȝere in þe morn after Esterne, while Godwyn satt at kyng Edward his bord at Wyndesore, it byfel þat oon of þe kynges children com yn wiþ þe kynges cuppe, and þat oon foot snaperid, and he hilde hym up wiþ þe oþer, and spilt nauȝt þe drynke; whiche Godwyne seynge seide lawhynge: "Now oo broþer helped anoþer." Þerto þe kyng answerde: "So hadde Alfrede my broþer helped me, if Godwyn had "i-suffred." Þe erle perceyvynge of þise þat he hadde seide to moche, and þat þe kyng mente of þe tresone of his broþer, he seide to þe king: "Sire, as I see it is ofte tymes tolde to þe "þat I schulde have travailled and besied me unto þe deth "of þi broþer, and to þi tresoun, so myȝte I swolowe wiþ heele "þe morsel of brede þat I holde in my hond, as I am nouȝt "blamable ne gilty in þise þinges." And also sone he was choked. Harold, forsoþe at þe comaundement of þe kyng, drewe

Trevisa.

Malcolmus kynge þer, sonne of the kynge of Cumbirlonde. In whiche batelle the son of Siwardus was sleyne by a wounde in the foreparte of his body; thauȝhe he was soory for the dethe of his sonne, ȝitte he ioyede of the audacite and boldenesse of his sonne sleyne manfully. In whiche yere Wilsius bischop of Lichefelde deide, whom Leofwinus, abbotte of Coventre did succede. Also in the yere, in the secunde fery of Ester at Wyndesore, kynge Edwarde sittynge at meite, hit happede a childe ministrynge to the kynge to have commen into the place with a pece for the kynge, and stomblynge with oon foote to have supporte hym with þat other foote, and spillede not the liquor. Godewynus the erle, perceyvynge þat, and lauȝhynge þerat, seide, "Oon brother hathe holpen another nowe." To whom the seide kynge spake, seyenge, "Soe in likewise "Alfride my brother scholde have halped me if that Godewynus hade suffrede hym." The erle perceyvynge that he hade spoken wordes of waste, and movede the kynge of the dethe of his broþer, seide to the kynge, "My lorde kynge, as y "perceyve that hit is schewede oftetymes to yowe that y "scholde be a traytoure to yow, and to have conspirede into the "dethe of youre broþer;" and takynge a morcelle of brede, putte hit into his mowthe, seyenge, "If y were gilty of his dethe, y "prey God þat y do eite no moore brede;" and anoon he was dede; and Harald toke hym from the table at the commaunde-

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 329 a.

et apud Wyntoniam sepelivit. [1]Tradit tamen[2] Marianus quod Godewynus apud Wyntoniam regi in mensa assidens feria ii[a] in crastina Paschæ subita infirmitate correptus sit, et feria quinta postmodum obisse.[3] Tunc quoque comitatus Godewyni datus est Haraldo, et comitatus Haraldi Algaro.[4] Hoc anno rex Edwardus jussit[5] Aldredum Wygorniensem episcopum ad imperatorem Henricum ii[um], rogans eum ut missis apud Hungariam epistolis,[6] fratruelem suum Edwardum, filium Edmundi ferrei lateris, Angliam inde transmitteret, decreverat[7] enim rex eum constituisse hæredem suum in Anglia; sed tertio post hoc anno Angliam veniens obiit Londoniis diu ante regem. Iste Edwardus[8] fuit pater Margaretæ reginæ Scottorum et Edgari Adeling; sed Margareta peperit Malcolmo regem David et Matildam reginam Angliæ.[9] Hoc anno rex[10] Edwardus[11] exlegavit Algarum filium Leofrici sine culpa; qui mox[12] junctus[13] et associatus Griffino regi Walliæ Herefordensem provinciam devastaverunt,[14] Herefordiam capiunt, monasterium incendunt, septem canonicos occidunt.[15] Sed[16] Haraldus comes fugientes insequitur, Herefordiam instaurans

Gratiæ MLIIII. Edwardi XIII.

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[1] *Tradit*] A. transposes this and the next passage.

[2] *autem*, A.

[3] Slightly transposed in A.B.

[4] *filio Leofrici comitis*, A.B.C.D.

[5] *misit*, B.C.

[6] *literis et legatis, inde*, C.D.

[7] *decreverat ... Angliæ*] om. C.D.

[8] *filius Edmundi*, B.

[9] *Marianus*, B.

[10] *Post hoc rex*, &c., C.D.

[11] *habito Londoniæ consilio*, C.D.

[12] *Hiberniæ adiit et congregatis quibusdam navibus Griffino regi Walliæ se junxit. Qui mox Herefordensem provinciam depopulantes timidum ducem Ranulphum, qui Anglos contra morem in equis pugnare fecerat, fugaverunt. Deinde Herefordiam*, &c., C.D.

[13] *invitatus*, B.

[14] *devastarunt*, B.

[15] *urbem spoliant et ad propria redeunt*, C.D.

[16] *unde mox Haraldus dux a rege missus fugientes*, &c., C.D.

hym out fro undernepe pe bord, and buried hym at Wynchestre. Neverpeles Marianus telleþ þat Godwyne sittynge at þe mete wiþ þe kyng at Wynchestre, was taken wiþ a sodeyn seeknesse on a Moneday, þe morne after Esterne, and deide þe fifte day, þat is, on a Þorsday. Also þan þe erldome of Godewyne was giffen unto Harold, and þe erldome of Harold unto Algare, erle Leofric sone. Þis ȝere sent kyng Edward Aldred bisshop of Worcetre to þe emperoure Henri þe secounde, praying hym þat he wolde sende lettres unto Hungrie, and sende hym þens into Engelond his broþer sone Edward, þe sone of Edmond Irenside; for þe kyng had ordeyned for to have made hym his heire in Engelond. But þe þridde ȝere after comynge to Engelond he deide at Londoun, long bifor þe king. Þis Edward was þe fadir of Margarete þe queene of Scotland, and Edgar Adlyn; but Margarete bar kyng David of Malcolme, and Moold queene of Engelond. *Item Marianus.* Þis ȝere kyng Edward outlawed Algare Leofric sone wiþoute any gilt or blame, whiche also sone boden and profred and associed to Griffen kyng of Wales, þai wasted Herfordschire, þey took Herford, and brent þe mynster, and slowȝ vij. chanouns. Bot erle Harald sewid þaym fleynge, and stored Herford, and closid it with kesting up of a diche; but he pesid þaym þat were out- TREVISA.

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mente of the kynge, and beriede hym at Wynchestre. Neverthelesse Marianus rehersethe that Godewinus the erle syttenge at the kynges table in the secunde fery of Ester at Wynchestre to be taken with a soden sekenesse, and to have died on the v^the^ fery; then the cowntes of Godewynus were ȝiffen to Harald, and the cowntee of Harald was ȝiffen to Algarus sonne of Leofricus the erle. Kynge Edwarde send in this yere Aldredus bischop of Worchestre to themperoure Henre the secunde, preyenge hym that his letters sende to Hungary he myȝhte have Edward, sonne of Edmund Irenside broþer to hym, to tary in Ynglonde with hym; for the kynge hade intendede to have made hym his successor. Nevertheleesse the seide Edwarde commen to Ynglonde, diede at London in the thrydde yere folowynge, longe afore the kynge. That Edwarde was fader of Margarete qwene of Scottes, and of Edgare Adelynge; whiche Margarete was moder to David kynge of Scottes, and to Matilda qwene of Ynglonde, getyn of here by Malcolinus kynge of Scottes. *Marianus.* Kynge Edwarde exilede in this yere Algarus son of Leofricus with owte cause, whiche felowschippede to Griffyn kynge of Wales, wastede the province of Herdford, and toke the cite of Herdford, and brente the monastery, and did sle vij. chanons. But Harald the erle put theim to fliȝhte, and folowede theyme; never- R. MS. HARL. 2261.

vallo cingit, sed exiliatos cum rege pacificat.[1] Hoc etiam anno Siwardus nobilis dux Northimbrorum ventris profluvio obiit apud Eboracum, et in monasterio Galmanho[2] quod ipse construxit sepultus; priusquam tamen[3] obiret fecit se armari, et sedens erectus ait, "Sic decet militem defungi, non ut bos occubans "enervari." At[4] quia filius ejus Waltef[5] parvulus erat in cunis jacens, datus est comitatus ejus Tosti fratri Haraldi,[6] qui ibidem [præfuit][7] pœne x. annis.[8] Hoc etiam anno Hermannus[9] Flandrensis, regis Edwardi quondam capellanus, sed tunc Wyltoniensis sive Remesbury[10] episcopus, rerum angustia extædiatus, petiit a rege et pœne obtinuit ut sedem suam apud monasterium Malmesbury posset statuere; sed[11] regni proceribus id nolentibus, offensus Hermannus episcopatum dimisit, mare transiit, apud Sanctum Bertinum habitum monachilem suscepit, sicque tribus annis vixit, Aldredo Wygorniensi episcopo suum interim episcopatum ministrante. Sed, ut sæpe fit in talibus, repentino impetu religionis frigescente, Hermannus post triennium Angliam rediit; pigebat enim hominem assuetum obsequiis, nutritum[12] deliciis, carere delinimentis quæ ab ineunte[13] ætate fuerat expertus. Insuper et aures

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[1] *Item Marianus*, B.
[2] *Galmanho*] om. C.D.
[3] *tamen*] om. B.
[4] *At . . . annis*] om. C.D.
[5] *Waltefi*, B.
[6] *fratri Haraldi*] om. A.
[7] *præfuit*] added from B.
[8] *Marianus et Willelmus*, B.
[9] *natione*, C.D.
[10] *Amisburiensis*, A.; *Ramesbury*, B.
[11] *rege juxta consilium id nolente*, C.D.
[12] *nutritum*] om. B.
[13] *ineunte*] space left in B.

lawed and exciled wiþ þe kyng. *Item Marianus.* Also þis ȝere Siward, þe noble duke of Norþhumberlond, deide at ȝork of þe flux in his wombe, and was buried in þe abbay of Galmanho, þe whiche he made hymself; and neverþeles bifore þat he deide he made hym self to be armed, and sittynge upriȝt, seide: "Þus it seemeþ a knyȝt for [to] die, nouȝt for to be en "febled as an ox lyvynge." But for his sone Waltef was a litel child lieng in cradel, his erldome was giffen to Tosty, Harold broþer, whiche was þere almost ten ȝere. *Item, Marianus et Willelmus.* Þis ȝere Herman of Flaundres, somtyme kyng Edward chapeleyne, bot þan bisshop of Wiltoun or of Ramisbury, i-noyed of angwisch, askid of þe kyng, and almost had geten graunt, þat he myȝte ordeyne and sette his see or þe abbay of Malmesbury. Bote þe gentiles of þe reame nouȝt willynge þat, Herman i-greved lefte his bisshopriche, and wente over þe see, and at Seint Bertyne toke þe abite of monk, and so lyved he þre ȝere, Aldred þe bisshop of Worcestre in þe mene tyme mynistrynge his bisshopriche; bot as it is i-doone ofte tyme in suche men, þe sodeyn hastynes of religioun bygynnynge to wex colde, Herman after þre ȝere come ageyn to Engelond. It irked and weried a man þat was wont to service, þat was norsched with delices, for to wante his sustenynge þat he hadde felt and knowe fro his ȝouþe. And over þat a good tiding

Trevisa.

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thelesse he reconsilede the seide Algarus to the kynge, and made a newe walle to that cite of Herdforde. *Marianus.* Siwardus the noble duke of Northumbrelonde diede at Yorke of the flix, and beriede at the monastery Galmanho, whom he made, causynge hym to be armede a litelle afore his dethe, and sittenge erecte, seide, "Hit semethe an erle to dye in this wise, and "not lyenge like to an ox." The cowntee of whom was ȝiffen to Tostius, broþer of Haralde, for the sonne of the seide duke, Waltef by name, was but tendre of age; whiche governede that cuntre allemoste x. yere. *Marianus.* Hermannus bischop of Wilton or Ramesbury, desired of the kynge that he myȝhte chaunge his seete to Malmesbury abowte this tyme, and obteynede licence by grete instaunce. But the gentillemen of that cuntre not suffrenge hym to do so, he lefte that seete, and goynge over see was made a monke, contynuynge so thre yere, Aldredus bischop of Worcestre ministrynge in that tyme in his diocyse for hym. But in suche men hoote luffe of religion is made soone colde; the thre yere apaste he come to Ynglonde ageyne, for hit grevonde moche þe seide bischoppe, wonte of tendre age to obsequyes and delices, to wonte and leve theyme in age whom he hade expert in yowthe; and the rumor that the

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 329 b.

ejus afflaverat secundus rumor Godewynum qui sibi obstiterat obisse, necnon et[1] Schirburnensem[2] episcopum interisse, cujus episcopatum suo uniendum antiquis reginæ promissis diu cogitaverat.[3] Hos itaque episcopatus sic unitos cum tribus pagis suis diu tenuit, usque ad nonum annum Willelmi conquestoris, quando de Schirreburnensi migravit ad Salisbury.[4 5] Hoc anno ludentibus adinvicem coram rege[6] convivante Haraldo et Tostio, Haraldus amarius quam ludus expetebat fratrem suum per capillos traxit, et humi prostratum, nisi citius ereptus fuisset[7] manibus, suffocasset;[8] quo viso rex sibi assidentibus pronunciavit magnam simultatem inter fratres illos affuturam,[9] et unum eorum alterum fore extincturum. *Willelmus de Regibus, ubi supra.*[10] Habuerat[11] nempe Godwynus comes[12] primam uxorem regis Canuti sororem de qua genuit filium quem equus insolenter agitatus, in Thamisi submersit, mater vero ictu fulminis periit. Nec mirum, eo quod ipsa pulcras puellas pro suis opibus augendis[13] prostibulo exponeret. Post cujus obitum Godewynus aliam duxit uxorem, de qua suscepit sex liberos, scilicet, Swanum, Haroldum,

Gratiæ MLVI. Edwardi XIIII.

[1] *ad*, B.
[2] *Schireburne*, A.
[3] *cogitabat*, B.
[4] *Salesburiam*, A.B.
[5] *Willelmus de Regibus*, ins. B. C.D. insert: "Haraldus et "Tostus, filii Godwini, dum apud "Windesoram vinum regi propinassent, capillis et manibus mutuo "confligebantur, quorum infortunium venturum statim prophetavit rex Edwardus. Eoque anno "Haraldus volens visere fratrem "suum et nepotem qui apud Willelmum ducem Normanniæ obsides erant, tempestate actus de "latus est Ponthicum, quem consul "terræ tradidit duci Willelmo. "Haraldus antequam evadere posset juravit duci quod filiam ejus "duceret et Angliam ad opus ejus "servaret."
[6] *coram rege*] om. B.
[7] *e*, B.
[8] *suffocaret*, B.
[9] *futuram*, B.
[10] B. omits reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 82.
[11] *Habebat*, B.
[12] *comes*] om. B.
[13] *agendis*, B.

blowe in his ere, þat Godewyn þat wiþ stood agayn hym was deed, and þe bisshop of Shirburne deide, whos bisshopriche he had þouȝt longe for to have ooned unto his for þe olde byhestes of þe queene. Þis bisshopriche forsoþe þus ooned, wiþ þre townes of his, he helde longe, unto þe nynþe ȝere of William Conquerour, when he passid fro Shirburne unto Salesbury. *Willelmus de Regibus.* Þis ȝere Harold and Tosty playenge togidre byfore þe kyng sittynge at a feste, Harold drouȝ his broþer by þe heer more bitterly þan þe play asked, and keste hym to the grounde; and, but if he hadde bene sonner refte out of his handes, he hadde strangled hym. Whiche þing i-sene, þe kyng schewed to þaym þat satte beside hym þat þere schulde come greet discord atwixe þese two breþeren, and þat þe oon schulde slee þat oþer. Forsoþe þe erle Godwyne had his first wif of kyng Canute, of þe whiche he gat a sone, whom an hors wantounly dryven and stired drowned in Tempse: þe modir forsoþe persched with þe strook of þe thunder lyȝtnynge, and no wonder, forþy þat sche putte to the bordel faire maydons for hir riches. Aftir whos deth Godwyn wedded anoþer wif, of þe whiche he took sixe sones, þat is Swane, Harold, Tosty, Wilnot, and Gurth, and Leofric, of whos ende and passing forþ it is expressid in þinges þat gooþ bifore and þinges

Trevisa.

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erle Godewinus was dedde inflate his eieres, whiche were adversary to hym; and herynge also that the bischop of Schirburne was dedde, thenkynge of longe tyme to have unyte that seete to his bischoprike by olde promisses of the qwene. Whiche seetes so unyte he kepede with thre cites unto the ix^the^ yere of William Conqueroure, whiche tyme he wente from Schirburn to Salisbery. *Willemus de Regibus.* Haralde and Tostius playenge in this yere afore the kynge, Haralde drawede his broþer Tostius by the hedde otherwise then game required, and wolde have throteled hym, but that he was taken awey. The kynge perceyvynge that, seide to men sittynge nye to hym that þer scholde[1] be grete dissencion betwene this broþer, and the oon of theyme sle that other. This erle Godewinus hade to his firste wife the suster of kynge Canutus, of whom he gate a sonne, whiche rydynge on a horse insolentely was drownede in Thamyse, and his moder was sleyne with þe liȝhtenge. And noo mervayle, for sche havynge moony maydes made theym to be as commune women for lucre of goodes. After the dethe of whom Godewinus maryede an oþer woman, of whom he gate vj. sonnes, Suanus, Harolde, Tostius, Wilnotus,

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *not* is here wrongly inserted above the line.

Tostium, Wylnotum, Gurth et Leofricum.[1] *Ranulphus.*[2] De quorum exitu in præcedentibus et sequentibus est expressum. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro ii.*[3] Circa hæc tempora mulier quædam in Berkeleya malis artibus assueta, dum quadam die[4] convivaret corvicula quam delicate educaverat vocalius solito corvitabat. Quo audito cultellus de manu[5] matronæ cecidit, vultus expalluit, productoque gemitu cum suspirio, "Hodie" inquit, "ad[6] ultimum sulcum meum[7] devenit aratrum." Quo dicto nuncius[8] intrans intimavit matronæ, filii sui obitum et totius familiæ suæ ex ruina interitum. Fœmina statim decubuit, et superstites quos habuit liberos, monachum et monacham, advocavit; quos adventantes sic alloquitur: "Ego malæ artis et vitæ nequam sec-
" tatrix vane credidi vestris orationibus tutari: modo
" tamen rogo ut mea allevietis tormenta, quia de anima
" prolata est sententia; corpus meum[9] forsan serva-
" bitis si fuerit[10] insutum in corio cervino quod in sar-
" cophago lapideo supinate operculum plumbo et ferro
" glutinatum tribus catenis ferreis constringite,[11] psal-
" micines xl noctibus adhibete totidem missas per diem
" solvite. Quod si tribus noctibus sic jacuero, quarto die
" infodite corpus[12] humo." Sed frustra, nam duabus primis noctibus psalmis sonantibus dæmones ostiis[13] fractis

Narratio mirabilis.

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[1] *Leofricum*, from A.B.; *Lefricum*, MS.
[2] B. omits reference.
[3] Not found.
[4] *die*] om. B.
[5] *manu*] om. B.
[6] *ad*, from A.; *ut*, MS.
[7] *jam*, add. B.
[8] *nuncians*, B.
[9] *meum*] om. B.
[10] *si fuerit*] om. A.
[11] *constringite*, from A.; *constringere*, MS.
[12] *meum*, B.
[13] *hostiis*, MS.; altered to *hostibus* in A.

þat gooþ aftir. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. Aboute þis tyme a womman in Berkelay, þat was wont and customed to evel craftes, as sche satte at hir mete at a feeste, a chowȝe þat sche hadde nursched delicatly, chatered more lowde þan it was wonte, þe whiche i-herde þe knyf fell out of þe womman's hond, hir visage wex pale, and sorowyng, and mournynge i-brouȝt forþ wiþ siȝhynge, "Now to day," quod sche, "my "plowȝ is comen to þe laste sorwe;" whiche i-seide, a messanger entrynge in tolde hir of þe deeþ of hir sone and perischynge of al hir meyny, of dounfallynge of hire hous. Also sone þe womman lay doun seke, and callede here hir childre þat were on lyve, a monk and a nonne, whiche comynge yn sche spak to hem þus: "I folwer of evel craft and of wikked lif "trowed vaynly for to be defended and helped by ȝoure "prayers, neverþeles I pray ȝow now þat ȝe allegge my tour-"mentes, for of my soule is sentence i-brouȝt forþ; peraventure "ȝe schal kepe my body if it be sewed in a hertes skyn, þe "whiche ȝe leie wide open in a grave of stoon; þe coveryng "stoon i-glewed wiþ lede and iron, constreyne it and fastne it "wiþ þre cheynes of iren, and þat ȝe have psalmystres or "saienge of psalmes of þe psawtre fourty nyȝtes, and dooþ "also many masses by day; þat ȝif I leie so þre nyȝtes, þe "fourþe day beriep my body in þe erþe." Bot al for nouȝt, for why, þe two firste nyȝtes þe psalmes sownand, þe doores

TREVISA.

Gurth, and Leofricus. *Willelmus de Regibus libro secundo.* A woman was in Berkeley abowte this tyme ȝiffen to ylle artes and craftes, whiche makynge a grete feste, and herynge a dawe, whom sche hade noryschede tenderly, make moore noyse then hit was wonte to doe, began to chaunge in coloure, seyenge, "The plowe hathe commen this day to the laste forowe." That seide, a messynger come to her sayenge that her sonne was dedde, and alle his howseholde, by the fallynge of an howse. This woman wente to bedde, and sende for a monke and a myncheon, childer to her, whiche beynge presente, sche seide: "I am a woman usynge ylle artes by longe tyme, supposede "to have bene salvede thro your preyers; neverthelesse I pray "you nowe that ye wolde alleviate my tormentes, for sentence "is ȝiffen of my sawle, and peraventure ye may kepe my body "if hit be sawede in the skynne of an herte, and bynde hit with "thre cheynes of yrne, putte in a beryalle of stone, the "coverenge of the grave made sure also, and conglutinate "with lede and yrne; and preye for me xl^{ti} nyȝhtes, and say "masse by so mony daies. And if y lye soe by thre dayes, "bery the body in the iiij^{the} day." But this laboure was made in veyne, for they preyenge in tweyne of the firste nyȝhtes the

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 330 a.

duas extremas catenas diruperunt levi negotio, tertia nocte tremente loco circa gallicinium unus vultu terribilior, statura eminentior, diruptis valvis imperavit cadaveri ut surgeret. Qua respondente quod nequiret pro vinculis, "Solveris," inquit, "sed malo tuo." Et statim ruptis cunctis obicibus apprehensam illam ab ecclesia extraxit, equo nigro ante fores hinnienti imposuit, sicque abscessit cum clamoribus altissonis per quatuor milliaria auditis. Ista quamvis mira, incredibilia tamen non judicabit qui quartum librum Dialogorum Gregorii legerit,[1] ubi nequam hominem in ecclesia sepultum dæmones ejecerunt; et etiam [2] de Karolo Martello [3] idem supra patet.

Cap. XXVI.

De imperatoribus.[4]

Gratiæ MLVII. Edwardi XV.

Henricus tertius, filius Henrici secundi, regnavit apud Teutonicos annis quasi quinquaginta. Iste aliquando turbavit ecclesiam contra Hildebrandum papam, volens si posset alium papam intrudere; sed tandem pacificatus

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[1] *legerit*] om. B.
[2] *idem*, A.
[3] *Marcello*, MS.
[4] A.B. omit heading.

i-broken, þe develes wiþ liȝt besynes brak þe two uttermeste cheynes ; þe þridde nyȝt, þe place tremelynge and quakynge, aboute þe cok crowynge, one þat was more feerful and uggle of visage and hyȝere of stature, þe ȝates i-bursten, comaunded þe dede body [1] þat it schulde rise, whiche answerynge þat it myȝt nouȝt for þe bondes " Þu schalt be loused," quod he, " but for þyn evel and harme." Also sone al þe obstacles broken, he took her by þe hand, and drowh hir out of þe chirche, and putte her on a blak hors neyhynge bifore þe ȝates ; and so went sche away wiþ hyȝ and loude crieng, i-herd by foure myle. Þis þowȝ al þe it be wonderful, neverþeles he schal nouȝt deme þaym untrowable þat haþ rad þe fourþe book of dyalogus of seint Gregorie, where þe develes cast out þe wicked man þat was i-buried in þe chirche, and also þe same is schewed above of Charles Marcello. TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum sextum.

HENRY þe þridde, þe sone of Henry þe secounde, regned at Almayne and Duchelond as it were fifty ȝere. He þis somtyme destorubled holy chirche agayns pope Hildebrand, willynge if he myȝte put [2] in anoþer pope ; but at þe laste, pesed and

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develles come and brake liȝhtely ij. of the cheynes ; and in the thrydde nyȝhte, abowte the crowynge tyme of cokkes, oon develle more terrible then other, and hier in stature, commaunded the corse to aryse, the cheynes broken and durres of þe churche sodenly there with. That corse answerede and seide that hit myȝhte not aryse for bondes. The spirit seide thei were losede and so he, takynge the body with hym, sette hit on a blacke horse, the voice of whom was herde by iiij. myles. Whiche thynge as mervellous is not to be hade as incredible, for seynte Gregory rehersethe in his dialogges that the develles toke a wickede man owte of his beryalle in the churche, and the same thynge was schewede by Karolus Marcellus. MS. HARL. 2261

Capitulum vicesimum sextum.

HENRE the thrydde sonne of Henre þe secunde, was emperour reignynge in Alemayne as xl^ti^ yere. This emperoure troublede in a tyme the churche ageyne Hildebrandus the pope, willynge to make an oþer ; neverthelesse he was pleasede, and wente from

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[1] *boy*, MS. | [2] þ*at*, MS.

Terram Sanctam adiit cum ducibus Godefrido et Boamundo, de[1] quibus inferius loco suo dicetur.[2] *De ponti ficibus Romanorum.*[3] Stephanus nonus, abbas de Monte Cassino, post Victorem sedit papa[4] mensibus octo. Post quem Benedictus decimus mensibus novem, qui violenter intrusus postmodum cessit. Dunelmensis episcopus Agelricus,[5] episcopatu sponte relicto, ad monasterium de Burgo, ubi educatus fuerat, secessit, ubi[6] xii. annis quiete vixit. Cui successit[7] Egelwinus[8] frater suus.[9] Hoc etiam anno laudabilis comes Leofricus, filius Leofwyni ducis Merciorum, in villa sua de Bromleygh[10] ii.[11] kalendas Decembris obiit, et apud Conventriam[12] in monasterio quod ipse construxit sepultus est.[13][14] Qui aliquando consilio Dei et beatæ Mariæ cultricis Godgivæ uxoris suæ ditavit et reparavit monasteria Leonense juxta Herefordiam, Wenlocense,[15] Wygornense, Eveshamense, et duas ecclesias[16] in Legescestria, id est Sancti Johannis et Sanctæ Werburgæ. Cujus[17] dum vixit circumspectio terræ Anglorum multum profuit. Ad[18] jugem quoque instantiam uxoris suæ urbem suam Conventrensem ab omni tolneto præterquam de equis liberam fecit, ad quod[19] impetrandum uxor ejus comitissa Godgiva quodam mane per medium urbis nuda sed comis tecta

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[1] *sicut infra dicetur*, C.D.

[2] *dicitur*, A.; *infra dicetur suo loco*, B.

[3] A.B.C.D. omit heading.

[4] *in papatu post Victorem*, C.D.

[5] *Egelricus*, A.B.

[6] *ibique*, B.

[7] *in episcopatu*, add. C.D.

[8] *Agelwinus*, A.B.

[9] *Marianus*, add. B.

[10] *Brumlegh*, A.

[11] *pridie*, C.D.

[12] *Coventrensem*, C.D.

[13] *est*] om. A.

[14] *ubi et brachium sancti Augustini habetur argentea teca inclusum, quod Ethelnotus archiepiscopus Cantuariensis rediens a Roma apud Papiam urbem aliquando emit* 100 *talentis argenti. Hic et Leofricus assensu et consilio*, &c., C.D.

[15] *Wellocense*, B.

[16] *Eveshamense . . . ecclesias*] C.D. inverts.

[17] *Cujus dum . . . scelera sua* (p. 204)] om. C.D.

[18] *R. Et ad*, B.

[19] *quod ad*, A.

acorded, he went to þe holy lond wiþ duke Godfray and Beaumond, of þe whiche it schal be seide wiþ ynne in þaire place. Stephene þe nynþe abbot of Mount Cassyn, after Victor sat pope viij. monþes. After whom Benet þe tenþe sat nyne monþes, whiche violently put yn afterward cesed. Agelric bisshop of Duram wilfully lefte þe bisshopriche, and went to þe abbay of Borgh, wher he was norsched and i-brouȝt [up,] where he lyved xij. ȝere in reste; to whom succedid Agelwyne his broþer. *Marianus.* Also þis ȝere loveable erle Leofric, sone of Leofwyn duke of Merschlond, deide þe secounde kalends of Octobre at his towne of Bromle, and i-buried at Coventre in þe abbey þat hym self made; þe whiche somtyme, by þe counseil of Godwyne[1] his wif, þat was worschipper of God and our blessid lady seint Marie, reparailled and made riche þe abbeies of Leonensis beside Herford, Walacensis, Worcestre, Evysham, and two chirches in Leycestre, þat is of Seynt Iohn and Seint Warburgh; whos circumspeccioun whiles þat he lyved was moche profitable to þe erþe of Engelond. Also at þat besy instaunce of his wif he made his citee Coventre fre of all toll out take of hors, for þe whiche þing forto gete and purchase, his wif þe countesse Godwyne in a mornynge rood naked, TREVISA.

þens to the Holy Lond with ij. ducs, Godefridus and Boamundus, of whom hit schalle be seide in theire place. Steven the ix^the^, abbot of the mownte Cassyne, succedid Victor the pope viij. monethes, whom Benedicte the x^the^ succeedid ix. monethes, whiche made pope by powere lefte that charge. Agelricus bischop of Dirham, levynge his seete voluntaryly, wente to the monastery of Petyrborowe, where he was noryschede, where he lyvede quietely xij. yere; whom Agelwinus his broþer did succede. *Marianus.* The noble erle Leofricus, son of Leofwinus duke off the Marches, diede in this yere in his towne Bromleygh, the secunde kalendes of Octobre, and was beryede at Coventre in the monastery þat he made. Whiche erle encreasede in grete richesse and repairede mony monasterys, by the cownsaile of God and Marye his blissede moder, whom Godgiva his wife honourede moche, as the monastery Leofnense nye to Hereforde, þe monastery Wenlacense, of Worcestre, and of Evysham, and ij. churches in Westechestre, of Seynte Iohn and of Seynte Werburgg; the circumspeccion of whom was grete profite to þe realme of Ynglonde. ℟. And at the instance of his wife he made the cite of Coventre fre from tolle, excepte the toll of horses; and to make the cite free from that tolle the cowntesse Godgiva, his wife, did ryde nakede thro the myddes MS. HARL. 2261. f. 330 b.

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[1] Sic MS., et infra.

equitavit. Post Leofrici mortem filius ejus Algarus comitatum Merciorum suscepit, sed eodem anno de proditione contra regem convictus exlegatus est. Sed a rege Walencium[1] Griffino, ut nuper,[2] susceptus est et reconciliatus. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.*[3]

Narratio. Civis quidam urbis Romæ ephebus ætate, Lucianus nomine, locuples ære, sublimis genere, uxorem Eugeniam duxit, qua de causa sodalibus accitis convivium fecit. Post cibum in campum prodeunt stomachos exonerandi causa. Ipse autem sponsus ut pila se exerceret anulum suum sponsaliticum digito statuæ propinquæ apposuit, sed extis[4] tandem præ[5] ludo incalescentibus[6] primus a ludo se removit; sed anulum repetens invenit digitum statuæ una cum anulo usque ad volam recurvatum. Diu ibi luctatus quod nec anulum avellere nec digitum valeret infringere[7] tacite interim discessit, re sodalibus celata, ne vel[8] præsentem deriderent vel absentem anulo privarent. Ipse tandem nocte tempestiva[9] cum famulis rediens digitum extentum et anulum susceptum[10] miratus est. Cumque hora cubandi se ad uxorem aptasset, sensit

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[1] *Wallensium*, A.B.
[2] *supra*, B.
[3] Not found.
[4] *extis*, from A.; *exitis*, MS.
[5] *pro*, A.
[6] *calentibus*, B.
[7] *inflectere*, B.
[8] *ut*, A.
[9] *tempesta*, MS.
[10] *reperiens*, B.

but covered wiþ heere, þoruȝ þe myddes of þe citee. After þe deeth of Leoffric, Algar his sone took þe erldom of Merschelond. But þe same ȝere, convicted in tresoun agayns þe kyng, he was outlawed; but he was receyved of Griffyn kyng of Wales, as he was late byfore, and reconciled. *Willelmus de Regibus.* A citeseyne of þe citee of Rome, ȝong of age, Lucian by name, riche of money, hiȝe of kyn, wedded a noble wif, for whiche cause, his felawes called þerto, he made a feeste. After mete þey wente into þe feeld by cause for to uncharge þaire stomakes. Þe spouse hym self forsoþe, for he schulde use hym wiþ a bal, he putte his wedding ryng uppon þe fynger of an ymage þat was nere beside. But at þe laste, his bowels beynge warm for play, he wiþ drow hym self first out of þe play; but, þinkynge to take his ryng aȝen, he fand þe fynger of þe ymage wiþ þe ryng croked into þe palme of þe hond; and when he hadde stryven and wrastled þere longe, and anoþer myȝt pull awey in þe mene tyme, þe þing hid to his felawes, or þat þey schulde nouȝt scorne hym while he was present, ouþer þat þei schulde nouȝt aliene ne deceyve hym of þe ryng when he was absent; at þe laste in þe blake nyȝt, hymself with his servauntes comynge agayne, he wondred þat þe fynger was strecched out, and þe ryng taken away: and whanne he wolde dresse[1] hym toward his wif in tyme of lyeng and of slepynge, TREVISA.

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of the cite in a morowe, coverede but with here awne here. After the dethe of this Leofricus, Algarus his sonne receyvid the erledome of the Marches; whiche convicte of treason afore the kynge, was putte to exile in the same yere, but after that reconsilede ageyne. *Willelmus de Regibus.* A citesynne of Rome, Lucianus by name, a noble man of bloode, and of grete rychesse, mariede a woman Eugenia by name; wherefore he made a feste to his felawes, and after that thei hade dynede thei walkede unto the feldes for cause of pleasure and of digestion. This Lucianus willynge to play at the balle, putte his weddynge rynge on the fynger of an ymage nye to hym. But his body begynnynge to be feynte thro that laboure, he departede firste from that game, and goynge to that ymage to take his rynge, founde the fynger of þat ymage folden faste to the honde of þe ymage, with the rynge on hit. This man makynge moche laboure cowthe neiþer take the rynge neiþer breke the fynger, where he departede prively, levynge that thynge from his felawes leste thei scholde have skornede hym or elles oftaken the rynge awey in his absence. Whiche commynge to that place in the begynnynge of the nyȝhte, and fyndynge þe rynge taken awey and the fynger extente, mervaylede moche. After that this yonge man turnynge hym MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *dressed*, MS.

quoddam nebulosum et densum inter se et uxorem[1] volutari sic inquiens, " Mecum concumbe, quia[2] hodie " me desponsasti. Ego sum dea [Venus.][3] Territus ille " noctem illam duxit insomnem." Et cum hoc quasi cunctis[4] noctibus fieret, querelis uxoris suæ admonitus, rem parentibus suis defert. Illi quoque negotium Palumbo presbytero suburbano potissimo tunc nigromantico pandunt, qui accepto ingenti salario epistolam quamdam[5] juveni dedit, ut eam[6] traderet illi qui novissime de[7] nocte in bivio processionaliter in curru occurreret. Astat juvenis de nocte in compito, videt mulierem ornatu meretricio mulæ[8] insidentem, crinibus solutis, vitta aurea caput constrictam, cum virga aurea in manu; tandem postremo equitanti epistolam suam porrigit. Qua perlecta dæmon ille principalis manibus in cœlum erectis dixit,[9] " O Deus omnipotens, quam diu durabit iniquitas " Palumbi presbyteri ? Nec mora, satellites ejus a Venere " diu[10] tergiversante annulum extorquent, et juveni

Palumbus presbiter infidelis dampnatus.

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[1] *suam*, add. B.
[2] *qui*, A.
[3] *Venus*] from A.B.
[4] *tribus*, B.
[5] *quamdam*, B.; *quando*, MS.
[6] *ut eam*] quam, A.
[7] *in*, B.
[8] *mulierem*, B.
[9] *dixit*] om. B.
[10] *diu*] om. A.

he feled a þing þat was myȝti and þicke waltre and turne atwixe hym and his wif, saienge þus: "Ly wiþ me, for to day "þow despousedest and weddest me. I am þy god Venus." And he, aferde and affraied, ledde þat nyȝt wiþ oute slepe; and whan þis was i-done þus as it were every nyȝt, he amoneschep and warned for þe pleynynges and lamentacioun of his wif, tolde þe þing to his fadir and moder.[1] Þanne his fadir and [his][2] moder warnede Palumbus þe preost of þe subarbes, þat was þe grettest nygromancer þat was þo onlyve. He fenge grete mede, and ȝaf þe ȝong man a lettre þat he schulde take to hym þat he mette last a nyȝt comynge aȝenst hym wiþ a chare in þe metynge of tweie weies. Þe ȝong man[3] stood in þe metyng of tweie weies at nyȝt, and sigh a womman sitte on a mule, arayed as an hoore, and her here abrood, wiþ a chapelet of gold on here heed, and a ȝerde of gold in here hond. Þanne he took his lettre to hym þat com laste ridynge. Whanne þe lettre was i-rad, þat principal feend have up boþe hondes to hevene, and seide: "Almyȝti God, how "longe schal þe wickednesse of Palumbus þe preost dure?" Anon his knyȝtes com to Venus to have þe ryng, bot sche

TREVISA.

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to his wife in bedde, felede a clowdy thynge and ruȝhe betwene theyme, seyenge to hym, "Lye with me, for thow hase weded "me this day; I am Venus the godesse." The yonge man affrayede þerwith, slepede not that nyȝhte; this usede amonge theym by mony nyȝhtes, the yonge man after the cownesaile of his wife rehersede the processe of this mater to his fader. Whiche wente to Palumbus the preste gretely instructe in nigromancy, and ȝafe to hym a grete rewarde for to fynde a remedy; whiche toke to the yonge man an epistole, commaundynge hym to take hit to that person whom he mette in a certeyne place of the cite commynge processionally in the nyȝhte. This yonge man, stondynge in the strete at nyȝhte, see a woman as in vesture of ylle disposicion, rydynge on a mule, with her heire hongynge downe, havynge in her hedde a fillette of golde, with a rodde of golde also in her honde. This yonge man toke that epistole to the spiritte commynge laste. That principalle develle redynge that epistolle, and extendynge his hondes up to hevyn, seide: "O God omnipotent, how longe "schalle the wickidnesse of Palumbus the preste indure." And so the spirittes toke that rynge from Venus, and restorede hit

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 331 a.

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[1] Here the collation with α., β., and γ. commences again, and the translations accord.

[2] From α.

[3] Þe ȝong man] bis in MS.

" tradunt." Et sic ille voti compos potitus[1] est diu suspiratis amoribus. Sed Palumbus ubi dæmonis clamorem ad cœlum de se audivit, membris suis truncatis, confessus est papæ populo audiente scelera sua.[2] [3]Aldredus Wygorniensis episcopus de regis licentia sanctum Wolstanum ordinavit priorem Wygorniæ, et præsulatum Wyltoniensem tradidit Hermanno reverso; et cito post hoc mare transito per Hungariam profectus est[4] Jerosolimam, quod[5] nullus episcoporum Anglicorum usque tunc legitur actitasse.[6] Apud Coloniam Alemanniæ duo monasteria Scottorum igne proprio consumuntur, quod quidem incendium unus monachus nomine Paternus[7] ibidem[8] inclusus diu ante prædixit; sed igne adveniente nullo modo exire voluit, sed zelo martyrii combustus est.[9] Circa hæc tempora in provincia Apuliæ

Gratiæ MLVIII. Edwardi XVI.

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[1] *potitus*] om. A

[2] *Marianus*, add. B.

[3] C.D. insert: " Post cujus mor- " tem Algarus filius ejus suscepit " ducatum Merciorum. Edwardus " filius Eadmundi ferrei lateris " de Hungaria venit Angliam ad " patruum suum Edwardum. De- " creverat enim rex eum post se " regem constituisse, sed ante re- " gem Londoniæ decessit. Aldre " dus," &c.

[4] *est*] peregre, A.; peregrinus, B.

[5] *quod . . . actitasse*] om. C.D.

[6] *attemptasse*, B.

[7] *Patricius*, C.D.

[8] *ibi*, B.

[9] C.D. add: " Algarus comes per " regem Edwardum secundo exle- " gatus est, sed ope Griffini regis " Wallanorum comitatum recupe- " ravit."

TREVISA.

wrynchede, and blynchede, and stroof longe tyme; but at þe laste þe kny3tes wreste of her [þe][1] ryng, and took it to þe 3onge man a3e: and so he hadde his wille and ioye of his love þat he hadde longe desired. But Palumbus herde þe fend crye of hym into hevene, and kutte of his owne lymes, and knowleched al his trespas to þe pope in presens and hering of all þe peple. *Marianus.* Alredus bisshop of Worcestre made seynt Wulstan priour of Worcetre by leve of þe kyng, and 3af the bisshopriche of Wiltoun to Herman þat was i-come a3en from by3onde þe[2] see. And Alredus went over þe[2] see, and forþ by Hongarie a pilgrimage to Ierusalem; me redeþ of no bisshop of Engelond þat so dede to fore þat tyme. At Coleyn in Almayne tweie abbaies of Scottes were i-brent wiþ hir owne fire. Oon Patricius,[3] a monk þat was þere i-closed, warned hem of þat brennynge longe tyme toforehonde. But afterward þe fuyre was i-come, he wolde out in no manere wise; but þere he was i-brent for love of martirdom. (*Trevisa.* In þat doynge Paternus[4] the monk semeþ a lewed[5] goost, þat kouþe not [y-][1] knowe þe cause and þe circumstaunce[6] of verray martirdom; [for þere is no verrey matirdom][1] bot it be by meynteninge of truþe[7] and wiþstondynge of wrong and[8] of synne. Bote God graunte, 3if it is in his wille, þat Paternus be nou3t i-dampned for his blynde devocioun.) Þanne it foloweþ in þe storie: aboute þat tyme in [þe][1] province of Apulia was

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MS. HARL. 2261.

to the yonge man. Then Palumbus þe preste herynge the develles to crye to hevyn on hym, kyttynge the membres of his body, confessede to the pope his synnes, moche peple herynge hym. *Marianus.* Aldredus bischop of Worcestre made seynte Wulstan, prior of Worcestre, bischop þerof by licence of the kynge, takynge the seete of Wilton to Hermannus; whiche passynge the see wente to Hungary, and from that londe to Ierusalem, on pilgremage, whiche thynge noo bischop of Ynglonde performede afore hym. In Alemayne ij. monasteryes of Scottes were brente by theire awne negligence, whiche destruccion a monke þer, Paternus by name, seide afore to falle, whiche was a incluse, and in the tyme of that fire he wolde not goe

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[1] From α.
[2] þe] om. α.
[3] *Paternus*, α.
[4] *Patronus*, Cx. et infra.
[5] *lewide*, β.
[6] *circumstauns*, α.
[7] *truwþe*, γ.
[8] *and*] om. γ.

inventa est quædam statua marmorea cum capite æreo[1] habente circulum sic inscriptum, *Kalendas Maii sole oriente habebo caput aureum*, quod intelligens quidam Saracenus a duce terræ nuper captivatus, in[2] kalendis Maii notato termino[3] umbræ illius staturæ, reperit sub umbra infinitum thesaurum, quem pro sua redemptione dedit.

Cap. XXVII.

De pontificibus Romanorum.[5]

Gratiæ MLIX. Edwardi XVI.

Nicholaus secundus post Benedictum ejectum[6] sedit papa annis pene duobus. Cujus diebus Gallicana ecclesia plurimum turbabatur per Berengarium Turonensem archidiaconum, qui asserebat eucharistiam[7] in altari non esse verum corpus Christi, sed figuram ejus. Contra quem papa coegit consilium centum xiii. episcoporum

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[1] *æneo*, A.
[2] *in . . . staturæ*] om. C.D.
[3] *termino*, from A.; *tertio*, MS.
[4] *statuæ*, A.B.
[5] A.B. have in place of the heading *Willelmus de Regibus*; A. adds *libro tertio*.
[6] *Benedicto cedente*, C.D.
[7] *eukaristiam*, A.

i-founde an ymage of marbil[1] wiþ an heed of bras, and hadde a gerland,[2] in þe whiche gerland it was i-write : "In þe firste "day of May[3] at þe sonne risyng I schal have an hede of "gold." A Sarsyne þat þe duke of Longobardes hadde i-take prisoner, understood what it schulde mene,[4] and come þe first day of May, and took hede[5] of þe schadowe of þe ymage in lengþe[6] and in brede, and fonde in þe schadowe wonder gret tresour, and paide it[7] for his raunsoun. *Willelmus de Regibus.* TREVISA.

Capitulum vicesimum septimum.

WHANNE Benet was i-put out, þe secounde Nichol[8] was pope [aboute][9] an two ȝere. In his tyme holy chirche in Fraunce was hugeliche destourbed by Berengarius archedekon of Turon.[10] He seide þat þe ooste[11] in þe auȝter is nouȝt verray Cristes[12] body, but þat it is figure þerof. AȜenst hym þe pope made a counsaile [at Verecele[13] yn Italy of an hondred

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furthe, but was brente. An ymage of marbole with a hedde of brasse, havynge a cercle contennynge this scripture in hit, "In "the kalendes of Maii, the sonne beynge in the este, y schalle "have a hedde of golde," was founde abowte this tyme in Apulia. A Saracene taken into captivite by the duke of that cuntre, understondynge that wrytynge, merkenge the ende of the schado of that ymage, founde þer treasure as infinite, whom he ȝafe for his redempcion. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum vicesimum septimum.

Willelmus de Regibus.

NICHOLAUS the secunde succedid Benedict the pope, eiecte or expulsede allemoste ij. yere. In the tyme of whom the churches of Fraunce were trowblede moche by Berengarius archidiacon Turonense, whiche seide the blissede sacramente in the awter not to be the very body of Criste, but a similitude of hit. Wherefore this pope callede a cownesayle of cxiij.

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[1] *marbul*, β.
[2] *girlound*, α., bis ; *garlaund*, γ.
[3] *Maii*, β., and Cx. et infra.
[4] *what it meaned*, Cx.
[5] *touk hyde*, γ.
[6] *lyngþe*, γ.
[7] *hit*, α. and β. ; *hyt*, γ. ; om. Cx.
[8] *Nicol*, β. ; *Nycolaus*, Cx.
[9] From α.
[10] *Toreyn*, Cx.
[11] *oyst*, β. and γ.
[12] *Christis*, β.
[13] *Versel*, Cx.

apud Vercellensem in Italia.[1] In quo Berengarius retractavit[2] errorem suum, sicut innuitur[3] in decretis de consecratione, distinctione[4] secunda:[5] "Ego Berengarius."[6] Sed[7] post mortem ejus repullulante ejus hæresi, Hyltebrandus[8] papa contra ejus sequaces determinavit. Ejus erroribus responderunt Lanfrancus Beccensis prior in libro scintillarum, et potissime Wymundus, qui primo[9] fuit Normanniæ monachus, et postmodum episcopus Aversanus in Apulia, tunc temporis eloquentissimus. In tantum autem iste Berengarius subsequenti ætate se correxit, ut sanctus a quibusdam reputetur, utpote qui Apocalypsim exposuerit, qui humilitati et eleemosynis indulserit, qui fœmineum[10] aspectum vitaverit, qui simplici victu et vestitu secundum apostolum contentus fuerit, et quem Hildebertus Cenomannensis episcopus in suis versibus summe commendaverit, sic dicens. *Versus de Berengario.*[11]

De revocatione erroris Berengarii.

Quem[12] *modo miratur semper mirabitur orbis,*
Ille Berengarius non obiturus[13] *obit.*
Post[14] *obitum secum vivam precor et requiescam,*
Nec melior fiat sors mea sorte sua.

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[1] *centum . . . Italia*] om. C.D.
[2] *recitavit*, B.
[3] *unit*, B.
[4] *distinctione*, from A.; *die*, MS.
[5] *habetur de die secunda*, C.D.
[6] *et contra quem Lanfrancus Beccensis prior tonantem librum edidit, quem scintillarium intitulavit. Post hoc Berengarius sancte vixit, et obitum suum prædixit*, C.D.
[7] *Sed . . . pœnam*] om. C.D.
[8] *Hildebrandus*, A.B.
[9] *post*, A.
[10] *mulierum*, B.
[11] A.B. omit title.
[12] *Quem*, from A.; *Quæ*, MS.
[13] *obiturus*] om. B.
[14] *Post*] Et post sic post, A.B.

bisshops and þrittene. In þe whiche[1] counsail][2] Berengarius wiþ cleped[3] his errour, as it is i-seide in decrees de consecracione, distinctione 2ª, Ego Berengarius. But after þe pope his deeþ, his heresie gan eft to spring. Þanne Hiltebrandus þe pope determyned and ȝaf þe dome aȝenst his fautoures;[4] to his errours answerde Lanfrank priour of Beccens, in his book þat hatte Liber Sintillarum; and specialliche Wymond, þat was a monk of Normandie, and after bisshop of Aversan in Apulia, þat was [þo][5] most perfit[6] in spekynge. So þat Berengarius amended his lyf at þe laste, so þat [som][2] men helde[7] hym a [holy][8] seynt. He expowned þe Apochalips, and usede mekenesse and almesdede,[9] and voided[10] þe siȝt of wommen, and usede symple mete and cloop, and þat by þe apostles loore. Hildebertus bisshop of Cenonia in his vers[11] preseþ hym most in þis manere: TREVISA.

"Of hym noo[12] wondrynge schal wondre þe world evermore,
["Þis Berengarius deide þat scal deye na more"].[2]

And þanne þus:

"After deþ wiþ hym leve[13] bidde[14] I in even reste;
"No bettre be my lot, I praye, þanne is his lott."

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bischoppes at Vercell in Ytaly, in whiche cownesaile Berengarius did retracte his erroure, as hit is schewede in the decrees de consecrationibus, distinctione secunda, "Ego Berengarius." But this heresy spryngynge after his dethe, Hiltebrandus the pope kepede a cownesayle ageyne his folowers, where Lanfrancus prior of Beccun, and specially Wymundus bischop Aversan in Apulia, a man of noble eloquence, repugnede ageyne his erroures. But this Berengarius correcte his lyfe so in his olde age that mony men supposede hym to be a seynte, expownynge the apocalips after that, attendynge to mekenesse and almes, eschewynge the siȝhte of women, and was contente with poore clothynge and exhibicion, whom Hildebertus bischop Cenomannensis commendethe in his versus sayenge: MS. HARL. 2261. f. 331 a.

"Quem modo miratur semper mirabitur orbis;
"Ille Berengarius non obiturus obit.
"Et sic post obitum vivam, precor, et requiescam,
"Nec melior fiat sors mea sorte sua."

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[1] *whoche*, γ.
[2] From α.
[3] *withsayde*, Cx.
[4] *fauctours*, Cx.
[5] From α. (not γ.)
[6] *proufyte*, Cx., omitting *in spekynge*.
[7] *huld*, γ.
[8] From α., β., γ, and Cx.
[9] *almusdede*, γ.
[10] *foydede*, α.
[11] *versus*, β. and Cx.
[12] *now*, α.
[13] *lyve*, α.
[14] *byd*, α. and Cx.; *bid ich*, β. and γ.

Ecce hic intueri potest quomodo egregius episcopus in laudando modum excesserit, sed sic se offert sæpius rhetoricus lepos; unde idem [1] poetæ,

Purpureos flores fundit facundia dives.

Sed et inter hæc animadvertendum est quod quamvis Berengarius iste sententiam suam correxerit, tamen omnes quos in diversis terris doctrina sua infecit [2] convertere non potuit. Tale ergo est alios verbo vel exemplo corrumpere, quod cum suum peccatum deletum fuerit, gravabit alienum; quod quidem venerabiliter [3] Fulbertus Carnotensis episcopus in extremis laborans prædixisse ferebatur, cum videret Berengarium inter cæteros ad se visitandum venientem: "Expellite," inquit, "eum, nam video dæmonem illum sequi qui [4] aera cor-"rumpit." Quin etiam ille Berengarius die Epiphaniæ moriens, recordatus est quot miseros ipse adolescens secta sua corruperit: "Hodie," inquit, "ut spero, ap-"parebit mihi Christus in die apparitionis suæ, vel "propter pœnitentiam meam ad gloriam, vel propter [5]

[1] *illud*, A.
[2] *inficit*, A.
[3] *venerabilis*, A.B.
[4] *qui*] in, B.
[5] *propter*] om. B.

Loo here me may see how þe noble bisshop passeþ in þe manere of praysinge, but þe rethorike wiþ his faire [1] speche brekeþ out ofte tyme in þat manere. Þerfore þe poet seiþ: "Riche "speche [2] schedeþ out ofte wel fayre redene [3] floures." But among al þis take hede, þat þeȝ Berengarius amended his sentence, ȝit he myȝte nouȝt amende al þat he hadde appeyred wiþ his lore in dyvers londers. Suche [4] it is to peyre [5] oþer men by word oþer by evel ensample, þat whanne by [6] his owne synne is awey ȝit noyeþ [7] and greveþ oþer men synnes. Me seiþ þat þe nobel bisshop of Carnotens Fulbertus spak þerof moche in his last siknes. For whan he sigh Berengarius come to hym among oþer men, "Dooþ hym awey," quod þe bisshop, "for I see a fend folowe [8] hym, þat appeyreþ þe ayer [9] al "aboute." Also þis Berengarius whanne he deide, in a twelfþe [10] day, had mynde [11] how many wrecches [12] he hadde i-peyred [13] by his evel lore while he was a ȝong [14] man, and seide: "þis "day I hope þat Crist wil [15] schewe hym to me in þe day of "His owne schewynge, or [16] for my penaunce toward blisse, "oþer for oþer þat iche have appeyred to [17] myn evel lore [18]

TREVISA.

A man may perceyve here howe that laudable bischop makethe excesse in lawde of the seide Berengarius, but the use of poetes and of rethoricions is to wryte soe. But hit is to be advertisede that thauȝhe this Berengarius correcte his lyfe, he correcte not alle peple whom he hade infecte with his heresy in diverse cuntres, for thauȝhe his synne was doen awey the synne of other men schalle greve hym. Whiche thynge venerable Fulbert bischop Carnotense, laborynge in grete infirmite in his extreme daies, perceyved, whiche seenge Berengarius comme to visitte hym amonge oþer, seide: "Expelle hym, for y see a develle "folowynge hym þat dothe corrupte the aiere." Also the seide Berengarius dienge in the day of the Epiphany, and havynge in remembraunce how mony wicked peple he hade causede thro his erroure in his yowthe, seide: "As y suppose, "Criste schalle appere to me in þis day of his apparicion, other "for my penaunce to glory, other to peyne for oþer men

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *veyr*, γ., et infra.
[2] *brekeþ . . . speche*] bis in MS.
[3] *reden*, β.; *reede*, Cx.
[4] *Sich*, β.
[5] *apeyre*, α.; *peyr*, Cx.
[6] *by*] om. β. and Cx. (not α).
[7] *it*, add. Cx.
[8] *folewe*, β.; *vend volve*, γ.
[9] *eyr*, β.; *aer*, γ.
[10] *twellifth*, Cx.
[11] *munde*, γ.
[12] *wrechches*, γ.
[13] *apeyred*, α.
[14] *ȝung*, γ.
[15] *wole*, β.
[16] *oþer*, α. and β.
[17] *by*, α.
[18] *while . . . lore*] bis in MS.

" alios quos everti ad pœnam."[1] His diebus[2] Marianus Scotus inclusus est in Fuldensi monasterio[3] annis decem. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.*[4]

Gratiæ MLX. Edwardi XVIII.

Mortuo Kynsio Eboracensi archiepiscopo,[5] successit Aldredus Wygorniensis episcopus,[6] qui cum Tostio comite Northimbrensi pro pallio habendo Romam ivit. Qui repertus in sua reponsione culpabilis, omni honore privatus est, sed domum tendens ab omnibus[7] rebus suis spoliatus est.[8] Quapropter ipso Romam regresso, Tostius[9] comes suis allegationibus ita papam inflexit, ut archiepiscopatum Aldredo conferret. Asserebat nempe[10] Tostius[9] parum intuendam[11] longinquis regionibus[12] papæ excommunicationem quam propinqui sic deriderent latrunculi. Aut ergo sua illi fore restituenda, aut per papæ fraudulentiam constarent [amissa][13] futurumque fore ut rex Anglorum[14] hoc audiens sancti Petri tributum subtraheret,[15] impium[16] esse asserens si Aldredus inglorius simul[17] et spoliatus repatriaret. Igitur Aldredus pallio insignitus Angliam rediens,[18] Wulstanum priorem fecit Wygorniensem præsulem. Non enim tunc[19] a Stigando Cantuariensi[20] quisquam[21] pontificale munus libenter susciperet, sed[22] nec ipse dux

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[1] See note 6, page 208.
[2] *Hoc die*, B.
[3] *ecclesia*, B.
[4] B.C.D. omit reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 271.
[5] *episcopo*, A.
[6] C.D. add : Qui etiam episcopatum Herefordensem, quem tunc in custodia habuit, Waltero capellano reginæ tradidit. Post hoc Aluredus.
[7] *quæ attulerat*, C.D.
[8] *est*] om. A.
[9] *Tostius*, from B. ; *Tostinus*, MS.
[10] *namque*, B.
[11] *metuendam*, A.
[12] *nationibus*, A.B.
[13] *amissa*] From A.B.C.D.
[14] *Angliæ*, A.B.
[15] *subtrahere*, A.
[16] *improperium*, B.
[17] *insimul*, B.
[18] *veniens*, B.
[19] *interim*, B.
[20] *archiepiscopo*, add. C.D.
[21] *quisque*, A. ; *quisquis bonus tunc*, C.D.
[22] *sicut*, C.D.

" toward peyne." Aboute þis tyme Marianus þe Scot was i-closed in þe abbay Fuldense, and was þere ten ȝere. Whanne Kynsius archebisshop of ȝork was dede, Aldredus bisshop of Wircestre was archebisshop after hym, and wente to Rome wiþ Tostius erle of Norþhumberlond for to fonge þe palle. Bote[1] he was i-founde blameworþy in his answere, and he was i-prived of all manere worschippe; and as he went homward,[2] he was i-robbed of al þat he hadde. Þerfore Tostius þe erle wente ageyne to Rome, and he welded[3] so þe pope wiþ skilles þat he alleide[4] þat þe pope ȝaf Aldredus þe archebisshopriche. Tostius seide þat naciouns of fer londes schulde sette riȝt litel by þe pope his curs,[5] while it was so i-scorned of þeoves[6] þat wonede þer nyh; þerfore oþer Aluredus[7] schulde have his catayll[8] restored, oþer it wolde seme þat he was i-robbed by fraude of þe pope. Also þe kyng of Engelond schal here þerof, and wiþdrawe þe tribut of seint Peter. " Hit is evel i-doo," quod þe eorle, " þat Aldredus schal goo hoom worschiples, " and be robbed of al þat he hadde." And so Aldredus hadde þe palle, and wente into Engelond aȝen, and mad Wulstane þe priour bisshop of Worcester. No man wolde gladliche of[9] Stigandus, þe archebisshop of Caunterbury, fenge[10] þe ȝifte of bisshopriche; noþer William Conquerour, whanne

Trevisa.

" that y have averte from Criste." Marianus the Scotte was inclused abowte this tyme in the monastery Fuldense x. yere.

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Bete*, α.
[2] *hamward*, β. and γ.
[3] *and awelde*, β. and γ
[4] *allegged*, β.; *ailedged*, Cx.
[5] *cors*, γ.
[6] *þueues*, γ.; *þeeves*, Cx.
[7] *Aldredus*, α. and β.
[8] *catayll*] from Cx.; *castel*, MS. and α.; *catel*, β. and γ.
[9] *of*] from α., β., γ., and Cx.; *fonge*, MS.
[10] *vonge*, γ.

Willelmus [1] veniens benedictionem ab illo recepit.

Gratiæ MLXII. Edwardi XX. Alexander secundus post Nicholaum sedit papa annis xi. Hic per cardinales electus viriliter se defendit contra Cadulum, quem Italici elegerant in papam. Dixerant enim nullum debere in papa eligi nisi foret [2] de paradiso

Gratiæ MLXIII. Edwardi XXI. Italiæ oriundus. Haraldus dux Westsaxonum jussu regis Edwardi post Natale Domini cum modico equitatu [3] Walliam adiit, palatium Griffini regis apud Rothelan [4] et naves ejus combussit; sed Griffinus fugiendo evasit. Postmodum circa Rogationes [5] cum classica manu de Bristollia profectus, terram Wallanorum pœne circumnavigavit. Cui frater suus Tostius comes Northimbrensis [6] cum equestri exercitu occurrens, ita deprædati sunt fines Wallanorum ut datis obsidibus tributoque soluto Walenses regem suum Griffinum exlegarent et abjicerent. Ac tandem circa nonas [7] Augusti ipsum Griffinum occiderunt, et caput ejus Haraldo miserunt. Post hoc [8] rex Edwardus terram Walliæ duobus fratribus Griffini concessit,[9] fidelitate sibi [10] jurata. *Henricus,*[11] *libro septimo.*[12] Hoc [13] anno Haraldus tendens

Gratiæ MLXIIII. Edwardi. XXII. Haraldus. Normanniam ut fratrem suum Wylnotum et filium fratris sui Hacun [14] apud ducem Willelmum obsidatos

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[1] *sacramentum regie benedictionis,* C.D.

[2] *fuerit,* B.

[3] *apud Rotheland juxta Cestriam, Walliam adiit, et regem Griffinum propter ejus crebras depopulaciones occideret si posset, at ille præcognito hoc vix nave fugiens evasit. Haraldus vero palacium ejus et naves combussit, et eodem die rediit,* C.D.

[4] *Ruthlond,* A.; *Ruthlan,* B.

[5] *negociaciones,* C.D.

[6] *ut rex mandarat,* C.D.

[7] *nonas,* from A.; *monasterium,* B.; *novem,* MS.

[8] *hæc,* B.

[9] *concessit*] om. B.

[10] *prius,* C.D.

[11] *Henricus*] Willelmus Malmesburiensis, A.; Alfridus, C.D.

[12] Should be lib. vi. Script. post Bedam, p. 356.

[13] *Hoc . . cæpit* (page 228)] om. C.D.

[14] *Hakun,* A.

he was i-come, wolde fonge þe blessynge of hym. After Nichol þe secounde Alisaundre was pope enleven ȝere, and was i-chose by þe cardinales, and defended hym manliche aȝenst oon Candulus þat þe Italies hadde i-chose pope. Þey seide þat no man schulde be i-chose pope but he were of þe paradys of Italy i-bore. Harold[1] duke of West Saxon, by heste[2] of kyng Edward, went in to Wales wiþ few[3] horsmen after mydwynter, and sette kyng Griffyn his paleys at Ruthelan[4] afyre,[5] and his schippes also. Bote Gryffyn fliȝ and scapede. Þerfore, aboute þe Rogacioun tyme, he went out of Bristowe wiþ a greet navey, and seilled nyȝ al aboute Wales. And his broþer Tostius eorle of Norþhumberlond mette hym wiþ an oost of horsmen, and destroyed so þe contray of Wales, þat þe[6] Walsche men delyvered plegges and payed tribute as þey were i-woned, and outlawed and put out her kyng Gryffyn, and slow hym at þe laste aboute þe fiftenþe day of August, and sent his heed to Harold þe kyng.[7] Þere after kyng Edward grauntede þe lond of Wales to Griffyn his twey breþeren, þat swore to hym fewte. *Henricus, libro* 7°. Þis ȝere Harald wente toward Normandie to speke wiþ his broþer Wilmotus,[8] and wiþ his broþer sone Hacun, þat were in plegge wiþ duke

Trevisa.

Alexander the secunde succedid pope Nicholas xj. yere. This pope electe by the cardinalls, defended hym manfully ageyne Candulus, whom men of Ytaly hade electe into pope, seyenge þat noo man awe to be pope withowte that he were borne in Ytaly. Harold duke of Westesaxons wente to Wales by commaundement of kynge Edward, and brente the palice and schippes at Ruthland of Griffyn kynge off Wales, but the seide kynge fledde. After that the seide Harold, goynge from Bristowe to Wales, compassede that cuntre allemoste abowte, and Tostius his broþer, metynge with an oþer hoste, robbede soe the costes of Wales that plegges taken to theym, and the tribute paiede, men of Wales did owtelawe theire kynge, and after that sende his hedde unto Harolde. After that kynge Edwarde grawntede the londe off Wales to tweyne breþer of the seide Griffyn, fidelite made to hym afore. *Henricus, libro septimo.* Harolde saylynge to Normandy in this yere to visitte Wilnotus his broþer, and Hacun the sonne of his broþer, beynge

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 332a.

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[1] *Herald*, Cx.
[2] *commaundement*, Cx.
[3] *eeaw*, γ.
[4] *Ruthlan*, Cx.
[5] *afuyre*, α; *a vure*, γ.
[6] *Walyschmen*, γ.
[7] *þe erle*, β. and γ.; *therle*, Cx.
[8] *Wilgotus*, β.; *Wilinotus*, γ., *bis*; *Wylynotus*, Cx., et infra.

inviseret, tempestate actus est in Ponticam provinciam. Quem captum consul Ponticus transmisit Willelmo [1] duci Normanniæ, ubi Haraldus, ut fertur, antequam evadere potuit, juravit Willelmo quod filiam suam duceret,[2] quod mortuo rege Edwardo Angliam ad [3] opus ejus servaret; et sic recepto secum nepote suo Angliam rediit. *Ranulphus.* Sed frater suus Wylnotus in custodia Willelmi etiam postmodum cum regnaret semper mansit. *Henricus, ubi supra.* Hoc etiam anno Tostius in curia regis Edwardi apud Wyndesoram amaricatus, indignanter recessit usque Herfordiam, ubi Haraldus convivium regale regi paraverat; ministros fratris [4] detruncans, membra illorum [5] in poculis conditis posuit, mandans regi quod si ad firmam [6] suam venire vellet, cibos sufficienter salsatos inveniret.[7] Quo audito Northimbrenses [8] Tostium ducem suum abjecerunt, ministros ejus occiderunt, ærarium ejus fregerunt, ut usque in Flandriam fugere compulerunt. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro ii.*[9] Sed rex hæc audiens misit Haraldum ut fratris

[1] *ad ducem Willelmum*, B.
[2] *et*, B.
[3] *ad . . . Angliam*] repeated in A. by error of scribe.
[4] *sui Haraldi*, B.
[5] *eorum*, B.
[6] *festum*, B.
[7] B. inserts: aliosque secum deferret. Rex vero propter tam enorme scelus eum exlegare præcepit.
[8] *ipsum*, B.
[9] Script. post Bedam, p. 83.

William. But he was i-dreve with tempest into þe province of Pontus.[1] Þe duke of þat lond took hym, and sent hym to duke William. Me seiþ þat þere Harald, þat[2] he myȝte askape, swoor þat he schulde[3] wedde duke William his douȝter, and þat he schulde[3] kepe for hym Engelond whan kyng Edward were deed; and so he hadde his neveu[4] wiþ hym, and cam into Engelond aȝen. ℞. But his broþer Wilmotus[5] lefte in duke William his tyme, alway ȝit whanne[6] he regnede. *Henricus, ubi supra.* Also þis ȝere, in kyng Edwardes court at Wyndesore, Tostius was agreeved and was wroþ, and wente þennes to Herford, þere Harald had arayed a feste for þe kyng. Þere Tostius hakked[7] his broþer servantes, and sowsede[8] here lemes, and sente word to þe kyng þat ȝif he wolde come to his form,[9] he schulde have salt mete i-now. Þe Norþhumbres herde hereof, and put out her duke Tostius, and slouȝ his servantes also; and þey breke his tresorye, and made hym flee[10] into Flaundres. *Willelmus de Regibus.* Bote þe kyng herde þerof, and sente Harald to take wrech of þe wrong þat was of his

Trevisa.

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as plegges with William duke of Normandy, was brouȝhte by tempestes of the see into the province Pontike, whiche takyn by the governoure of þat province, was sende to William duke of Normandy. Where, as hit is seide, Harolde made promise to the seide duke of Normandy that he wolde marye his doȝhter and that he scholde kepe the realme of Ynglonde to hym after the dethe of kynge Edward, and so takynge the sonne of his broþer with hym returnede to Ynglonde. ℞. But Wilnotus his broþer, taryede in the kepynge of the seide duke, and after when he was kynge also. *Henricus, ubi supra.* Tostius beynge at Wyndeshore in the kynges courte, and displeasede, departede with indignacion unto Herford, where Harold his broþer hade ordeynede a regalle feste to the kynge, kyttynge the membres of the servauntes of his broþer, and castynge theyme into bryne, sendynge worde to the kynge that he scholde have salte meytes y nowe if ho wolde comme to his place. Men of Northumbrelonde herynge þat, expulsede Tostius from his cuntre, and did slee his ministres, brake his treasure howse, and caused hym to flee into Flandres. *Willelmus de Regibus.* But the kynge herynge that, sende Harolde into þat cuntre to venge the iniury

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Pountyf*, Cx.
[2] *þat*] er, β. and Cx.; ar, γ.
[3] *a scholde*, γ., bis.
[4] *neveu*, α.
[5] *Wylynotus*, α., and it may be that it is *Wilinotus* in MS. et supra.
[6] *yet while*, Cx.
[7] *to hakkede*, γ.
[8] *sosede*, γ.; *souced*, Cx.
[9] *ferme*, α.; *feste*, β. and Cx.
[10] *vle*, γ.

vindicaret injuriam. Illis autem allegantibus se libere fore natos, libere educatos, ferociam[1] ducum pati non posse, quin etiam a majoribus[2] didicisse[3] libertatem zelare vel mortem subire, denique sub leni duci leniter obtemperare, Haroldus judicans consultius fore patriæ in hujusmodi favere quam privatum commodum fratris sui attendere, revocato exercitu regem adiit, procuravitque Malcherum[4] illis comitem dari. His omnibus Tostius incensus cum uxore et liberis Flandriam adiit usque ad mortem regis Edwardi.[5]

Cap. XXVIII.

[*De morte Edwardi Confessoris. Regnum Angliæ occupavit Haraldus.*]

Rex Edwardus sedens in mensa apud Westimonasterium die Paschæ aliis avide comedentibus ipse animo suspensus inter dapes risit. Interrogatus[6] post mensam in triclinio cur riserit, respondit, "Quia septem dormientes "in monte Celio[7] juxta Ephesum in Asia Minore, qui "jam per septingentos annos in latere dextero

[1] *ferocium*, B.
[2] *suis*, A.B.
[3] *didicisse*] space left for this word in A.
[4] *Marcherum*, Henricus.
[5] *Edwardi*] om. B.
[6] *Interrogatus*, from A.B.; *interrogans*, MS.
[7] *Celio*, from B.; *Eclio*, MS.

TREVISA.

broþer. Þey alleyed þat þey were freliche[1] i-bore and freliche i-norsched, þat þey myȝte nouȝt suffre þe cruelnesse[2] of dukes; also þat þey hadde i-lerned[3] of here sovereynes to meyntene fredom or elles take þe deeþ; also þat þei[4] schulde liȝtliche be i-lad by an esy duke. Þanne Harald semede þat it were more wisliche[5] to favere þe contray þanne to take hede[6] to þe singuler profite of his broþer, and sente þat his oost schulde come aȝen; and wente to þe kyng, and procurede þat Malcherus schulde be her eorle. Al þis greved Tostius, and þerfore[7] he wente in to Flaundres wiþ his wif and his children, and was þere anon to þe kynges deth.

Capitulum vicesimum octavum.

KYNG Edward sat at þe mete at Westmynstre[8] in an Ester day, and while oþer men ete besiliche[9] he fel[10] in a þouȝt, and louȝ while oþer men ete.[11] Me axede hym in chambre after mete what hym eylede so forto lawȝhe.[12] "For seven slepers," quoþ he, "in þe mont Selyon[13] besides Ephesym[14] in þe lasse "Asia haþ i-slepe seven hondred ȝere on þe riȝt side, and

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MS. HARL. 2261.

of his broþer. That peple seide they were borne to have liberte, and not to suffre oppression of princes, but raþer to dye. That duke Harolde, thenkynge better to obtemperate and favoure the cuntre raþer then the private profite of his broþer, and takynge his hoste returnede to the kynge, and causede Malcherus to be made erle þer. The seide Tostius tariede in Flanderes with his wife and childer unto þe dethe of kynge Edwarde.

Capitulum vicesimum octavum.

KYNGE Edwarde syttynge in Ester day at dyner at Westmynstre, and oþer men eitynge avarously, lauȝhede after that he hade ben as in a study. The kynge inquirede after dyner the cause of laȝhynge, ansuerede and seide, "that the vij. sle-"pers in the mownte Selius, nye to the cite of Ephesus in the "lesse Asia, whiche rested by vij.^{c}. yere by the ryȝhte side,

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[1] *vrcliche*, γ., bis.
[2] *cruwelnes*, β.
[3] *ylurned*, γ.
[4] *they*, α.
[5] *wysedome*, Cx.
[6] *hyde*, γ.
[7] *þarevore*, γ.
[8] *Westmonaster*, γ.
[9] *bisilich*, β.
[10] *vul*, γ.
[11] *yte*, γ.
[12] *laugh*, Cx.
[13] *Selio*, γ.
[14] *Ephesum*, β. and γ.

" quieverunt, hora risus mei in latus sinistrum se " verterunt; et futurum est ut sic in sinistro latere[1] " jaceant per septuaginta quatuor annos, quo in tempore " veniet illud durum mortalibus omen quod Dominus " in Evangelio comminatus est,[2] Surget gens contra " gentem et regnum[3] adversus regnum, etc.; quia Sara- " ceni insurgent in Christianos et e contra." Et istis adjecit rex habitudines corporum in septem dormientibus, quod nulla alia pandit littera. Miserunt ilico ministri[4] regis nuncios apud Nicetum Constantinopolitanum imperatorem ad explorandum hujus dicti[5] veritatem; quos ille pie admittens ulterius transmisit ad episcopum Ephesinum ut nunciis Anglorum eximie septem dormientes ostenderentur; quæ et ita inventa sunt sicut rex prævidit. Et cito post insurrexerunt Saraceni et Turci Syriam, Minorem Asiam et Jerusalem occupantes; et mortuus est cito post imperator Henricus tertius; et rex Francorum Henricus[6] potionatus obiit; et stella cometa[7] viii. kalendis Maii quasi per totum mundum septem continuis diebus apparuit, quam sic salutavit

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[1] *latere*] om. B.
[2] *dicens*, B.
[3] *et . . . regnum*] om. A.B.
[4] *ergo ministros*, B.
[5] *rei*, B.
[6] *tertius*, A.
[7] *comites*, B.

" tornede hem to the liftside [in my lauȝhynge tyme, and þey TREVISA.
" shulleþ[1] so ligge on þe left side][2] þre score ȝere and fourtene.
" Þat tyme schal com among mankynde[3] þat hard sawe þat
" Crist manasseþ[4] in the gospel, Men schal arise aȝenst men,
" and so forþe; ffor þe Sarsyns schal arise aȝenst Cristen men,
" and Cristen men aȝenst Sarsyns." And also þe kyng tolde how þe seven[5] slepers were[6] arayed, and so telleþ non oþer storie. Anon þe kynges mynistres sente[7] to Nicetes,[8] emperour of Constantynnoble, to aspye þe soþe of þis sawe. He feng hem goodliche, and sent furþer[9] to þe bishop of Ephesy[10] þat he schulde shewe þe array of þe sevene slepers to þe messangers of Engelond, and so it was i-found as þe kyng haþ i-seide; and sone þerafter þe Sarasyns and þe Turkes arise[11] and occupied Siria, þe lasse Asia, and Ierusalem; þe þridde Henry þe emperour deide sone after.[12] And Henry kyng of Fraunce was i-poysoned, and deide. Seven dayes[13] tofore May, [a starre][14] wiþ a briȝt blasyng crest was i-seie into al þe world[15] wyde, [and was so y-seie][16] seven dayes continuallyche. Olyver

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" turnede theim unto the lifte side in the tyme of my lauȝh- MS. HARL.
" ynge; and it is to comme that thei schalle lye in the lifte 2261.
" side by lxxiiij^{ti}. yere, in which tyme that harde chaunce that
" Criste rehersethe in his Gospelle schalle comme to mortalle
" men, Peple schalle aryse ageyne peple; for Saracenes schalle
" ryse ageyne Cristen peple, and Cristen men ageyne theyme."
Also the kynge adiecte the habitudes of theire bodies, whiche thynge noon oþer wrytynge expressethe, wherefore ministres of the kynge sende diverse messyngers to Nicent, emperoure f. 332 b.
of Constantinopole, to knowe the trawthe of this mater and processe, whiche admittynge theyme mekely, sende theyme to the bischop Ephesyne, desirenge hym that the vij. slepers myȝhte be schewed to the messangers of Ynglonde; and the messangers provede the wordes of kynge Edwarde to be tru. And after that the Saraceyns and Turkes arysynge occupiede the lesse Asia and also Ierusalem; and the emperour Henre the thridde diede soone after; and Henre, kynge of Fraunce was poysonede. Also a blasynge sterre appered the viij^{the} kalendes of Maii, as thro alle þe worlde by vij. daies contynually, whom

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[1] *hy scholleþ*, γ.
[2] From α., β., and Cx.
[3] *mankunde*, γ.
[4] *menaceth*, Cx.
[5] *seve*, γ.
[6] *weren*, β. and Cx.
[7] *sent vorþ messagers*, γ.
[8] *Nicetis*, α.
[9] *vorþer*, γ.
[10] *Ephesie*, β.
[11] *arysen*, Cx.
[12] *þereafter*, α.
[13] *dawes*, γ., et infra.
[14] From α. and Cx.
[15] *worle*, γ.
[16] From α.

monachus quidam Malmesbury Oliverus nomine: " Venisti jam[1] venisti, multis matribus lugenda; diu " est quod te vidi, sed modo terribiliorem te intueor, " patriæh ujus excidium vibrantem." Ille Oliverus[2] tunc erat litteris imbutus, ævo maturus, sed immanem audaciam prima juventute conatus. Nam pennas manibus et pedibus nescio qua nexuerat arte ut Dædalino[3] more volaret, fabulam pro vero amplexatus, collectaque[4] summo turris aura spatio stadii et plus volavit; sed venti et turbinis mole violentiaque, ac forte temerarii facti conscientia tremulus decidit, cruribus suis perpetuo debilitatus. Hoc etiam anno dedicato die[5] Innocentium Westmonasterio, rex Edwardus ægrotare cœpit, sub qua novissima ægritudine vidit visionem quam sibi astantibus expressit;

De morte et prophetia sancti Edwardi.

" Venerunt ad me duo viri religiosi quos aliquando in " Normannia novi, dicentes se a Deo jussos[6] ut hæc " mihi nunciarent: ' Quoniam primores Angliæ, duces,

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[1] *jam*] om. B.
[2] *Oliverus*, from A.B.; *Olwarus*, MS.
[3] *Dedalico*, B.
[4] *a*, B.
[5] *sanctorum*, B.
[6] *missos*, A.B.

monk of Malmesbury grette þe sterre, and spak þerto in þis manere: "Þow art i-come, [now][1] þu art i-come, dwel[2] and "sorwe to wel many modres; it is ȝore þat I seie þe, but "now I see þe more dredeful[3] and griseliche, þat[4] manassest "destroyenge of þis contray." Þis Olyver was þoo a kunnyng man of lettrure,[5] and a man of grete age; but in his ȝowþe by greet hardynesse he fondede forto flee[6] as a bridde wiþ wynges.[7] I not[8] by what craft he feþered[9] his feet and his hondes, for he wolde flee in Dedalus his wise, and so he took a fable in stede of a sooþ sawe; and so he stood on a hyȝ toures,[10] and took þe wynde, and fliȝ[11] þe space of a furlong and more. But he was aferd of þe grete strengþe of þe wynd and of þe whirlewynde, and on caas of his awne folie dede, and fel[12] doun so þat he was lame in his þyhes[13] terme of his lyf. Also þis ȝere, whanne Children masse[14] day was i-halowed[15] at Westmynstre, kyng Edward werþe sike.[16] In his last siknes he sigh a siȝt, and tolde it to hem þat stood aboute hym. "Tweie men of religioun," quod þe kyng, "come to "me þat I knewe somtyme in Normandie, and seide[17] þat "God hem hadde i-sent to warne me herof. For þe raþer

TREVISA.

Olyver monke of Malmesbury salutede in this: "Thou haste "comme nowe to be sorowede of the moders of mony peple; hit "is longe sithe y see the, but y beholde now anoþer sterre moore "terrible then the, manassynge the destruccion of the cuntre." This Oliver, instructe in mony science and olde in age, usede grete boldenesse in his yowthe, in so moche that he wolde take fethers in his hondes and feete, y wotte not of that crafte, and wolde flye by the space of a forlonge lyke to Dedalus. But at the laste he hade a falle, in so moche that his legges were moore feble afterwarde alle the tyme of his lyfe. Kynge Edwarde began to be seke at Westemynstre in this yere, in whiche extreme infirmite he see a vision, expressynge hit to men abowte hym, seyenge, "ij. religious come to me, whom y "knewe somme tyme in Normandy, seyenge theyme to be sende "from God to schewe these thynges to me; that dukes or gover-

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] From α.
[2] *deol*, β.; *duel*, γ.; *doole*, Cx.
[3] *dredfol*, γ.
[4] *þat*] thou, Cx.
[5] *lettre*, α.; *lettere*, γ.
[6] *vondede vor to vle*, γ.
[7] *whynges*, γ. and Cx.
[8] *note*, β.
[9] *vyþerded*, γ.
[10] *an hye toure*, Cx.
[11] *vlyȝ*, γ.; *flough*, Cx.
[12] *fil*, β.
[13] *þyȝes*, α.; *thyes*, Cx.
[14] *Childermas*, Cx.
[15] *halewide*, β.
[16] *wurþ syk*, γ.
[17] *sayden*, Cx.

" ' episcopi, abbates, non[1] ministri Dei sed diaboli,
" ' tradidit Deus[2] post obitum tuum[3] uno anno
" ' et die uno[4] in manu inimici, et pervagabunt
" ' dæmones per[5] terram istam.' Cumque rogarem
" quod ad denunciationem meam possent pœnitere
" et liberari exemplo Ninivitarum, ' Non,' inqui-
" unt,[6] ' nam neutrum erit, quia nec isti pœnitebunt
" ' nec Deus miserebitur.' Et dixi,[7] ' Quando ergo
" ' poterit sperari remissio?' ' Quando,' inquiunt,[8]
" ' arbore viridi precisa pars decisa trium jugerum
" ' spatio a stipite divisa sive adminiculo suo trunco
" ' connexa floribus pubescere et fructus producere
Stigandus archiepiscopus. " ' cœpit,' " Astitit tunc Stigandus archiepiscopus dicens vetulum senili[9] more nugas delirare. Postmodum tamen sensit Anglia hujus vaticinii veritatem, quando per externos totaliter est suppressa et corrosa. Inde rex Edwardus in vigilia Epiphaniæ, postquam regna-

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[1] *sunt*, A.B.
[2] *hoc regnum*, A.
[3] *meum*, B.
[4] *una die*, B.
[5] *per*] om. B.
[6] *inquiunt*, from A.B.; *inquirunt*, MS.
[7] *dixit*, B.
[8] *inquiunt*, from A.; *inquirunt*, MS.
[9] *sivile*, A.

" dukes,[1] bisshoppes, and abbottes of Engelond beeþ nouȝt " Goddes children or[2] servauntes, but þe develes,[3] God haþ " i-take þe kyngdom into þe enemyes hondes for twelve monþes " and a day, and feendes[4] schal walke and torne[5] aboute in " al þis lond. I prayed and bysouȝte þat þey moste, be my " warnynge, do penaunce and be delyvered, by ensample of " þe men of Nineve. 'Nay,' quod þey, 'for noþer schal be, for " 'þese[6] men schal nouȝt doo worþy penaunce, noþer God " 'schal have mercy of hem.' Þanne I seide, 'Whan may be " 'hope and triste[7] of forȝifnes?' Þey answerde and seide: " 'Whan a gret[8] tre is i-hewe adoun, and a party þerof, i-kut " 'fro[9] þe stok, and i-leide þre teme[10] lengþe from þe stok, " 'burgeþ and bloweþ and bereþ fruyt wiþ oute eny help and " 'socour of þe stok."[11] Þere stood[12] Stigandus þe archebisshop, and seide þat þe olde man ravede and dotede[13] as olde men seiþ and[14] dooþ, and was out of his witte, and spak folie and vanite; but afterward Engelond felede þe soþe and þe truþe of his prophecie, whan it was i-done[15] and destroyed wiþ aliens and men of straunge landes. Þanne kyng Edward deide at West- Trevisa.

" noures of Ynglonde 'afore tyme, bischoppes, and abbottes, be " not the ministres of God, but of the develle. Wherefore God " hathe ȝiffen this realme after thy dethe to the powre of the " develle oon yere and oon day, and the develles schalle go " thro this londe. And when y prayede that at my denuncia- " cion that thei myȝhte be penitent, and delyverede after the " exemple of men of Niniven, thei seide neiþer thynge scholde " be, for neiþer the peple scholde be penitent, nor God scholde " schewe mercy." Then the kynge inquirede of theym when remission scholde be hade, thei seide, " When that the hie parte " of a grete grene tre, kytte from hit, and beynge from hit by a " grete space, begynnethe to bere frute." Stigandus archebischop stondynge by, seide to the people stondynge by, that the communicacion of this mater was but a iape; but Englonde perceyvid this prophecy to be tru when hit was as destroyede by straunge peple. Kynge Edwarde was dedde and MS. Harl. 2261.

[1] *dukes*] erased in *α*.
[2] *children or*] om. *α*.
[3] *devel hys*, *γ*.
[4] *vendes*, *γ*.
[5] *hurle*, *β*., *γ*., and Cx.
[6] *þues*, *γ*.
[7] *truste*, Cx.
[8] *grene*, *β*. and *γ*.
[9] *vram*, *γ*.
[10] *temene*, *α*. and *γ*.
[11] *burgeþ . . . stok*] om. Cx.
[12] *tho*, add. Cx.
[13] *dodede*, *γ*.
[14] *seiþ and*] om. *α*., *β*., *γ*., and Cx.
[15] *adoun*, *α*., *β*., and *γ*.; *in subjection*, Cx.

verat viginti tres annis et septem mensibus, apud Westimonasterium defunctus est et sepultus. *Ranulphus.*[1] Cujus vitam Aluredus Rivallensis luculenter descripsit, quam Laurentio abbati Westimonasterii direxit, et ille ulterius vitam illam sic descriptam

Haroldus Rex.

Henrico ii° destinavit. *Willelmus, ubi supra.*[2] Mox Haraldus regnum occupavit, quod per novem menses circiter tenuit. Quidam enim Edgarum Adeling, filium Edwardi filii Edmundi ferrei lateris, regem constituere moliebantur; verum quia puer erat tanto oneri minus idoneus, Haraldus comes, cui erat mens astutior, crumena facundior, et miles copiosior, sinistro omine regnum occupavit. *Ranulphus.* Tradit tamen Marianus quod rex Edwardus ante obitum suum designaverit[3] Haraldum regem futurum, quem proceres mox in regem erexerunt.[4] Hic Haraldus[5] ab Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo consecratus, statim leges iniquas destruere,[6] æquas condere, ecclesias defendere, religiosos colere, transgressores punire, patriam tueri

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[1] B. omits reference.

[2] De Regib. lib. ii. Script. post Bedam, p. 93.

[3] *designaverat*, A.; *destinavit*, B.

[4] *Marianus*, A.

[5] *Haraldus*] om. B.

[6] *destruere*, from A.; *destinere*, MS.

mynstre[1] in a twelfþe[2] eve, whan he hadde i-regned þre and twenty ȝere and seven monþes. ℞. Aluredus of Ryvalle discreved cleerliche kyng Edward his lyf, and sent it to Laurence abbot of Westmynstre, and he sent þat lyf, þat was so descreved, forþ to þe secounde Henry. *Willelmus de Regibus, ubi supra.* Anon Harald occupied þe kyngdom, and hilde[3] aboute a nyne monþes; bote some men[4] fondede[5] to make Edgar Adelyng kyng. Edgar Adelyng was [þe sone of Edward, þe whiche[6] Edward was][7] þe sone of Edmond yrenside; but for þe child was insuffisant[8] to so grete a charge, erle Harald, þat was fellere of wit, and richere in þe purs,[9] and strengere of kny3tes, occupied þe kyngdom, and[10] hilde it aboute a nyne monþes by an ungracious hap. ℞. But Marianus seiþ þat kyng Edward to fore his deþ ordeynede þat Harald schulde be kyng after hym, and þat þe lordes made hym kyng anon. *Item Marianus.* Þis was i-sacred of Aluredus[11] archebisshop of ȝork, and gan anon[12] to destroye evel lawes, and to make good lawes and ri3tful,[13] to defende holy chirche, to worschippe good men, to punsche[14] evel doers, and to save and defende þe londe. But

Trevisa.

beriede at Westemynstre, in the vigille of the Epiphany, after that he hade reignede xxiij. yere and vij. monethes. ℞. The lyfe of whom Aluredus Rivallense did write nobly, whom he directe to Laurence abbot of Westemynstre, and the seide abbot sende that life soe wryten to Henre the secunde. *Willelmus de Regibus, ubi supra.* And Harolde occupiede the realme anoon as by ix. monethes. And somme men wolde have made Edgarus, sonne of Edmunde Irenside, to have been kynge; but for cause he was a childe, and not apte to that charge, Harolde was suffrede to reioyce the realme. ℞. Neverthelesse Marianus rehersethe that kynge Edward afore his dethe made Harolde his successoure, whom the gentillmen of the londe made kynge after the dethe of kynge Edward. This Harold consecrate into the kynge by Aldredus, archebischop off Yorke, began to destroye wickede lawes, to defende the churche, to have religious men in reverence, to punysche transgressors, and to defende the cuntre. Tostius, his broþer, herynge that

MS. Harl. 2261.

[1] *Westmonaster*, γ.
[2] *twellyfth*, Cx.
[3] *huld*, γ.
[4] *men*] om. β., γ., and Cx.
[5] *entended*, Cx.
[6] *whoche*, γ.
[7] From α., β., and Cx.
[8] *unsuffisaunt*, β.
[9] *pors*, γ.
[10] *and . . . monþes*] om. α.
[11] *Aldredus*, α.
[12] *anon*] om. Cx.
[13] *ryȝtfol*, γ.
[14] *punyse*, γ.

cœpit.[1] Sed et ejus principatu audito [2] Tostius frater ejus cum sexaginta navibus de Flandria rediens Vectam insulam stipendiis et tributis multavit, circa ripas Cantiæ prædas egit. Sed dum fratris sui Haraldi apparatum timeret, Lindeseyam per mare adiit, ubi villas incendit, gentem trucidavit, donec per duces Merciorum et Northimbrorum Edwynum[3] et Morkarum[4] extrusus Malcolmum regem Scotorum adiret, cum quo per totam æstatem morabatur.[5] Interea rex Noreganorum Haraldus Harfagus,[6] frater sancti Olavi, cum trescentis[7] navibus in ostio Tyne[8] fluminis applicuit, ad quem Tostius, sicut prius condixerat, sua cum classe advenit. Quod ubi Haraldo regi innotuit, expeditionem illuc movit; sed priusquam ille advenisset duo germani comites[9] prædicti Edwynus et Morkarus,[10] quamvis valide[11] decertassent, in fine tamen sunt contriti, datis utrinque obsidibus centum quinquaginta. Quinto post hoc die rex Haraldus apud[12] Steynes-

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[1] See note 13, p. 214.

[2] *Deinde*, C.D.

[3] *per ducem Merciorum et ducem Northimbrorum Edwinum*, A.

[4] *Edwynum et Morkarum*] om. C.D.; *Morkatum*, B.

[5] C.D. add: "Interea Haraldus "timens Willelmum Normanniæ "ducis adventum, classicum et pe- "destrem exercitum contra ripas "maris austrini posuit per totam "æstatem et autumpnum, sed de- "ficientibus victu et stipendiis, "exercitus domum rediit."

[6] *Farfagus*, A.

[7] *plusquam* 500, C.D.

[8] *Tine*, A.

[9] *Merciorum scilicet et Northimbrorum*, C.D.

[10] *Morkatus vel secundum quos dam Marcherus*, B.

[11] *cum hostibus*, C.D.

[12] *apud*] om. C.D.

his broþer Tostius herde[1] þerof, and þan he wakened[2] and com wiþ twenty[3] schippes out of Flaundres, and took payementes and tributes of þe Ile[4] of Wight, and took prayes in Kent in þe see coostes; bote he dradde þe array of his broþer Harald, and wente by þe see into Lyndesey, and brende þere townes, and slowȝ men, forto þat he was dryve þennes by Edwyne and Morkar,[5] dukes of Mercia and of Norþhumberlond: þanne he wente to Malcolyn kyng of Scotlond, and was wiþ hym al þe somertyme. In þe mene tyme kyng of Noreganes, Harald Harefoot,[6] Olavus his broþer, cam wiþ þre hondred schippes in þe mowþe of þe ryver [of][7] Tyne, þanne Tostius cam to hym with his strengþe, as þey were accorded to forehonde. Kyng Harald was i-warned þerof, and ordeyned þider greet strengþe, but or he were i-come þe tweie breþeren eorles þat we speke of raþer, Edwyne and Morkar,[5] hadde stalworthliche i-fouȝte,[8] and were overcome at þe laste, and þere were delyvered plegges in eiþer side an hondred and fifty.[9] Here after þe fifte day kyng Harald cam to Stemesfordburgh,[10] and had a strong batataile

Trevisa.

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he was kynge, toke with hym lx. schippes, and come to Yng- MS. Harl. londe, robbynge the costes off Kente, whiche dredynge Harold 2261. his broþer, fledde to Lindesey, where he brente mony townes, and did sle moche peple, untille that he was expulsede by Edwinus and Morkarus, dukes of þe Marches and off Northumbrelonde; and so he wente to Malcolinus kynge of Scottes, with whom he taryede by alle a somer. Kynge Harolde, dredynge moche the commynge of William duke of Normandy, causede a grete flete of schippes to kepe the see, and settynge an hoste of men to kepe the grownde of the costes of the sowthe nye to the see by alle a somer and herveste; but money and vitells faylenge, men returnede into theire cuntrees. After that Harold Harefagus, broþer of seynte Olavus, londed in the water of Tyne with ccc. schippes, whom Tostius mette with his schippes, as he promisede afore. Harolde kynge herynge that, made grete haste to ȝiffe batelle to hym; but the seide ij. breþer german, Edwinus and Morkarus, ȝiffenge soore batelle to theym, were devicte at the laste. But in the v^the^ day folowynge kynge Harolde ȝafe batelle to þeim at Stemesford-

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[1] *hurde*, γ.

[2] *þan he wakened*] þat he wa kyng, α., β., γ., and Cx., but γ omits *þerof and*.

[3] *syxty*, β., γ., and Cx.

[4] *yl*, γ.

[5] *Morkar*, from α., β., γ., and Cx.; *Mokar*, MS.

[6] *Harfage*, α., β., γ., and Cx.

[7] From α.

[8] *yvoȝte*, γ.

[9] *vyfty*, γ.

[10] *-brugge*, β.; *-brugh*, γ.; *-brydge*, Cx.

fortbrugge[1] superveniens regem Norreganorum et fratrem suum Tostium, quamvis acerrime esset repugnatum, in ore gladii interfecit. Olavum tamen filium regis[2] Norregani et Paulum ducem Orcadum acceptis obsidibus et juramentis[3] ad patriam redire permisit. Ibi[4] tamen unus Noreganus perpetua fama dignus, solus stans in ponte de Steynesfortbrugge,[5] plusquam quadraginta viris Anglis sua securi interfectis, usque ad horam diei nonam totum exercitum Anglorum retardavit, donec unus Anglus naviculam ingressus ipsum Noricum per foramina pontis lancea perfodisset.[6] Ex hoc eventu Haraldus multum elatus, prædam ibidem consecutam cum commilitonibus dividere dedignabatur; qua de causa multi de proceribus et plebeis offensi ipsum ad bellum Hastingense contra Willelmum properantem deseruere.

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[1] *Steinefotbrugg*, A.; *Steynfordbrig*, B.

[2] *Haraldi*, C.D.

[3] *cum viginti navibus*, C.D.

[4] *Ibi . . . exercitibus* (page 240)] om. C.D.

[5] *Steineforthbrugg*, A.; *Steynbrig*, B.

[6] *Transeuntes igitur Angli regem Noreganorum Tostium et fere totum exercitum peremerunt*, B.

and a strong[1] fiȝtinge; but he slowȝ þe kyng of Noriganes and his owne broþer Tostius; but he made Olavus þe kynges broþer of Noriganes, and Paul duke of þe ilond Orcades, swere[2] to hym, and took plegges of hem, and lete hem goo hoom aȝen. Bote one of þe Noreganes bare hym so þere þat he was worþy to have a name for evermore, for he stood allone on þe brygge[3] of Stemesford,[4] and slouȝ moo þan fourty Englische men with his owne axe, and lette þe passage of all þe Englische oost forto it was none of þe day, forto an Englisshe man took a boot and cam under þe brigge, [and foynede[5] upward under[6] þe brugge,][7] and stiked[8] þe Noregan þoruȝ an hoole wiþ a[9] speere. For þat hap Harald was proude,[10] and wolde nouȝt parte wiþ his knyȝtes þe prayes þat were i-take, þerfore meny of þe lordes, and of þe comynte,[11] were wroop and agreved, and forsook hym whan he wente to þe bataille of Hastynge aȝenst William. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.* TREVISA.

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brigge, where he did slee in soore fiȝhte the kynge of Norway, and Tostius his awne brother, suffrenge Olavus sonne of the seide kynge, and Paulus duke of Orcades, havynge suertes and fidelite made to hym, to departe to theire cuntre. Oon man of Norway was worthy to have lawde perpetualle, whiche stondynge on Stemesforde brygge, did sle xl^ti^ men of Ynglonde with a batelle ax, and taryenge alle the hoste of Ynglische men, that thei cowthe not entre on the brigge from morowe unto xij. of the clokke, with owte eny wounde, untille that a man of Ynglonde goynge with a bootte under the brigge, pereschede hym thro the body with a spere. Harolde the kynge, gladde of that victory, hade indignacioun to divide the grete rychesse geten in that felde with his peple, wherefore mony noblemen of his hoste departede from hym, goynge to ȝife a newe batelle ageyne William the noble duke of Normandy and Conqueroure. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo.* MS. HARL. 2261. f. 333 b.

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[1] *hard*, α., γ., and Cx.
[2] *swerye*, γ.
[3] *brugge*, γ.
[4] *Stemesfordbrugg*, α. and γ.
[5] *fuynede*, γ.
[6] *under*] þurȝ, β.; þorouȝ, γ.
[7] From α. and β. (not in Cx.)
[8] *stikide*, β.
[9] *his*, α. and Cx.; *hys*, γ.
[10] *prout*, γ.
[11] *comente*, γ.; *comonte*, Cx.

Cap. XXIX.[1]

[*Causa Willelmi contra Haraldum. Mors Haraldi.*]

Gratiæ MLXVI. Haraldi primo

Igitur Haraldus fastigatus[2] in regno nil de pactis inter se et Willelmum confectis cogitabat, liberatum se putans a sacramento, eo quod filia Willelmi, quam desponsaverat, infra nubiles annos jam obierat, et etiam quia dux Willelmus conterminis bellis implicatus fuerat, Willelmus tamen eum de rupto fœdere commonens,[3] minas precibus intermiscebat. Haraldus econtra dixit præsumptuosum pactum non esse servandum, potissime de alieno regno promissum[4] absque generali senatus decreto; proinde stultum juramentum frangendum fore, maxime temporis necessitate coactum.[5] Interea Willelmus necessaria itineri parat, assensum procerum suorum captat, favorem Alexandri[6] papæ una cum vexillo sibi directo impetrat. Nota. [7]Causæ autem quare dux Willelmus Angliam contra Haraldum

[1] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro secundo*, A.B.

[2] *fatigatus*, B.

[3] *conveniens*, B.

[4] *promissum*] servando, B.

[5] C.D. add: "Igitur cito post "mortem Edwardi audiens Nor- "manniæ dux Willelmus nullum de "regio semine in Anglia relictum, "sed Haraldum usurpasse regnum "quod jure consanguinitatis et du- "plicis sponsionis sibi debebatur, "Alexandrum papam consuluit, re- "ceptoque ab ipso cum sanctorum "reliquiis vexillo, circa festum Mi- "chaelis Angliam venit, et juxta "Hastingum in loco qui Pevensey "dicitur applicuit; contra quem "rex Haraldus celeriter processit "quamvis jam sciret de tota Anglia "fortiores in duobus præliis ceci- "disse. Die igitur Sancti Kallixti "papæ, &c," on p. 240.

[6] *domini*, B.

[7] R., A.B.

Capitulum vicesimum nonum. TREVISA.

WHANNE Harald was i-set up in þe kyngdom, and þouȝt not on þe covenantes þat were i-made bytwene hym and William, he hilde[1] hym self discharged[2] of þe ooþ, for William his douȝter þat he had i-spoused was dede wiþ ynne age of wedlok, and also for William was occupied wiþ werres in londes þat were nigh hym. Bote William warnede hym of covenant i-broke and melled manas[3] wiþ praiers. Harald seide þat a nyce folie covenant schulde nouȝt be i-holde, and nameliche þe byhest of oþer men[4] kyngdom wiþ oute comyn[5] assent of alle þe senatoures þere a lewed[6] oth schulde be i-broke, nameliche while it was compelled to be i-swore for nede in a nedeful[7] tyme. In þe mene tyme William arayeþ al þat nedeþ[8] for þe iornay, and geteþ[9] assent of þe lordes of his lond, and purchaseþ[10] favour of Alisaundre þe pope wiþ a banere þat hym was i-sent. Þese[11] were þe causes why duke William axede and chalanged[12] Enge-

Capitulum vicesimum nonum. MS. HARL. 2261.

THIS Harolde reioycynge the realme of Ynglonde, thouȝhte hym as free of that promyse made to William duke of Normandy, in that the doȝhter of William, whom he scholde have mariede, diede with ynne yeres of mariage, and in that William duke of Normandy hade grete werre and batelles of cuntres nye to hym. Neverthelesse this duke sende to hym writeng pleasaunte in parte, and manassynge also, for the promyse broken that he made to hym. But Harolde sende to hym writynge ageyne, seyenge a presumptuous promisse not to be observede, and specially to hym of a strange realme with owte a generalle decrete of the londe; and also an othe or promyse made by foly to be broken, and specially coacte by necessite of tyme. Wherefore the seide duke instorethe a batelle, desirenge the favor of pope Alexander, whiche pope sende to hym licence to execute his purpose, with a baner also. Ꝛ. The causes folowynge causede the seide duke to ȝiffe batelle ageyne Harolde.

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[1] *huld*, γ.
[2] *deschargide*, β.
[3] *medled manassis*, β.; *medled menaces*, Cx.
[4] *menne*, γ.
[5] *comune*, Cx.
[6] *lewide*, β.
[7] *nedfol*, γ.
[8] *arayed . . . neded*, Cx.
[9] *gate*, Cx.
[10] *purchased*, Cx.
[11] *þues*, γ.
[12] *axide and chalangide*, β.

impetiit hæ fuerunt, mors Aluredi cognati sui filii Emmæ per Haraldum[1] procurata,[2] secunda proscriptio Roberti Cantuariensis archiepiscopi, tertia promissio de successione regni per Edwardum regem si sine liberis decederet sibi facta, et tandem juramentum Haraldi ad id[3] idem implendum. *Henricus, libro sexto.*[4] Consultantibus itaque Normanniæ proceribus adinvicem super hujus expeditionis negotio,[5] Willelmus filius Osberti ducis, dapifer[6] regis, iter dissuasit, tum propter[7] paucitatem aggredientium tum propter ferocitatem hostium. Exhilarati ex hoc, cæteri proceres posuerunt verba sua in ore illius[8] Willelmi. Ille vero cum coram duce venisset, dixit se cum cæteris paratum fore ad expeditionem nec poterant cæteri præ pudore se subtrahere. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tertio.*[9] Cumque[10] in portu Sancti Valerici dux Willelmus cum suis adversante vento diutine tardaretur,[11] et ob hoc vulgus submurmuraret,[12] asserens insanum fore

Causa Willelmi ducis contra Haraldum regem.

[1] *pro Aluredum*, A.; *Haraldum*, from B.; *Aluredum*, MS.
[2] *procurati*, MS.
[3] *illud*, B.
[4] Script. post Bedam, p. 367.
[5] *negotium*, A.
[6] *Willelmi dapifer*, B.
[7] *propter*] om. A.
[8] *ipsius*, A.B.
[9] The passage is not in Willelmus.
[10] *Cum*, A.
[11] *traderetur*, B.
[12] *submurmuraret*, fromB.; *-aretur*, MS.

lond aȝenst Harald; þe deeþ of Aluredus þat was his cosyn, þe sone of Emma, on Aluredus [he][1] had i-procured[2] his deth; þe secounde þe excilynge of Robert archebisshop of Caunterbury; þe þridde cause was for kyng Edward hadde byhote duke William þat he schulde[3] be kyng after hym ȝif he deide wiþ oute children,[4] and Harald was i-swore to fulfille[5] þat heste.[6] *Henricus, libro* 6°. Þe lordes of Normandie counsaillede[7] among hem self[8] what were best to doo of þis iornay, and William þat was þe dukes sewere, þe sone of Osbert, counsaillede to leve and forsake þe iornay, boþe for scarsite of fiȝtinge men and for strengþe, hardines, and sternesse,[9] and cruelnesse[10] of enemyes. Þe oþer lordes were glad here of, and putte here[11] answere[12] and here wordes uppon þis[13] William his mowþ al as he wolde seie.[14] Whanne he come to fore þe duke, he seide þat he was redy to þe iornay, and alle þe oþere lordes; þanne myȝt nouȝt þe lordes wiþ drawe hem for schame. *Willielmus de Regibus, libro* 3°. Whanne duke William and his men were longe i-taried in Seynt Valerik[15] his haven, for þe wynd was aȝenst hem, þe peple[16] grucched,[17] and seide þat

Trevisa.

The firste was the dethe of Alfrede his cosyn, sonne to Emma somme tyme qwene of Ynglonde, caused by Harald. The secunde was for the owtelary of Robert archebischop of Cawnterbery. The thrydde was for the promission of the succession made by kynge Edward, if he diede with owte childer, the same promise made to hym by Harold also. *Henricus, libro sexto.* The gentyllemen of Normandy takynge cownesaile of that viage to be made in Ynglonde, William the sonne of Usbertus, sewer to the duke, movede theim to leve that iourney, what for the fewe nowmbre of peple, and what for the cruelnesse. The seide gentillemen comfortede moche with that seyenge, seide utterly they wolde folowe the wille of the seide yonge man; this yonge man presentede to the duke seide that he was redy to þat iourney; the gentille men herynge that myȝhte not eny oþerwise for schame. *Willielmus de Regibus, libro tertio.* This duke William lyenge longe in the haven of Seynte Walericus for wynde, his peple grucchede moche, seyenge that hit was foly to

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] From Cx.
[2] *yprocred*, γ.
[3] *a scholde*, γ.
[4] *chyldern*, γ.
[5] *volvulle*, γ.
[6] *byheste*, β.; *commaundement*, Cx.
[7] *counsailde*, α.
[8] *silf*, β.; *hamsylf*, γ.
[9] *steernesse*, α.; *stiernesse*, Cx.
[10] *sturnnes and cruwelnes*, γ.
[11] *her*, β.
[12] *onswere*, α.
[13] *þes*, γ.
[14] *sygge*, γ.
[15] *Waleryes*, Cx.
[16] *pupel*, γ.
[17] *grucchide*, β.

alienum solum velle usurpare, præsertim Deo[1] contra certante, qui ventum accommodum arceret,[2] dux Willelmus fecit sacrum corpus Valerici foras[3] efferri, et pro vento habendo sub divo poni,[4] et statim prosper flatus[5] carbasa implevit. Igitur dux Willelmus post festum[6] Michaelis Angliam tendens apud Hastingum in loco qui Peveneseye[7] dicitur applicuit. In exeundo autem de navi uno pede labitur et sabulo infigitur. Acclamat sibi statim miles proximus[8] " Domine comes, jam tenes Angliam, in proximo rex " futurus." Tunc omnem militem a prœda coercuit, parcendum[9] asserens rebus quæ suæ forent, sicque mansit quindecim diebus. Hoc audito nuncio Haroldus de Norico bello rediens multum festinavit, pauco stipatus milite, quia[10] multos fortes in priori bello amiserat, nec tamen auxilia convocaverat, et si convocasset illi pro[11] manubiis in Norico bello minime distributis

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[1] *de*, B.
[2] *aceret*, A.
[3] *foris*, B.
[4] *poni*] om. B.
[5] *ventus*, B.
[6] *sancti*, A.B.
[7] *Penesheye*, B.
[8] *approximus*, B.
[9] *esse*, B
[10] *qui*, A.
[11] *pro*, from A.; *præ*, MS.

it was a woodnesse to chalange by strengþe oþer men[1] lond, and nameliche while God stroof aȝenst hem, and [God][2] most graunte hem good wynd ȝif þey schulde seille. Duke William make brynke[3] out seint Valericus his[4] holy body, and sette hym þeroute forto have wynde. Anon likynge wynd filled[5] the sailles;[6] þanne duke William com toward Engelond after Michelmasse day, and londede at Hastynge in a place[7] þat hatte Pevenessey.[8] In his goynge out of his schip he slood[9] wiþ his oon foot,[10] and stiked in þe sond,[11] and þe kny3t þat was next cried to hym [anon][12] and seide: "Now sire eorle, þu holdest "Engelond, þu schalt ri3t newliche[13] be kyng." Þanne he chargede þat þei schulde take no prayes, and seide þat he moste spare þinges[14] þat schulde be his owne; and he lefte so þe[15] fiftene dayes. Harold come fro the werre of Noreganes and herde[16] tyþinges here of, and hi3ed ful[17] faste,[18] and hadde but fewe[19] kni3tes aboute hym, for he hadde i-lost meny stalworth men in þe raþer bataille, and he hadde nou3t i-send for more help, and þey[20] he hadde, men were wrooþ, and wolde have

Trevisa.

usurpe the londes of oþer peple, God beynge contrarious to theyme and the wynde also. Wherefore William duke of Normandy commaunded the body of seynte Walericus to be brou3hte and sette þerowte; and anoon God sende to theyme a pleasaunte wynde, and so the seide duke toke londe at Pevenesey nye to Hastynge sone after the feste off seynt Michell. And in goynge from the schippe oon of his feete was fixede in the sonde. To whom a kny3hte seide, "My lorde, now þou doste holde Yng- f. 334 a.
"londe, whereof þow schalle be kynge hastily." Then the seide duke commaunded his kny3htes to leve robbynge, contynuynge in those costes by xv. daies. Harolde returnede from the batelle ageyne men of Norway and herynge of the commynge of William duke of Normandy, made grete haste towarde this duke with a lytelle hoste, for he hade loste moche peple in the batelle afore-seide, and also moche departede from hym in þat he distribute not

MS. Harl. 2261.

[1] *menne*, γ.
[2] From α., γ., and Cx.
[3] *brynge*, α. and Cx.
[4] *Waleryus*, Cx.
[5] *vulde*, γ.
[6] *seilles*, α.
[7] *plas*, γ.
[8] *Peveneseye*, γ.
[9] *slode*, β. and Cx.; *a slod*, γ.
[10] *o voot*, γ.
[11] *soond*, β.
[12] From α. and Cx.
[13] *neulich*, γ.
[14] *þingis*, β.
[15] *þe*] om. α., γ., and Cx.
[16] *hurde*, γ.
[17] *wel*, α. and Cx.
[18] *hyede wel vast*, γ.
[19] *veaw*, γ.
[20] *þeyȝ*, α. and γ.; *þouȝ*, β; *though*, Cx.

infensi[1] se subtraxissent. Præmisit tamen Haraldus exploratores qui numerum et vires hostium specularentur, quos tamen dux Willelmus deprehensos circum[2] tentoria sua duxit, laute pavit, mittenti remisit; qui renunciaverunt Haraldo pœne cunctos[3] in exercitu ducis existentes presbyteros fore,[4] eo quod totam faciem cum[5] utroque labio rasam haberent. Angli vero tunc temporis superius labium fruticantibus pilis intonsum habebant. Econtra Haraldus dixit illos[6] non esse presbyteros, sed validos[7] milites. "Cur ergo," inquit Gurth frater Haraldi minimus, "tu improvidus[8] "vis cum tam multis et validis congredi? Nos sacra-"mentum illi non fecimus. Melius est ergo ut tu, qui "juramento erga eum ligaris, ad tempus te subtrahas, "et nos sacramento soluti pro patria pugnemus. Quod "si vicerimus bene quidem, si victi, salva tibi erit causa "tua, et nos vindicare poteris." Ad hæc misit dux Willelmus monachum quendam ad Haraldum tria proponens, ut vel regno cederet, vel sub eo regnaturus

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[1] *offensi*, B.
[2] *circa*, B.
[3] *multos*, B.
[4] *fore*] om. B.
[5] *cum*] om. B.
[6] *eos*, B.
[7] *strenuos*, A.
[8] *improvisus*, B.

wiþ drawe hem, for þey moste have no part of þe[1] prayes at þe bataile of þe[2] Norganes; but Harald sent forþ spies for to awaite [and see][4] þe nombre and þe strengþe of his enemyes. Duke William took þe[4] spies, and hadde[5] hem aboute his tentes and his pavylons, and fedde[6] hem riȝt realliche, and sent hem to Harold aȝen. Þanne þey tolde Harald tiþinges, and seide þat al þat were in duke William his oost were preostes, for þey hadde boþe[7] chookes[8] and boþe lippes i-schave. Englisshe men þat tyme usede þat[9] heer of hire overlippes to[10] schede[11] and nouȝt i-schore. "Nay," quod Harald, "þey beeþ "no preostes, but þei beeþ wel stalworþ[12] knyȝtes," "Þanne," quoþ Gurth, Harald his ȝongest broþer, "why wilt þu unware "fiȝte with so meny orped men? we swore[13] hym nevere non "oþe; þanne it is better þat þu þat art i-swore to hym, wiþ drawe "þe for a tyme, and lete us þat beeþ nouȝt i-swore fiȝte for þe "contray. And ȝif we haveþ[14] þe maistrie, wel it is; and ȝif "we beeþ overcome, þe cause and þe querel is sauf to þe." ȝit duke William sente a monk to Harald, and profred hym þere þre weyes, oþer [þat][3] he schulde holde þe kyngdom freliche[15] for a certeyn trbute, oþer holde þe kyngdom of duke William, TREVISA.

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the goodes geten in that felde amonge his hoste. This Harolde sende certeyne men to serche and spye prively what nowmbre of men he hade in his hostes, the seide duke fyndynge theyme abowte his tentes, refreschede theyme with meyte and drynke, and sende theym to theire lorde. Whiche commynge to kynge Harolde, seide that the moste parte of his hoste stode by prestes, in that alle theire face was schaven in that maner at that tyme. But Harolde seide they were noo prestes, but myȝhty knyȝhtes. To whom Gurth his broþer seide, "My cownsaile is that ye goe "not to the felde and we that have made noo promyse to hym "schalle fiȝhte for the cuntre, and if we have victory welle be hit. "If we be overcome thy mater schalle be goode ynowe, and thow "may venge oure dethe aftirwarde." Then this William duke of Normandy sende a monke to Harolde, purposynge thre thynges, that he scholde avoide the realme, or elles to reigne under hym, or elles to prove the victory bytwene theyme tweyne, in that MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *part of* þe] om. Cx.
[2] þe] om. α. and Cx.
[3] From α., γ, and Cx.
[4] þese, α. and Cx.
[5] *ladde*, α.; *ledde*, Cx.
[6] *vedde*, γ.
[7] *boþe*] þe, γ.
[8] *the chekes*, Cx.
[9] þe, α. and γ.
[10] *to*] om. Cx.
[11] *yschedde*, β.
[12] *stalword*, γ; *strong*, Cx.
[13] *swoor*, α.
[14] *habbeþ*, γ.
[15] *freliche . . . kyngdom*] om. α., γ., and Cx.

regnum teneret, vel spectante utroque exercitu rem inter se gladio ventilarent. Præsertim cum rex Edwardus nuper defunctus de consilio Stigandi archiepiscopi, Godewyni et[1] Sywardi comitum Angliam sibi si sine hærede decederet concessisset; in cujus rei signum filius Godewyni[2] et nepos sibi fuerant transmissi. Sed Haraldus spreta legatione monachi illius respondit negotium fore gladiis actitandum, hoc solum imprecans, ut Deus inter illos judicaret. Convenientibus ergo ad locum certaminis hinc inde exercitibus, die sancti Kalixti, pridie idus Octobris, Sabbato,[3] in loco ubi[4] postmodum constructa est abbatia de Bello, Angli[5] ut accepimus totam noctem bellum præcedentem cantibus et potibus duxerunt insomnem. Mane pedites inprimis cum bipennibus consertam scutorum testitudinem fecerunt, quod profecto valuisset nisi Normanni fugam simulassent. Rex ipse Haraldus pedes juxta vexillum suum cum fratribus suis duobus stabat, quod postmodum domino papæ transmissum fuerat. Econtra Normanni tota nocte confessione peccatorum, mane divinæ communioni vacabant, pedites cum arcubus in prima fronte, milites retro divisis alis consistebant. Comes Willelmus bel-

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[1] *et*] om. A.

[2] *Godwini*, B.

[3] *Sabbato*] per diem Sabbati, sub hora diei tertia anno ut supra, B.

[4] *ibi*, B.

[5] C.D. omit *Angli . . . Ranulphus* (p. 244)], and insert: "ab "hora diei tertia usque ad noctis "crepusculum viriliter utrimque "decertatum est, sed sagittariis ducis Willelmi prævalentibus rex "Haraldus cum duobus fratribus "suis Gurth et Leofwino ac cæteris "Angliæ nobilibus quam pluribus, "ut ferunt, in bello occubuit. *Giraldus in Itinerario.*"

and regne under[1] hym, oþer þey tweyne schulde fi3te to gidre[2] eiþer wiþ oþer in þat querel, in si3t of boþe oostes, nameliche while kyng Edward was dede þat hadde i-graunted hym Engelond, 3if he deide wiþ oute heire, and by counseile and assent of Stigandus þe archebisshop [and][3] of þe orles[4] Godwyn and Syward; in token þerof Godwyn, and Syward[5] his sone, and his nevew, were i-sent to duke William. But Harolde wolde nou3t assente to þe monkes message, but seide þat þe cause schulde be dereynede by dent[6] of swerd, and prayed oonliche þat God schulde deeme bytwene hem tweyne. Þanne the oostes in eiþer side come to þe place of þe bataille in þe day of seint Calixte þe pope, þe fourtenþe day of Octobre, in a Satirday, in þe place[7] þere þe abbay of Bataille is i-buld. As we beeþ i-formed,[8] þe ny3t tofore þe bataille, Englisshe men 3af hem to songe and to drinke[9] alny3t, and wook[10] [al ny3t].[11] Erliche amorwe foot men wiþ her axes made a greet strengþe of schildes, and sette hem to gidres, and hadde i-had þe maistrie ne hadde[12] þe Normans i-feyned to flee. Kyng Harald stood on his feet[13] by his baner wiþ his tweie breþeren: þat baner was afterward i-sent to þe pope. Þe Normans þe ny3t tofore þe bataile schroof[14] hem of her synnes, and were i-houseled erliche amorwe. Foot men and archeres were i-set in þe bataille, and þanne kny3tes wiþ wynges[15] in eiþer side. Duke

TREVISA.

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kynge Edwarde grawnte hym to be his successour if he died with owte yssue by cownsaile of nowblemen of þe realme. But Harolde despisynge the message, seide hit scholde be tryede with a swerde, preyenge God to iugge betwene þeim. The hostes gedrede and nye to gedre in the feste of seynte Calixt, men of Ynglonde 3afe theyme to ryette and syngynge in the ny3hte afore thro alle the ny3hte. And the Normannes 3afe theym to preiere, to confession of theire synnes, and in the morowe to the receyvynge of þeire Maker. In the vowarde of whom were foote men with bawes, and other partes were sette in ordre after use

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *undyr*, γ.
[2] *to gidre*] om. α. and β.
[3] From α., β., and γ.
[4] *erles*, γ.
[5] *and Syward*] om. Cx.
[6] *dynt*, α. and Cx.
[7] *plas*, γ.
[8] *enformed*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *drynke and woke al ny3t*, γ.
[10] *and wook alny3t*, α.
[11] From Cx.
[12] *nadde*, α., β. and γ.; *ne had be that*, Cx.
[13] *veet*, γ.
[14] *schrof*, β. and γ.; *shrofe*, Cx.
[15] *whynges*, γ.

lum exhortans sub ipso tumultu loricam inversam indutus, casum risu correxit, "Vertetur," inquit, "robur "comitatus in regnum." *Henricus.*[1] Sed antequam acies coirent, quidam ex parte Normannorum, nomine Taylfer,[2] ensem jactando ludens coram exercitibus, unum vexilliferum Anglorum sibi occurrentem occidit; secundo id idem de quodam alio fecit; sed tertium quoque interficiens et ipse interfectus est. Et statim acies invicem offenderunt[3] cum cantilena Rolandi ex parte Normannorum inchoata; protensumque[4] bellum ab hora diei tertia usque ad vesperam, neutra parte cedente, sed sagittarii ducis multum prævaluerunt. [5][Tunc dux] innuit suis ut fugam simularent; quo commento Anglorum cuneus solutus[6] est, quasi ad invadendum hostes palantes; sed Normanni redintegratis[7] ordinibus reversi dispersos Anglos ventilarunt. Tandem Haraldus

De morte Haraldi.

[1] Lib. vii. Script. post Bedam, p. 368.
[2] *Tailifer*, A.
[3] *offenderunt*, from A.B.; *ostenderunt*, MS.
[4] *est*, A.B.
[5] *Tunc dux*, from A.B.
[6] *solutus*, B.
[7] *reducte grat'*, B.

William confortede hym[1] to þe bataile, and was war þat his habergeon[2] was i-torned yn and out, and amended þat hap wiþ a bourde, and seide þe strengþe of an erldome schal torne into a kyngdom. *Henricus.* Bote or[3] þe scheltroms[4] com to gidres, oon of þe Normans side,[5] þat heet Talyfer by his name, cast his swerd and pleide tofore þe oostes, and slowȝ þe banerer[6] of Englisshemen þat cam aȝenst hym, and dede[7] eft þe same of anoþer; also he slowȝ þe þridde, and was i-slawe hym self. Þanne anon þe scheltrons smyte to gidres wiþ Rolond[8] his song, þat was bygonne in þe Normans side. Þe bataille dured from underne of þe day to evesong[9] tyme, and never noþer partie wolde wiþ drawe. Bote þe dukes archers hadde here forþ, þanne þe duke made a tokene to his men þat þei schulde feyne to flee. And by þat wile Englische men were begiled, and disarayed hem as it were for to pursewe,[10] and to rese on her enemyes; bote whan þe[11] Englische men [were so out of aray, þe Normans arrayed hem eft, and tornede aȝen uppon þe Englische men][12] þat outrayed,[13] and chased hem in every side. TREVISA.

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of batelle. Afore this conflicte, the seide duke turnede owte the wronge side of his haburion for haste, whiche perceyvynge that lauȝhede, seyenge an erledome is turnede to a realme. *Henricus.* But afore the hostes mette, a man of Normandy, Tailefer by name, toke a toohonded swerde, and playenge afore the hostes did slee oon of Ynglishe men berynge a standart metynge hym, and after an other, and the seide Tailefer sleynge the thrydde man was sleyne also, and with that the hostes mette togedre with a songe of Rolland begunne of the parte of the Normannes; whiche batelle was protendede from thre of the clokke untille eve, neiþer parte seasenge from fiȝhte; but the archers of the duke prevaylede moche that day. At the laste this duke made a signe to his men that thei scholde flee, that doen Ynglischemen were dispersede anoon as to folowe the chase. But the Normannes gedrede into an ordre made grete murdre then of MS. HARL. 2261. f. 334 b.

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[1] *hym*] his men, β. and Cx..; hys men, γ.
[2] *haberioun*, α. and β.; *haburion*, γ.; *haberion*, Cx.
[3] *ar*, γ.
[4] *scheltrons*, α. and β.; *er that the shiltrons*, Cx.
[5] *syde*, α.
[6] *banyour*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *dude*, γ.
[8] *Roulandes*, β.; *Roland*, γ.
[9] *eveson*, γ.
[10] *pursywe*, γ.
[11] þe] om. α.
[12] From α., γ., and Cx.
[13] *outrayed*] were out of aray, α., γ., and Cx.

ictu sagittæ violato[1] cerebro sive oculo[2] procubuit. Jacentis femur unus militum gladio infodit, ob quod a militia per Willelmum pulsus est,[3] eo[4] quod rem ignavam fecisset. Willelmus ea die tres equos electissimos sub se confossos amisit; perstitit tamen ita[5] ut nil sanguinis de corpore suo exiret. Peracta victoria Willelmus suos occisos sepelit;[6] hostibus, si qui vellent, id idem concessit.[7] Corpus Haraldi matri ejus id deposcenti sine pretio misit, quod ipsa apud Waltham monasterium [canonicorum quod ipse fundaverat sepelivit.][8] *Ranulphus.* Vult autem[9] Giraldus Cambrensis[10] in suo itinerario quod[11] Haraldus multis confossus vulneribus, oculoque sinistro sagitta perdito, ad partes Cestrenses[12] victus evasit,[13] ubi[14] sancta conversatione vitam ut creditur anachoritam in cella Sancti[15] Jacobi juxta ecclesiam Sancti Johannis feliciter consummavit,[16] quod ex ejus ultima confessione palam [fuit].[16] Huic et[17] opinioni attestatur fama publica in urbe,[18]

Haraldus apud Waltham sepelitur.

[1] *violento*, A.
[2] *per medium oculis*, B.
[3] *est*] om. B.
[4] *eo*] om. A.
[5] *ita*] om. B.
[6] *sepelivit*, B.
[7] *concedit*, A.B.
[8] From A.B.
[9] *tamen*, A.B.
[10] *Cambrensis*] om. B.
[11] *Rectius tamen æstimatur quod ipse rex*, C.D.
[12] *Cestriæ*, A.B.
[13] *vivus vadit*, B.
[14] *ubi*, from B.; *ut*, MS.
[15] *Sancti*] om. C.D.
[16] *fuit*, from A.B.; *fuit. Cujus tumba adhuc in ecclesia Sancti Johannis Cestriæ ad dorsum crucis in medio areæ crebro ostenditur. Alfridus*, C.D.
[17] *etiam*, A.; *autem*, B.
[18] *illa*, A.B.

At þe laste Haralde was i-hit[1] wiþ an arwe, and lost his oon eyȝe,[2] and was i-hurt in þe brayn and fil[3] downe in þat place. And oon of þe knyȝtes [smote hym][4] in þe þigh while he lay þere: þerfore William put þat knyȝt out of þat[5] chivalrie, for he hadde i-doo an unkonnynge dede. Þat day William lost þre þe beste hors þat he hadde, and tweie[6] i-stiked riȝt under hym; but he bare hym so þat no blood come out of his body. Whanne þe victorie was i-doo, William buried his men þat were i-slawe, and graunted his enemyes to doo þe same who þat wolde, and sente Harald his body to Harald his moder wiþ oute eny mede,[7] as sche[8] hadde i-prayed, and sche buried hym at Waltham in þe abbay of chanouns þat Harald hadde i-founded. R. Bote Giralde Cambrensis in his book þat hatte Itinerarius wolde mene þat Harald hadde many woundes and loste his left yȝe[9] wiþ a strook of an arwe,[10] and was overcome, and scapede to þe contray of Chestre, and lyvede þere holily, as me troweþ, an ankers lyf in Seint Iames celle faste[11] by Seint Iohn his chirche, and made a gracious ende, and þat was i-knowe by his laste confessioun; and þe comyn[12] fame accordeþ in þat citee to þat sawe. Also Aluredus

TREVISA.

Ynglischemen. At the laste kynge Harolde persede with an arowe thro the eie in the breyne diede þer; whiche dedde and lyenge on the grounde, a knyȝhte of Normandy pereschede his hippe with a spere. The seide duke perceyvynge that, expellede that knyȝhte utterly from his servyce, in that he did ageyne knyȝhtehode. This William duke of Normandy loste thre noble horses sleyne under hym þat day, ȝitte he schedde not oon drope of bloode. That victory hade, William commaunded his men to be beriede, grawntynge licence to his adversaries to bery theire dedde men also, sendynge the body of Harolde to his moder desirenge hit, whiche sche beryede at þe monastery of Waltham, whom sche made. R. Neverthelesse Geraldus rehersethe in his itinerary that Harolde wounded soore, and his lifte eie pereschede with an arowe fledde to the cite of Chestre, where he lyvede as an ankor in a chapelle of Seynte Iames nye to the churche of seynte Iohn. This reporte is hade communely in the same cite, and also Aluredus Ryvallense, in his xxvj^ti

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *smyten*, Cx.
[2] *on ye*, γ.
[3] *on þe breyn and vul*, γ.
[4] From β. and Cx.
[5] *þat*] om. Cx.
[6] *were*, α., γ., and Cx.
[7] *myde*, γ.
[8] *heo*, β.; *hue*, γ.
[9] *ye*, γ.; *lyft eye*, Cx.
[10] *arewe*, γ.
[11] *vaste*, γ.
[12] *commune*, Cx.

et etiam Aluredus Ryvallensis in vita regis Edwardi, capitulo xxvi., in fine, ubi dicit quod Haraldus aut misere occubuit aut pœnitentiæ reservatus evasit. *Alfridus.* Regis igitur Haraldi morte nunciata, comites Merciorum et Northimbrensium,[1] Edwynus et Morkarus, qui propter loci arctitudinem, seu potius propter manubias in bello Norico minus distributas, ab Haraldo[2] se subtraxerant, Londoniam venerunt; sororem suam Algitham,[3] Haraldi uxorem, ad urbem Legionum,[4] id est Cestriam, transmiserunt, ac una cum Aldredo Eboracensi archiepiscopo et Londoniensibus Edgarum Adeling[5] in regem erigere, et pro eo pugnare, promiserunt;[6] sed Willelmi timore invalescente[7] a promissis resilierunt; unde et hi omnes cum cæteris nobilibus ad Willelmum venientes, datis obsidibus cum fidelitate jurata,[8] manus ei dederunt.

Explicit Liber Sextus.

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[1] *Northimbrorum*, A.

[2] *seu . . . Haraldo*] om. C.D.

[3] *Agitham*, A.; *Agiltham reginam regis*, C.D.

[4] *quod nunc Cestria dicitur, eo quod remota esset, et tuta transmiserunt*, C.D.

[5] *regis Eadmundi ferrei nepotem*, C.D.

[6] *permiserunt*, B.

[7] *paulatim*, C.D.

[8] C.D. add: "die Natalis Domini, " quæ tunc feria secunda evenit, " apud Westmonasterium dux Wil- " lelmus coronatus est in regem ab " Aldredo Eboracensi. Nam licet " Stigandus Dorobornensis pluri- " mum ei blandiretur, coronam ta- " men de manu ejus recipere recusa- " vit, astucia profecto qua pollebat " prohibitores ex parte papæ sub- " ornante. Juravit rex in corona- " tione sua, tactis sacrosanctis, " quod jura ecclesiæ defenderet, " populum suum juste regeret, leges " rectas statueret. Origo autem " causæ quia dux Willelmus An- " gliam petiit hæc est. Orto ali- " quando inter regem Edwardum " et comitem Godwinum gravi dis- " cidio, comes exilio pellitur; qui " tandem reconciliatus dedit regi " obsides, Wilnotum filium suum, et " et Hakun filium Suani filii sui; " quos obsides rex Edwardus misit " statim duci Normanniæ Willel- " mo custodiendos. Mortuo post " hoc Godwino, petiit Haraldus " filius ejus licentiam a rege Ed- " wardo, et vix optinuit, ut visitare " posset fratrem suum et nepotem " in transmarinis partibus, et for-

Rivallensis [in][1] seint Edward his lyf, capitulo 26° in þe ende, [þere][2] seiþ þat Harald oþer deide wrecchedly, oþer he askapede, and was i-kept to do verray[3] penaunce. R. Þanne whanne king Haraldes deep was i-knowe, þe erles of Norþhumberlond and of Mercia, Edwyn and Markarus, þat hadde wiþdrawe hem self[4] from Harald for streytenes of places, oþer more verrayliche[5] for wreþþe þat þe prayes were nouȝt i-deled at þe bataile of Noregane, þei[6] come to Londoun, and took [her][7] suster Algitha, Harald his wif, and sent hire to Chestre; and þei and Aluredus[8] archebisshop of ȝork and þe Londoners byhet[9] þat þei wolde make Edgar Adlyng kyng, and fiȝte for hym; but for þe drede of William encresed þey wiþ drow hem, and fulfilled[10] nouȝt þat þey hadde byhote. And alle þese[11] wiþ oþere noble men come to William and ȝaf hym plegges, and swoor hym fewte and dede hym suerte.[12] TREVISA.

Explicit liber sextus.

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chapitre, in the ende, rehersethe in the lyfe of seynte Edward that Harolde other diede miserably or was reservede to penaunce. *Alfridus*. The dethe of kynge Harolde schewede, Edwinus and Morkarus, erles of the Marches and of Northumbrelonde, whiche withdrawede theyme from kynge Harolde, come to London; whiche sende Algitha theire sustir, wife of Harolde, to the cite of Chestre, with Aldredus archebischop of Yorke and of London, promisynge to erecte Edgarus Adelynge into kynge, and to fiȝhte for hym. But the fame of this noble duke sprynggynge thei wente from theire purpose, whiche commynge to the seide duke ȝafe theire hondes to hym promisynge fidelite, plegges and suertes þereof taken to the seide duke of Normandy. MS. HARL. 2261.

Explicit liber sextus.

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[1] From Cx.; *and* MS.
[2] *he*] add. β.
[3] *worþy*, α. and Cx.
[4] *hamsylf*, γ.
[5] *vereylich*, γ.
[6] *hy*, γ.
[7] From β. and Cx; *here*, α. and γ.
[8] *Aldredus*, α. and Cx.
[9] *byhyte*, γ.
[10] *folvullede*, γ.
[11] *þues*, γ.
[12] *surte*, γ.

INCIPIT LIBER SEPTIMUS.

Cap. I.

[*De Willelmo primo, Angliæ rege.*]

Gratiæ MLXVI. Willelmi primo. Coronatio Willelmi Conquestoris.

Willelmus igitur[1] Londoniam veniens coronatus est in regem apud Westimonasterium ab Aldredo Eboracensi,

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" san reducere si posset. Nave " tum ascensa jactatus est in Pon- " ticum, quem consul terræ tradidit " duci Willelmo Normanniæ. Cui " tandem vix liberato ait dux Wil- " lelmus; Rex Angliæ Edwardus " dum simul juvenes morabamur, " fide interposita pollicitus est mihi " quod si rex foret et hæredem non " haberet, jus regni in me trans- " ferret. Tu quoque si in hoc ne- " gocio opera mihi tuleris, et cas- " tellum Dovoriæ cum puteo aquæ " quem in eo facies ad opus meum " servaveris, et modo nepotem tuum, " et cum in Angliam regnaturus " venero fratrem tuum, incolumem " recipies, et quicquid a me ratio- " nabiliter postulaveris, optinebis. " Sensit Haroldus periculum, et " perlatis reliquiis ad promissa " servanda juramentum præstitit. " Recepto itaque nepote patriam " rediens, cuncta ex ordine regi " narravit. Cui rex : Nonne dixi " tibi me ab olim ducem Willel- " mum novisse, et te in regni jac- " turam recessisse. Præsensi ex " hoc clades regno venturas, quæ " ne in diebus meis contigant Deum " rogo. Obiit tandem Edwardus; " successit Haraldus. Cui protinus " mandavit dux Willelmus quod, " quamvis violata fide cætera non " servasset, si tamen filiam suam " in conjugem duceret, leviter cæ- " tera cuncta ferret, alioquin reg- " num Angliæ cito invaderet. At " ille respondit, nec hoc facere, " nec aliud formidare. Unde dux " Willelmus indignatus, et mortem " Aluredi cognati una cum pro- " scriptione Roberti archiepiscopi " per Godwinum procuratis re- " center recordatus, præmonstrato " prius domino papæ jure quod in " regno Angliæ sic competeret, " Angliam occupavit, prælium in- " stauravit. De quo prælio puta- " bantur Franci qui interfuerant " quod cum tanta strages et fuerat " Normannorum, victoria indubi- " tanter sit Dei judicio, non hu- " manæ potentiæ adscribenda. *Hen- " ricus, lib. vi.* Consultantibus " Normanniæ proceribus adinvicem " supra hoc expedicionis negocio; " Willelmus filius Osberti, ducis " Willelmi dapifer, iter dissuasit, " tam propter paucitatem adven- " tantium tum propter ferocitatem " hostium. Exhilarati ex hoc pro- " ceres posuerunt verba sua in ore " illius dapiferi. Ille vero cum " coram duce venisset, se cum " cæteris paratum esse ad expedi- " tionem, nec poterant cæteri pro " pudore se substrahere. Explicit " liber sextus, incipit liber sep- " timus."

[1] *ut prædictum est apud West-monasterium die Natalis in regem coronatus in proxima*, C.D.

INCIPIT LIBER SEPTIMUS. TREVISA.

Capitulum primum.

WHAN[1] William cam to London and was i-corowned kyng at Westmynstre[2] of Aldredus archebisshop of ȝork, and voydede

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INCIPIT LIBER SEPTIMUS. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum primum.

THIS noble duke commen to London, was crownede kynge at Westemynstre of Aldredus archebischop of Yorke, Stigan-

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[1] *Thanne*, α. and β.

[2] *Westmonaster*, γ.

declinato Stigando Cantuariensi, die Natalis Domini, quæ tunc feria secunda accidit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus,*[1] *libro primo.*[2] Sed in proxima Quadragesima Normanniam adiit, fratrem suum Odonem Baiocensem episcopum ad custodiam Anglorum reliquit,[3] plures[4] Angliæ nobiles secum duxit, scilicet comites Edwynum et Morkarum, Edgarum Adeling, et potissime Stigandum archiepiscopum, quamvis in hoc jugiter renitentem, sed velamine tamen honoris hoc fecit, ne quid perfidiæ se absente per ejus auctoritatem pullularet in Anglia. Inter quæ difficile est dictu quantis eum exceperit[5] obsequiis, dignanter assurgendo, processionaliter occurrendo, longa serie pompæ. Sed[6] quicquid his tegebatur involucris erupit postmodum in clarum quando, veniente[7] Angliam legato papæ, de regis conniventia consilium celebrante,[8] Stigandus depositus est, fidem regis jugiter interpellans. Rex autem, ut satis noverat,[9] blande se excusans, et præceptum papæ[10] objiciens, Stigandum quoad viveret in vinculis Wyntoniæ detinuit. *Alfridus.* Post hæc imminente hieme rex Willelmus Angliam rediit, impor-

Depositio Stigandi archiepiscopi.

[1] *Regibus*, B.
[2] lib. iii. Script. post Bedam, p. 271.
[3] *Angliæ reliquit*, A.; *Angliæ dimisit*, B.
[4] *plures*] om. B.
[5] *extemperit*, B.
[6] *et*, A.
[7] *in*, B.
[8] *de . . . celebrante*] om. B.
[9] *voverat*, C.D.
[10] *se*, B.

Stygandus archebisshop of Caunterbury, and was i-crowned in a mydwynter day, þat fil þat ȝere on[1] a Monday. *Willelmus de Pontificibus.* But þe nexte Lente[2] þerafter he wente into Normandie, and lefte his broþer, bisshop of Bayon, to kepe Engelond. And hadde wiþ hym [þe][3] gentile men, and nameliche þe eorles Edwyn and Markarus[4] and Edgar Edlyng,[5] and most nameliche Stigandus þe archebisshop, þei[6] [he][7] wiþstood in þat al þat he myȝte, he ladde hem wiþ hym as it were for to doo hem worschippe, bote his meyny[8] specialliche for non tresoun schulde be i-doo, in his absence[9] in Engelond, by auctorite of Stigandus. Among all oþere it is harde for to telle how grete worschippe he dede[10] to Stigandus, for he wold arise aȝenst hym and come aȝenst hym wiþ processioun, and þat wiþ greet boost and array, bote al þat was i-closed and i-hid[11] in þat doynge come out afterward clere i-now whanne þe popes legat com into Engelond, and made a counsaille by assent of þe kyng, and Stigandus was i-sette downe[12] and praied besiliche[13] þe kyng of his grace. Þe kyng excused hymself wiþ faire wordes, as he kowþe[14] wel inow, and seide þat he myȝte nouȝt doo aȝenst þe popes wille and[15] heste. And so he heelde[16] Stigandus in bondes at Wynchestre terme of his lif. *Alfridus.* Here after aȝenst wynter kyng William cam into Engelond, TREVISA.

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dus archebischop of Yorke[17] declynede, on Christemasse day. *Willelmus, libro primo.* Whiche wente to Normandy in Lente nexte folowynge, levynge Odo the bischop Baiocense, his brother, to kepe Ynglonde, takynge with hym the noble men of Ynglonde, Edwynus the erle and Morkarus, Edgar Adelynge, and specially Stigandus archebischop of Cawnterbery, þauȝhe he was lothe þerto, leste eny treason scholde reigne in Ynglonde by his falsenesse in the absence of the kynge. And what folowede of that Stigandus archebischop of Cawnterbery hit schalle be expresse in his place and ordre. *Alfridus.* After that, wynter drawynge nye, kynge William re- MS. HARL. 2261. f. 335 a.

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[1] *on*] in, β.
[2] *Leynte*, α. and β.
[3] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[4] *Morkarus*, α.
[5] *Adelyng*, α. and β.; *Adelynge*, γ.
[6] *þei*] though, Cx.
[7] From α. and β.
[8] *menynge*, α. and γ.; *menyng*, β.; *mening*, Cx.
[9] *absens*, γ.
[10] *dide*, β.
[11] *yhud*, γ.
[12] *deposed and set a doun*, Cx.
[13] *bysyliche*, γ.
[14] *kouþe*, α.; *couþe*, β.
[15] *wille and*] om. α. and γ.
[16] *hilde*, α.; *huld*, γ.
[17] Sic.

Gratiæ MLXVII. Willelmi II.

tabile tributum Anglis induxit. Civitatem Excestriam contra se rebellantem obsedit et infregit. Githa comitissa, uxor quondam Godewini, relicta urbe, Flandriam navigio transiit. *Willelmus de Regibus,*[1] *libro tertio.*[2] In ista obsidione murale urbis quasi ultro decidit, et ingressum patefecit. Nam unus e civibus supra murum stans nudato inguine pudendo sonitu auram fœdaverat. Hoc quoque anno proceres Northimbrorum sævitiam Willelmi formidantes, sumptis secum Edgaro Adeling cum matre sua Agatha ac sororibus duabus Margareta et Christiana, ad regem Scotorum Malcolmum navigaverunt.[3] *Ranulphus.* Volunt tantum[4] nonnulli quod Edgarus prædictus videns res Anglorum undique turbari, ascensa navi cum matre sua et sororibus reverti in patriam propriam qua natus fuerat disponebat, sed[5] suborta tempestate Scotiam adire cogebatur. Qua occasione actum est ut rex Scotiæ Malcolmus Margaretam duceret in uxorem, de qua genuit sex filios et duas filias. E

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[1] Script. post Bedam, p. 102, but the reading is *Oxoniam*, not *Exoniam* or *Excestriam*: but see Freeman's Norman Conquest, vol. iv., p. 156.

[2] C.D. add: "et cito post Matilda uxor regis Willelmi Angliam venit, et ab Aluredo Eboracensis regina coronatur."

[3] *navigarunt*, A.

[4] *tamen*, A.; *tamen quidam*, C.D.

[5] *et*, A.

and put[1] a tribut uppon Englisshe men grettere þan þey myȝte bere, and byseged[2] Excetre, þat was rebel aȝenst hym, and brak þe citee. Githa þe countas,[3] þat was somtyme Godwyn his wif, forsook[4] þe citee, and seilled into Flaundres. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 3°. In þis seege þe towne wal fil[5] downe as it were for the nones, and so þe enemyes come yn; for oon of þe enemyes[6] stood on þe wal, and dede[7] doun þe[8] breeche, and defouled þe ayer wiþ þe foule[9] noyse of his neþer ende. Also [þat ȝer][10] þe lordes of Northumberlond dradde þe cruelnesse[11] of William, and took wiþ hem Edgar Adelyng, and his moder Agath, and his tweie sustres Margarete[12] and Cristian, and seilled[13] to Malcolyn[14] kyng of Scotland. ℟. Bote som men wil mene þat þis Edgar sigh þat þe þinges of Englische men [were][15] destourbed in everiche side, and took a schippe, and caste forto seille wiþ his moder and his tweie sustres[16] into his own contray þere he was i-bore; bote þere come greet tempest and droof[17] hym into Scotlond. By occasion þerof it was þat Malcomus[18] kyng of Scotlond wedded Edgar his suster Margarete,[19] and gat[20] on here sixe sones and tweie douȝtres.

TREVISA.

turnede to Yngelonde, commaundynge the peple to pay a tribute as importable to theyme; segynge the cite of Excestre, rebellynge ageyn hym, and brake hit; and Githa cowntesse, somme tyme wife of Godewinus the erle, levynge the cite, fledde to Flandres. Gentillemen off Northumbrelonde, dredynge cruellenesse of kynge William, takenge with theim Edgar Adelynge, and Agatha his moder, with Margaret and Christian his susters, saylede to Malcolmus kynge of Scottes. ℟. But mony men reherse that Edgar Adelynge, seenge Ynglonde to be trowblede on every side, takynge schippe with his moder and ij. susters, intended to have sailede into the cuntre where he was borne, but a tempeste trowblenge the see, he was brouȝhte into Scotlonde. Where hit happede þat Malcolmus kynge of Scottes mariede Margaret suster of Edgar to his wife, of whom he gate vj. sonnes and ij. doȝhters;

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *pot*, γ.
[2] *biseȝide*, β.
[3] *contas*, α.
[4] *vorsouk*, γ.
[5] *vul*, γ.
[6] *cyteseyns*, Cx.
[7] *dude*, γ.
[8] þe] hys, γ.
[9] *voul*, γ.
[10] From α.
[11] *cruwelnes*, γ.
[12] *Margreet*, α.; *Margret*, β., et infra.
[13] *seylide*, β.
[14] *Malcolin*, γ.
[15] From α. and γ.
[16] *sosters*, γ.
[17] *drof*, γ.
[18] *Malcolyn*, Cx.
[19] *soster Margrete*, γ.
[20] *gat*] om. α.

quibus Edgarus, Alexander, David reges post patres fuerunt;[1] Matilda nupsit regi Anglorum Henrico primo de quibus processit Matildis imperatrix.[2] Altera filia Maria nupsit Eustachio comiti Bononiæ, de qua processit Matildis quæ post nupsit regi[3] Stephano. Hoc quoque anno rex Willelmus firmavit castrum apud Snotyngham et aliud apud Lincolniam et duo castra apud Eboracum.[4] Hoc[5] etiam anno Matildis regina Angliam veniens de Normannia coronata est ab Aldredo.[6]

Matildis uxor Willelmi conquestoris coronata est ab episcopo Aldredo.

Gratiæ MLXVIII. Willelmi III.

De adventu Danorum.[7] Haraldus et Canutus filii Swani regis Danorum cum ducentis navibus[8] in ostio Humbræ fluminis applicuerunt, quibus Edgarus Adeling[9] se dedit.[10] De quorum adventu archiepiscopus Aldredus tam tristis effectus est ut moreretur iii. idus Septembris. Octavo post hoc die Normanni custodes castellorum[11] timentes ne domus suburbii forent Danis suffragia[12] ad implendum fossas, eas incenderunt; sed flamma nimis ex-

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[1] *primogenita filia*, B.
[2] *de . . . imperatrix*] om. B.
[3] *Angliæ*, C.D.
[4] *Alfridus*, C.D.
[5] *Hoc . . . Danorum*] om. C.D.
[6] *Alfredo*, B.
[7] A.B. omit heading.
[8] *de Dacia venientes*, C.D.
[9] *Eadelyng*, B.
[10] *junxit*, C.D.
[11] *castrorum Eboraci*, B.
[12] *eas incendere ceperunt*, C.D.

Þre of his sones were kynges after þe fadir, Edgar, Alisaundre, and David. Moold,[1] Malcolynes douȝter was i-maried to þe firste Henry kyng of Engelond; of hym[2] com Moold þe emperesse.[3] Þe oþer douȝter Marie was i-maried to Eustas erle of Bonoun;[4] of here com Moold þat was i-maried to kyng Stevene. Also þat ȝere kyng William made a strong castel at Snotingham, [þat now hatte Notyngham,][5] and anoþer at[6] Lincolne, and tweyne at ȝork. Also þat ȝere Moold[7] þe queene com out of Normandie into Engelond, and was i-crowned of Aldredus. Harald and Canutus, þe sones of Swanus kyng of Denmark,[8] come alonde in þe mowþe of Humber wiþ two hundred schippes. Edgar Adelyng ȝaf hemself[9] to hym. Aldredus þe archebisshop was sory[10] for her comynge, þat he deide for sorwe þe enlevenþe day of Septembre. Þe eiȝteþe day þerafter þe Normans þat kepte castelles dredde lest þe hous[11] of þe suburbes[12] schulde helpe þe Danes to fille þe diches, and þerfore þei sette hem a fuyre. Bote þe leye[13] aroos to hiȝe,[14] and brende þe citee of ȝork, wiþ

TREVISA.

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of whiche vj. sonnes iij. were kynges by succession, Edgar, Alexander, and David. And oon of here doȝhters, Matilda by name, was mariede to Henre the firste, kynge of Yngelonde. That other doȝhter, Mary by name, was mariede to Eustachius erle of Bonony, of whom Matildis come, whiche was mariede afterwarde to kynge Steven. Kynge William made a castelle at Snotyngham þis yere, an other at Lyncolne, and ij. castells at Yorke. Matildis the qwene commynge from Normandy into Ynglonde, was crownede in this yere of Aldredus. Harold and Canutus, sonnes of Suanus kynge of Danes, londed in the water of Humbre, with cc. schippes; to whom Edgar Adelynge wente; for the commynge of whom Aldredus archebischop of Yorke was so sory that he died in the viij[the] day folowynge. The Normannes kepers of the castelle of Yorke, dredynge that the howses of the subarbes scholde be helpe and socoure to the Danes, sette fire in theyme, whiche encreasynge moche, turnede into the cite, and brente a grete parte of the cite with

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Mold*, α., β., and Cx., et infra.
[2] *ham*, γ.
[3] *emperyce*, Cx.
[4] *Bonon*, γ.
[5] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[6] *hatte*, α.
[7] *Mold*, γ., et supra.
[8] *Denmarch*, β.
[9] *hymself*, Cx.
[10] *so soory*, Cx.
[11] *houses*, Cx.
[12] *soubarbes*, α.; *subarbes*, γ.
[13] *lyȝe*, γ.; *lyght*, Cx.
[14] *lyȝe aros to heyȝ*, β.

crescens urbem Eboracum cum ipso monasterio sancti[1] consumpsit. Sed ante finem incendii Danica classis supervenit, et de conniventia civium plusquam tria millia Normannorum trucidavit. Inde rex Willelmus indignatus ita provinciam illam devastavit ut fame invalescente homines equinam, catinam, caninam,[2] et etiam humanam carnem comederent; terra etiam quæ inter

Francos valide et nimis constringere.

Eboracum et Dunelmum jacet novem annis habitatore et cultore caruit, excepto solo territorio[3] Johannis Beverlacensis, nam ibi quidam regis miles vindictam incurrit fracto collo equi sui et propria facie retorta. Tunc etiam monasterium Bedæ, quod fuerat in Girvum super

Gratiæ MLXIX. Willelmi IIII.

ripam Wyri fluminis, combustum est.[4] Hoc anno Malcolmus terram Northimbrorum ita devastavit ut occisis[5] senibus et debilibus robustos[6] quosque perpetua servitute damnaret,[7] in tantum quod[8] vix esset domus in Scotia[9] quin servum aut ancillam Anglicam

Rex Willelmus cepit thesauros monasteriorum.

haberet. Rex Willelmus quorundam ductus consilio omnia monasteria Angliæ fecit perscrutari, et pecuniam[10] inventam in suum ærarium transferri. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.*[11] Cito post hoc in octabas

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[1] *Petri*, A.B.
[2] *caninam*] om. B.
[3] *Sancti*, B.
[4] C.D. add: "Hoc etiam anno "Marianus Scotus post decem an- "nos suæ inclusionis apud Fuldam "jussu Maguntini episcopi juxta "Maguntinam includitur."
[5] *occisis*] om. B.
[6] *robustos*] om. B.
[7] *dampnavit*] om. B.
[8] *ut*, B.
[9] *in Scotia*] om. B.
[10] *quæ propter ejus tutiorem in eis reposita fuerat*, C.D.
[11] C.D. omit heading.

þe mynistre[1] of Seint Peter. But or þe fuyre were i-doo[2] cam þe strengþe of Danes, and slowȝ by assent of þe citeȝeyns moo þan þre þowsand[3] [of][4] Normans. Þanne kyng William was wrooþ, and destroyed[5] so þat province þat for greet honger men ete hors flesche, [houndes flesche][6] cattes flesche, and manis flesche. Also þe lond þat lieth[7] bytwene ȝork and Durham was nyne ȝere wiþ oute teliers[8] and wonyers,[9] out take onliche seint Iohn of Beverlay his lond, for þere fil a wreche uppon oon of þe kynges knyȝtes, for his hors nekke was to brooke and his face i-torned bakward.[10] Also þat tyme was i-brend Seint Beda his abbay þat was in Girvum uppon þe brynke of þe ryver Wire. Þat ȝere Malcolyn destroyed so Northumberlond þat he slowȝ alle þe olde men and feble, and made þe strong bond[11] for evermore,[12] so þat unneþe was eny hous in Scotlond wiþ oute an Englisshe bonde man or womman. Kyng William, by counseille of oþer men, made serche[13] all þe abbayes of Engelond, and took al þe tresorie[14] into his owne tresorie. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Sone þer-

TREVISA.

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the monastery of Seynte Petyr. But the Danes come or that brennynge was seasede, and did sle moo then iij. m[l] of the Normannes. Kynge William havynge indignacion thereof, wastede that province, insomoche that men did eite horses, cattes, dogges, and also the flesche of men for hungre, and the cuntre betwene Yorke and Dirham wontede inhabitators by ix. yere, the grownde or territory of Seynte Iohn of Beverlay except, where a knyȝhte of the kynge suffrede vengeaunce, for his horse brake his necke, and his face was turnede bakwarde. The monastery of Bede, whiche was sette on the brynke of the water of Wyre,was brente. Malcolmus kynge of Scottes wastede the cuntre of Northumbrelonde in this yere, insomoche that þer was unnethe eny howse in Scottelonde, but other a man or woman of Ynglonde was in hit. Kynge William by cownsaile of somme men causede alle monasteryes in Ynglonde to be serchede, commaundynge the money founde þer to be brouȝhte to his treasure. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* A cownsaile

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 335 b.

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[1] *monaster*, γ. ; *mynster*, Cx.
[2] *doon*, β.
[3] The word *citee* is here wrongly inserted in MS.
[4] From α. ; *citeseyns, mo þan þre þowsand of*, γ.
[5] *distruyede*, β.
[6] From α. and β. ; *hondes fleysch*, γ. ; *houndes flessh*, Cx.
[7] *liþ*, β.
[8] *tylyer*, γ.
[9] *tilies and wonyer*, α. ; *tylier and wonyer*, β. ; *tylyer and wonyer*, Cx.
[10] *bacward*, β.
[11] *boond*, β., et infra.
[12] *reverence*, Cx.
[13] *sarche*, γ.
[14] *money*, β., γ., and Cx.

Paschæ celebratum est consilium Wyntoniense[1] annuente papa Alexandro II°., præsentibus ibidem duobus cardinalibus. In quo degradatus est Stigandus archiepiscopus tribus de causis. Primo quia episcopatum Wyntoniensem simul cum archiepiscopatu Cantuariensi[2] injuste tenuerat. Secundo quia vivente Roberto archiepiscopo archiepiscopatum occupavit, et pallio ibidem relicto usus est absque beneplacito sedis apostolicæ. Tertio quia a Benedicto papa, quem ecclesia Romana excommunicaverat, pallium acceperat. Sed quamvis Stigandus[3] amicitiam jugiter interpellaret, rex blande ut noverat mandatis papalibus se excusans, Stigandum in vinculis[4] apud Wyntoniam conjecit quoad vixit,[5] parum ei de fisco ad victum quotidie conferens. Ipse nempe[6] Stigandus ingenitæ[7] mentis duritia nihil de proprio admittere[8] volens, pejeravit[9] se per omnem sanctum nummum non habere. Cujus fidei obviavit quod collo exanimati corporis clavicula dependens magnarum

Degradatus est Stigandus archiepiscopus de tribus causis.

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[1] *apud Wintoniam*, B.
[2] *Cantuariæ tenuerat*, A.
[3] *regis*, A.B.
[4] *vincula*, B.
[5] *quoad viveret tenuit*, C.D.
[6] *namque*, B.
[7] *ingenti*, A.
[8] *amittere*, B.
[9] *perjuravit*, B.

after in þe utas[1] of Esterne[2] was a counsaile i-made at Wynchestre by assent of þe secounde pope Alisaundre : þere were tweie[3] cardynales present. In þat counseil Stigandus þe archebisshop was degrated for þre skiles: ffirst,[4] for he hadde i-holde wrongfulliche þe bisshopriche of Wynchestre and þe archebisshopriche of Canturbury [at ones; þe secunde vor he huld and ocupyede þe archebyschopryche of Canturbury][5] while Roberd þe archebisshop was on[6] lyve, and used þe palle þat was þere i-left wiþ oute leve of þe court of Rome; þe þridde,[7] for he hadde i-fonge þe palle of pope Benet þat was acorsed of þe chirche of Rome. And þeiȝ Stigandus souȝte besiliche frendschipe[8] of þe kyng, þe kyng excused hym self smeliche,[9] as he wel kowþe, by þe popes maundement, and caste Stigandus into bondes at Wynchestre to his lyves ende, and ȝaf hym eche day a litel what of enchetes to lyve by. Stygandus was kyndeliche[10] so hard þat he wolde fonge riȝt nouȝt of his owne, and swoor by all halwen[11] þat he hadde nevere a peny. Bote þat ooth was i-preved untrewe by a [litel][12] keye þat heng aboute his nekke whanne he

Trevisa.

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was kepede soone after at Wynchestre in the octaves of Ester, by commaundement of pope Alexander the secunde, ij. cardinalls beynge presente þer, in whiche cownsaile Stigandus archebischop of Cawnterbery was deposede for thre causes. The firste cause was for he occupiede ageyne the lawe the seete of Wynchestre with the seete of Cawnterbery also; the secunde was for he occupiede the seete of Cawnterbery, Robert tharchebischop beynge in lyve, and usede the palle lefte þer with owte licence of the pope; the thrydde cause was for he toke a palle of Benedict pope, whom the churche of Rome hade excommunicate. This Stigandus, makynge grete lamentacion with meke supplicacion, and preyenge the kynge of favor, prevaylede not, the kynge seyenge to hym he muste nedely obbey the writynge of the pope; and so Stigandus was sende to Wynchestre, and kepyde þer tyme of his lyfe in prison, havynge but a litelle summe assignede to his exhibicion. This Stigandus inquirede of his goodes, beynge hevy to lose theym, did swere by alle seyntes he hade not oon peny. Whiche was founde to have hade a keye secretely abowte his necke of grete treasures

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *eotas*, β.; *eoytaues*, γ.
[2] *Ester*, α., β., and Cx.
[3] *twy*, γ.
[4] *vurste*, γ.
[5] From γ.
[6] *on*] a, γ.
[7] *þe þridde*] om. Cx.
[8] *frenschip*, β.; *vrendschip*, γ.
[9] *smetheliche*, α.; *smeþelich*, β.; *smeþelyche*, γ.; *swetely*, Cx.
[10] *kundelych*, γ.
[11] *halewen*, β.
[12] From α. and Cx.; *lytel*, γ.

opum in subterraneis specubus repertarum[1] indicium fuit.[2] Depositi sunt et[3] in eodem [consilio][4] plures episcopi et abbates, procurante id potissime rege Willelmo, ut in locis eorum personas Normannicas introduceret. Quidem autem arbitrati sunt eum id fecisse ad majorem regni sui confirmationem. In hoc etiam consilio sanctus Wulstanus episcopus Wygorniensis quasdam possessiones sui episcopatus per Aldredum[5] Eboracensem[6] retentas, et post ejus mortem in potestatem regiam devolutas, constanter repetiit. Verum quia Eboracensis ecclesia tunc muta erat,[7] eo quod vacaret,[8] decretum est ut[9] ipsa querela interim maneret intacta. Post hæc[10] die Pentecostis apud Wyndesoram rex Willelmus contulit

Thomas archiepiscopus Eboracensis.

archiepiscopatum Eboracensem Thomæ canonico Bajocensi, *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio,*[11] viro quidem vultu et sermone comi,[12] qui pulcram ecclesiam apud Eboracum construxit, canonicos ditavit, cantus ecclesiasticos composuit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.*[13] Post hoc rex accito de Normannia Lanfranco

Nota de Lanfranco: genere Italicus erat.

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[1] *repositarum*, B.
[2] *Florentius*, add C.D.
[3] *et*] om. A.; etiam, B.
[4] *consilio*, from B.C.D.
[5] *suum prædecessorem dum ad archiepiscopatum Eboracensis transiret rententas*, C.D.
[6] *archiepiscopum*, B.
[7] *erat*] om. A
[8] *pastore carebat*, C.D.
[9] *quod*, B.
[10] *hoc*, A.
[11] It should be *primo*. The reference is as above, and so are the others in this chapter.
[12] *comptu*, C.D.
[13] C.D. omit reference.

TREVISA.

was deed, ffor by þat keye was i-founde greet riches in meny places under erþe.[1] Also in þat counsaille [were y-sett doun meny bisshops and abbotes, namelyche by procurynge[2] of kyng William, for he wolde brynge yn Normans in here stede. Som men trowede[3] þat he dede[4] so for he wolde be þe more sicker[5] of þe kyngdom. Also in þat counsail][6] seint Wolston bisshop of Worcestre axede[7] besiliche som possessiouns of his bisshopriche þat were wiþ holde by Aldredus archebisshop of ȝork, and it[8] fel[9] into þe kynges hond after Aldredus his deeþ. Bote for þe chirche of ȝork was dombe[10] þat tyme, for þe see[11] was voyde, hit was i-demed þat þat cause schulde be stille and nouȝt i-touched at þat tyme. Here after at Wyndesore, in a Whitsonday, kyng William ȝaf þe archebisshopriche of ȝork to Thomas chanoun of Bayocens. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Þis[12] Thomas was a faire man of face and of speche, and made a faire cherche at ȝork, and made þe chanouns riche, and made songes of holy chirche.[12] *Willelmus de Pontificibus.* Here after þe kyng hadde Lanfrank, abbot of Cadomens,[13] out

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MS. HARL. 2261.

hidde in the erthe. In whiche cownsaile mony other bischoppes and abbottes were deposed by the specialle labour of kynge William, that he myȝhte brynge into theire places men of Normandy. Mony men say that the kynge did so to the moore confirmacion of þe realme. In whiche cownsaile seynte Wulstan, bischop of Worcestre, askede constantely certeyne possessions longynge to his office, retenede from hym by Aldredus archebischop of Yorke, returnede after his dethe to the use of f. 336. the kynge. Where hit was decrete that the seide mater scholde not be diffinede in that cownesayle, in that the churche of Yorke was dombe and vacant. And in the feste of Pentecoste nexte foloynge, kynge William beynge at Wyndeshore, ȝafe the seete of Yorke to Thomas, a chanon Baiocense. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro suo tertio.* A man of noble chere, eloquente in communicacion, whiche made a feire churche at Yorke, makynge the chanons ryche þer, and makynge also songes of the churche. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* After that the kynge callynge to Ynglonde from Nor-

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[1] *eorþe*, α.
[2] *procryng*, γ.
[3] *trowide*, β.
[4] *dude*, γ.
[5] *siker*, β.; *syker*, γ.; *seker*, Cx.
[6] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *axesede*, α.
[8] *hit*, α.
[9] *and a falle*, β.; *valle*, γ.
[10] *dome*, γ.
[11] *se*, β.
[12] *þis . . . cherche*] om. Cx.
[13] *Codomenence*, Cx.

Candomense[1] abbate, genere Italico, divinis et sæcularibus litteris peritissimo, in rerum gubernatione prudentissimo, die Assumptionis beatæ Mariæ ipsum archiepiscopum Cantuariensem constituit. *Ranulphus.*[2] De cujus moribus et insigniis inferius circa ejus obitum dicetur. *Willelmus de Pontificibus.*[3] Ad istum Lanfrancum accessit Thomas Eboracensis electu sex more sacrandus, a quo Lanfrancus scriptam[4] de obedientia sua professionem[5] cum adjectione jurisjurandi[6] expetiit.[7] Respondit Thomas se nunquam id facturum[8] nisi super hac re scriptas[9] auctoritates aut congruas rationes audiret, quibus id sine ecclesiæ suæ præjudicio facere deberet. Hoc autem magis ex animi ignorantia quam ex elati spiritus pertinacia depromebat, tanquam novus homo, Anglicæ[10] consuetudinis expers, ac verbis adulatorum deceptus. At cum Lanfrancus postulata rationabiliter enodasset, non adquiescens adhuc, Thomas minime sacratus abscessit. Quod rex audiens moleste

Thomas Eboracensis ab Lanfranco consecratus ei obedientiam fecit et professionem.

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[1] *Cadomense*, Willelmus.
[2] C.D. omit reference.
[3] *libro primo*, B.; C.D. omit heading.
[4] *scriptum*, A.
[5] *professione*, A.
[6] *jurejurandi*, A.
[7] *petiit*, B.
[8] *futurum*, B.
[9] *hiis rescriptas*, C.D.
[10] *Angliæ*, A.

of Normandie. Þis Lanfranc was of þe nacioun of Italy, and was most konnynge of holy writt and of seculer[1] lettrure,[2] and moost redy in governynge of þinges.[3] In oure[4] Lady day þe Assumpcioun þe kyng made hym archebisshop of Caunterbury. Þ. Of his þewes and of his noble dedes it is i-wrete innere more aboute his deeþ tyme. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Thomas þat was i-chose archebisshop of ȝork cam to Lanfrank [for to be i-sacred as þe usage wolde. Lanfranc][5] axede of hym an ooth and his professioun i-wrete of his obedience. Thomas answerde and seide þat he wolde nevere doo þat, bot ȝif he herde[6] þerfore auctoritees i-write, oþer skilful resouns in[7] biddynge,[8] by the whiche it were i-knowe þat he schulde so doo wiþ oute [eny][9] preiudice of his chirche: he seide soo more for lewednesse of witt þan for rebelnesse and pride[10] of herte, as he þat was a newe[11] man and bigiled by flaterynge wordes, and knewe nouȝt þe customs and þe usages of Engelond. And Lanfranc declared[12] and preved resonableliche þat his axinge was resonable and riȝtful. Bote Thomas wolde ȝit nouȝt[13] assent, but wiþ seide it and wente his wey unsacred. TREVISA.

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mandy Lanfrancus, borne in the cuntre of Ytaly, an excellente man in vertu and prudence to governaunce of thynges spiritualle or temporalle, made hym by assignacion archebischop of Cawnterbery in the feste of the Assumpcion of oure Lady; of the lyfe and maners of whom hit schalle be schewede abowte his dethe. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Thomas, archebischop of Yorke by eleccion, come to this Lanfrancus to be consecrate after the consuetude; of whom Lanfrancus desirede to have afore his profession of obedience to be made to hym with an othe þeruppon. The seide Thomas seide utterly he wolde not do so withowte he see wrytynge of auctorite þeron, other herde evidente reason þerfore whereby he awe to do that with owte preiudice of his churche. And when this noble clerke Lanfrancus hade schewede sufficiaunte reasons and laudable for his purpose and intente, the seide Thomas not assentynge to hym, departede not consecrate. The kynge herynge MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *of syngler*, Cx.
[2] *letture*, γ.
[3] *þingis*, β.
[4] *ur*, γ.
[5] From α., γ., and Cx.; *and* is here wrongly inserted in MS.
[6] *hurde*, γ.
[7] *and*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[8] *byndinge*, α. and β.; *byndyng*, Cx.
[9] From γ.
[10] *prute*, γ.
[11] *nuwe*, γ.
[12] *dysclarede*, γ.
[13] *nouȝt ȝit*, α. and β.

tulit, æstimans Lanfrancum injusta velle et magis scientia quam ratione confidere; sed ipse super his reddita coram rege ratione animum regis mitigavit. Quamobrem Thomas regio edicto compulsus rediit, scriptam de obedientia professionem fecit et legit. In qua se in omnibus quæ ad Christianæ religionis cultum pertinent obtemperaturum absolute promisit, et sic sacratus abscessit. Nec multo post Lanfrancus ab universis Anglorum[1] episcopis, prius ab aliis sacratis, professiones petiit et accepit.

Professio archiepiscopi; obedientia facta archiepiscopo Cantuariensi.

Cap. II.

[*De rebus Anglicis præcipue ecclesiasticis.*]

Comites Merciorum et Northimbrensium[2] Edwynus et Morkarus,[3] quia rex[4] eos vinculare disposuerat,

Gratiæ MLXX. Willelmi V.

[1] *ecclesiæ Anglicanæ*, B.
[2] *Northimbrorum*, A.
[3] *Morkatus*, B.
[4] *Edwardus*, add A.; *Willelmus*, add B.

Þe kyng herde þerof and was wrooþ, and trowede [1] þat Lanfrank wolde have [2] greet þinges wrongfulliche, and he truste more in his comynge aȝen [3] þan [4] in good fay [5] and resoun. Bot he answerde herto in presence of þe kyng, and esede þe kynges herte. Þerfore, by commaundement of þe kyng, Thomas was compelled for to come aȝen, and wroot his professioun of obedience, and rad [6] hit. In þat professioun he byhet [7] wiþ oute eny condicioun þat he schulde be obedient in al þat longeþ to þe worschippe of God, and to [8] cristen fey.[9] And so he was i-sacred, and went forþ his wey. Nouȝt longe þerafter Lanfrank axede and feng [10] professioun of alle þe bisshoppes of Engelond þat were i-sacred of oþer men to forehonde. TREVISA.

Capitulum secundum.

THE eorles [11] of Mercia and [12] of Norþhumberlond, Edwyn and Morkar,[13] wente priveliche out of courte for kyng William

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that was vexede soore, thenkynge that Lanfrancus did ageyne the lawe, and putte moore confidence in connynge then in reason; but Lanfrancus, schewynge the cause þerof afore the kynge, mitigate his wrathe. And the seide Thomas returnede ageyne by commaundement of the kynge, and wrote the profession off his obedience, by whom he promysede to obbey the seide Lanfrancus in alle thynges pertenynge to the honoure of God, and soe he was consecrate and departede. And soone after that Lanfrancus desirede and toke professions of alle bischoppes of Ynglonde consecrate of oþer bischoppes afore hym. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum secundum.

EDWINUS and Morkarus, erles of þe Marches and of Northumbrelonde, understondynge that kynge William wolde have

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[1] *trowide*, β.
[2] *habbe*, γ.
[3] *comynge aȝen*] *connynge*, α.; *kunnyng*, β. and γ.
[4] *his connynge than in*, Cx.
[5] *feyþ*, β.; *feyth*, Cx.
[6] *radde*, β. and γ.
[7] *byhyȝte*, γ.
[8] *to*] om. Cx.
[9] *feiþ*, β.; *feyth*, Cx.
[10] *fyng*, α.; *vynge*, γ.
[11] *erles*, β. and γ.
[12] *and*] om. Cx.
[13] *Markar*, Cx., et infra.

latenter de curia fugerunt, et aliquandiu rebellaverunt; sed quia parum profecerunt, Edwynus regem Scotorum adiens a suis obiter[1] occiditur. Morkarus vero et Egelwynus episcopus Dunelmensis insulam Heli[2] adierunt, ubi rex ab oriente exitum præclusit, ad occidentem[3] pontem duorum miliarium construxit. Inde perterriti ipsi interclusi[4] regi se dederunt. Ac rex episcopum ad Abendoniæ monasterium transmisit custodiendum, ubi ex dolore cordis comedere nolens obiit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iii.*[5] Cui successit Walkerus, genere Lotharingus; quem cum vidisset Editha regis[6] Edwardi relicta ad consecrandum Wyntoniensi duci, "Pulcram,"[7] inquit,[8] "hic "habemus martyrem;" conjectura videlicet sævæ gentis Northimbranæ ad præsagiandum inducta; viderat enim eum[9] cæsarie lacteolum, vultu roseum, statura pergrandem. *Willelmus,*[10] *libro quarto.*[11] Hoc anno obiit

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[1] *obiter*] om. B.
[2] *Hely*, A.
[3] *vero*, B.
[4] *præterriti episcopi inclusi*, A.
[5] Script. post Bedam, p. 277.
[6] *regina*, A.B.
[7] *pulcrum*, A.
[8] C.D. slightly differ, inverting.
[9] *eum*] om. A.
[10] *de Pontificibus*, A.
[11] Script. post Bedam, p. 286.

hadde i-cast to putte hem in bondes, and so þey were rebel somwhat of tyme. But for[1] it[2] stood hem but litel in stede, Edwyn wente toward þe kyng of Scotland, and was i-slawe in þe wey of his men.[3] Bote Morkarus and Edwyn[4] bisshop of Durham wente into þe ile of Hely,[5] þere þe king stopped out þe goynge[6] out in þe est side, and made a brigge of tweie myle in þe west side; þanne þey were[7] i-closed wiþ ynne,[8] and ȝilde[9] hem to þe kyng, and þe kyng sente þe bisshop to þe abbey of Abyngdoun[10] to be þere in warde: þere þis bisshop deide for honger, for he wolde not ete for sorwe. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Walkerus of Lotharynge was bisshop after hym.[11] Editha, þat hadde i-be kyng Edwardes wif,[12] siȝ[13] hym i-brouȝt to Wynchestre for to be i-sacred, and seide, "Here we haveþ a faire[14] martir:" by conjectynge[15] of þe cruel men of Northumberlond sche[16] was i-meoved to telle what schulde afterward be falle;[17] sche[18] siȝ hym wiȝtliche[19] of hir[20] rody face,[21] and huge of body and of stature. *Willelmus*

Trevisa.

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putte theyme in prison, fledde prively from his courte and rebellyde a certeyne tyme; but in that thei profite litelle, Edwinus goynge to the kynge of Scottes, was sleyne soone. Also Morkarus and the bischop of Dirham goynge to the yle of Hely, kynge William compassede theim on the este parte that thei scholde not escape, and made a brigge on the weste parte of ij. myles in lenghte. Wherefore these men inclusede soe, yeldede theyme to the kynge, and kynge William sende the bischop of Dirham to the monastery of Abendon, to be kepede þer, where he died anoon in that he wolde not eite for sorowe. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.* Whom Walkerus succedid, borne in Lotharingia, whiche was a man of grete beawte, havynge heire white as mylke in coloure, as in the roddenesse of þe cheke lyke to a rose. *Willelmus de Ponti-*

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 336 b.

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[1] *for*] om. Cx.
[2] *vor hyt*, γ.
[3] *of hys men in þe weye*, γ.
[4] *Egelwyn*, α., β., and Cx.; *Egelwin*, γ.
[5] *Ely*, β.
[6] *stopped the outgoyng*, β.; *þe out goynge*, γ.; *stopped the oute goyng*, Cx.
[7] *þanne hy were aferd þat were*, γ.; *they were aferd that were*, Cx.
[8] *þei were aferde that were closed wiþ ynne*, γ.
[9] *ȝolde*, γ.
[10] *Abendon*, γ.
[11] *And*] add. Cx.
[12] *Edward hys wyf*, γ.
[13] *sawe*, Cx., et infra.
[14] *habbeþ veyr*, γ.
[15] *coniecturyng*, β. and γ. *conjecturynge*, Cx.
[16] *heo*, β.; *hue*, γ.
[17] *by valle*, γ.; *byfall*, Cx.
[18] *heo*, β.; *huo*, γ.
[19] *whytely of heer, rody of face*, Cx.
[20] *heet*, α.; *heer*, β.; *here*, γ.
[21] *rody of face*, β. and γ.

Walterus Herefordensis episcopus, de quo fertur quod erat in urbe illa[1] muliercula quam nescio quo infortunio episcopus ardenter amabat. Ignorabat hoc illa, et forsan[2] si scivisset contempsisset. Interea cogitabat pontifex[3] quod nihil infelicius quam senex amans, reluctabatur utcumque[4] per gradus sui reverentia; famulante tandem dæmonis fraude ingreditur illa pontificis cubiculum ut forsan cubiculariis ejus vestes lineas[5] incideret; discedunt ex causa clientes secretorum conscii; tandem episcopo post obscœna dicta vim inferente, fœmina forcipibus quos manu tenebat inguina episcopi perfodit, unde et[6] obiit. Cui successit Robertus genere Lotharingus,[7] omnium liberalium artium peritus, aba-

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[1] *Herefordiæ*, C.D.
[2] *forte*, A.
[3] *ignorat . . . pontifex*] om. B.
[4] *ut cumque*, from A.B.; *utrumque*, MS.
[5] *lineas*] om. B.
[6] *et*] om. B.
[7] *genere Lotharingus*] om. B.

de Pontificibus, libro 4°. Þis ȝere deide Walter bisshop of Herford; of hym it[1] is i-seide þat he loved hugeliche, I not by what myshap, a schipster[2] of þat citee. But sche[3] woste[4] nouȝt[5] þerof, and on cas þat[6] sche hadde i-woste sche wolde have[7] i-sette litel þerby.[8] In þe mene tyme ȝit þe bisshop þouȝt þat no þing is more ungracious þan a lovynge olde man, and wiþ stood as he myȝt for þe reverence[9] of his owne estaat;[10] but in a tyme, by fraude of þe devel, sche[3] cam into þe bisshop his chambre, oon caas[11] for to schape þe chamberlay[12] his[13] lynnen cloþes. Servauntes þat knewe and woste[14] þe bisshoppes[15] privete went out for þe nones; at þe laste[16] þe bisshop after unfittynge wordes wolde have i-take þe womman wiþ strengþe; þe womman stikede þe bisshop bynęþe in[17] his prive membres wiþ the scheres þat sche[3] hadde in honde, and so þe bisshop deide. After hym Lotharyngus Robert[18] was bisshop þere; he

Trevisa.

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ficibus, libro quarto. Walterus bischop of Herdforde diede in this yere, of whom it is seide that þer was a woman in the same cite whom he luffede inordinately, the woman knowynge not of þat luffe. After that the bischoppe remembrenge that þer was noo thynge moore unhappy then the synne of an olde,[19] thouȝhte to resiste that temptacion for reverence of his degre. But as the develle wolde, the seide woman come to the bischoppes chambre to schape clothynge for his men of lynen clothe; the servauntes, knowynge the cownsaile of the bischop, departede from the chambre. The bischop spekynge that to woman wordes inhoneste, and willynge at the laste to have taken his pleasure by strenghte, the woman persede moche the breste of the bischop with scheres, whom sche hade in her honde, where thro he diede. Whom Robert borne in Lotharingia, did

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *hyt*, γ.
[2] *shipster*, Cx.
[3] *heo*, β.; *hue*, γ.
[4] *wist*, β., et infra.
[5] *nouȝt . . . hadde*] bis in MS.
[6] *þeyȝ*, α.
[7] *þeiȝ hue hadde ywuste hue wolde have*, γ.
[8] *in caas thouȝ heo had wist heo wold have sett litel þerby*, β.
[9] *for reverence*, β.; *vor reverens. Bote*, γ.
[10] *state*, β. and Cx.
[11] *bischops chambre in caas*, β.
[12] *chamberleyn*, α. and Cx.
[13] *chamburleynes*, β.; *chamberlens*, γ.
[14] *wyst*, Cx.
[15] *byschop hys*, γ.
[16] *at laste*, γ.
[17] *in*] om. β. and Cx.
[18] *Robert Lotharyngus*, α., β., and Cx.; *Robert Lotharingus*, γ.
[19] Sic. in MS.

cum præcipue, lunarem compotum et cursum astrorum rimatus. Erat tunc temporis Marianus Scotus et monachus apud Mogontiam Alemanniæ inclusus, qui longo solitudinis suæ otio chronographos scrutatus, dissonantiam cyclorum Dionysii Exigui, contra evangelicam veritatem, vel primus vel solus animadvertit. Itaque ab initio sæculi annos singulos recensens[1] viginti duos annos, qui cyclis prædictis deerant, superaddidit, magnam et diffusam chronicam commentatus; quem librum Robertus[2] ita splendide defloravit, ut jam magis valere videatur ipsa[3] defloratio quam ingentis illius voluminis diffusio.

Disputatio inter Lanfrancum et Thomam Eboracensem archiepiscopum.

Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.[4] Hoc etiam anno Lanfrancus Cantuariensis et Thomas Eboracensis Romam simul iverunt[5] pro pallio habendo, sed Lanfrancus duo recepit pallia, unum honoris,

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[1] *recensius*, A.
[2] *iste rimatus*, C.D.
[3] *videatur ipsa*] om. B.
[4] Script. post Bedam, p. 205.
[5] *adierunt*, B.; *ut pallium a domino papa susciperent*, C.D.

was connynge[1] of al manere artes and sciens,[2] specialliche he kowþe[3] skile in Inabacus,[4] þat is a table to make [by][5] dyvers figures and schappes. He knewe þe cours of þe mone and of [þe][6] oþer sterres and planetes. Þat tyme Marianus Scot and monk was i-closed at Magons[7] in Almayne. In his longe solitarie beynge he serchede cronykes and stories, and was war firste,[8] oþer al oon, of Denys Exiguis[9] his discord[10] aȝenst[11] þe soþenesse of þe gospel, in acountynge of cicles [and][12] of ȝeres,[13] and Marianus acountede al þe ȝeres from[14] þe bygynnynge of þe world,[15] and put two and twenty ȝere þat lakked of þe forsaide[16] cicles and ȝeres, and made a greet book of cronycles;[17] þe whiche[18] book þis Robert[19] defloured solempneliche, and took out þe beste, so þat it semed[20] þat þat defloracioun is now more worþy[21] þan al þe grete volume[22] [and longe].[23] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Also þis Lanfrank, archbisshop of Caunterbury, [and][12] Thomas, archebisshop of ȝork, went to Rome in fere[24] for to have þe palle, bote Lanfrank

Trevisa.

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succede, a man instructe gretely in astrony[25] and in geometry. Marianus the Scotte and monke, serchynge this tyme the storyes of cronicles, animadvertede or perceyvide firste or allon the dissonaunce of þe cicles of Dionise the lesse ageyne the trawthe of gospelles. Also he accomptede every yere from the begynnynge of the worlde, puttynge to the cicles aforeseide xxij. yere whiche wontede, makynge a grete and diffuse cronicle. Whiche boke this seide Roberte depeyntede, soe that the picture of hit semethe to be worthe moore in valoure then the diffusion of alle his grete volume. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Lanfrancus and Thomas, archebischoppes of Cawnterbery and of Yorke, wente to gedre to Rome for to have palles, but the seide Lanfrancus receyvide ij.

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *kunnyng*, β.; *kunnynge*, γ.
[2] *sciences*, β.
[3] *coube*, β. and γ.
[4] *in Abacus*, β., γ., and Cx.
[5] From α. and Cx.
[6] From α.
[7] *Magounce*, Cx.
[8] *vurste*, γ.
[9] *Exyguus*, Cx.
[10] *Exiguus discord*, β.
[11] *aȝenus*, β.; *aȝenes*, γ.
[12] From γ. and Cx.
[13] *titles and of ȝeres*, β.; *and . . . ȝeres*, bis in MS.
[14] *vram*, γ.
[15] *worl*, γ.
[16] *vorseyde*, γ.
[17] *cronyks*, β. and γ.
[18] *whoche*, γ.
[19] *Robart*, β.
[20] *semeþ*, β.; *hyt semeþ*, γ.
[21] *worþe*, β.; *worþ*, γ.
[22] *volym*, β. and γ.
[23] From β., γ., and Cx.
[24] *y fere*, β.; *y vere vore*, γ.
[25] Sic in MS.

alterum amoris. Tantam namque gratiam Lanfrancus[1] coram papa Alexandro invenerat,[2] ut ambos itineris sui socios, Thomam Eboracensem et Remigium Dorsetrensem, baculis et anulis merito privatos, officio[3] restitueret. Primus namque presbyteri fuerat[4] filius; secundus, cum esset monachus Fiscanensis, Willelmo duci Angliam tendenti in multis opitulatus, si dux vinceret episcopatum pactus est; super quo coram papa convictus,[5] depositus est. In præsentia etiam papæ Thomas Eboracensis calumniam movit super[6] primatu Dorobernensi, et de subjectione sibi facienda a tribus episcopatibus, Lincolniensi, Wygorniensi, Lichfeldensi, dicens Cantuariensem et Eboracensem sedes adinvicem[7] distare, nec alteram alteri, secundum constitutionem Gregorii, subjacere debere, excepto quod unus alio est dignior propter temporis prioratum. Cui cum Lanfrancus rationabiliter ostendisset

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[1] *Lanfrancus*] om. B.
[2] *invenit*, B.
[3] *officio*, from A.B.C.D.; *offenso*, MS.
[4] *erat*, B.
[5] *devictus*, B.
[6] *de*, C.D.
[7] *abinvicem*, B.; *ad invicem honorem habere*, C.D.

tweie palles, oon of worschippe and anoþer of love. For Lanfrank hadde suche[1] grace to pope Alisaundre, þat boþe his felawes þat com wiþ hym to Rome, Thomas of ȝork and Remigius of Dorchestre, þat were riȝtfulliche i-prived of here croses[2] [and][3] rynges, he restored hem to here office aȝe.[4] For þe firste[5] was a preostes[6] sone; and while þe secounde was monk[7] of Fiscane, he halp[8] duke William in many þinges in his wendinge[9] to Engelond, so þat þe duke byheet[10] hym by covenant a bisshopriche ȝif[11] he hadde þe victorie; and þat was i-preved uppon hym to fore[12] þe pope, and þerfore he was[13] i-sette adowne. In presens of þe pope Thomas of ȝork meoved a cause of chalenge of þe primat of Dorobernia, þat is Caunterbury, and of þe sugestioun[14] þat schulde longe to hym of þre bisshopriches of Lincolne, of Wircestre, and of Lichefeld, and seide þat þe sees of Caunterbury and of ȝork were fer[15] atwynne,[16] and þat noþer of hem by Gregories[17] constitucioun schulde be suget to oþere, bote þat þe oon of hem schulde be[18] more worþy þan þe oþer, for he is of elder

Trevisa.

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palles, oon of honoure, an other of luffe; for Lanfrancus founde suche grace afore pope Alexander that he restorede to their seetes ij. bischoppes commyn in his companye, Thomas archebischop of Yorke and Remigius bischop of Dorchestre, deposede afore the pope by merite, for the firste was the sonne of a preste. And the secunde beynge a monke Fiscanense, ȝafe grete helpe to William commynge to Yngelonde, whiche promisede to make hym a bischop if he hade victory. The seide Thomas archebischop of Yorke movede the mater aforeseide afore the pope, affermynge subieccion to be made to hym of thre bischoppes in Englonde, as of Lincolne, Lichfeld, and of Worcestre; and the seetes of Cawnterbery and of Yorke not to be subiecte in eny wise to other after the constitucion of Gregory, excepte that the oon is moore then that other for the priorite of

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 337 a.

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[1] *sich*, β.
[2] *croyses*, Cx.
[3] From α. and Cx.
[4] *aȝen*, β.
[5] *vurste*, γ.
[6] *prust hys*, γ.
[7] *a monke*, γ.
[8] *a halp*, γ.
[9] *comynge*, γ.
[10] *byhyȝte*, γ.
[11] *ef*, γ.
[12] *vore*, γ.
[13] *þarevore a was*, γ.
[14] *sugection*, α.; *of subiectioun*, β.; *of sugection*, γ.; *subjectioun*, Cx.
[15] *ver attweynne*, γ.
[16] *atwenne*, Cx.; *a* repeated in MS.
[17] *Gregory hys*, γ.
[18] *schulde be*] om. α.; *is*, γ.

constitutionem illam Gregorianam non de[1] Cantuariensi sed de[1] Eboracensí et Londoniensi fecisse mentionem, decrevit papa causam illam coram rege et episcopis in Anglia terminari. Et quamvis Lanfrancus Thomam pro suo tempore per professionem[2] prius factam teneret ligatum, maluit tamen pro suis successoribus laborare, quam eis in posterum hanc calumniam discutiendam reservare. Anno igitur[3] millesimo septuagesimo ii° coram rege Willelmo et clero apud Wyndesoram ventilata est causa illa,[4] ubi perlecta historia Bedæ monstratum[5] a tempore primi Augustini usque ad ultima Bedæ tempora, quod centum quadraginta pæne annorum[6] erat Cantuarienses gessisse primatum[7] super totam Britanniæ insulam et Hiberniam, juxta quoque Eboracum concilia celebrasse, episcopos Eboracenses advocasse, aliquos

Gratiæ MLXXII. Willelmi VII.

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[1] *de*] om. B.
[2] *et professione*, A.
[3] *Domini*, add. B.; *gratiæ*, add. C.
[4] C.D. add: "super jure quod "Cantuarensis supra Eboracensem "proclamabat."
[5] *est*, A.B.
[6] *annosum*, B.
[7] *principatum*, B.

tyme. Þanne Lanfrank[1] declared skilfulliche þat þat constitucioun of Gregory makiþ non mencioun of Caunterbury, but of ȝork and of Londoun. Þanne þe pope demede þat[2] þe cause[3] schulde be i-determyned[4] tofore[5] þe kyng and þe bisshoppes of[6] Engelond. And they[7] Lanfrank helde[8] Thomas i-bounde by þe professioun þat Thomas[9] hadde i-made to hym toforehonde,[10] ȝit hym was levere travaille for[11] his successoures þanne lete þat chalange abide to hem[12] to stryve þerfore[13] afterward. Þis ȝere, þe ȝere of oure Lord a þowsand þre score and twelve, at Wyndesore, tofore kyng William and þe clergie, þat cause was i-treted. And þere Beda his storie was i-rad,[14] and þerby it was i-schewed þat from þe firste Austyn his tyme to Beda his laste tyme, aboute an hondred ȝere and two[15] and fourty,[16] þe archebisshopriche[17] of Caunterbury hadde primat[18] of[19] alle þe ilond[20] of Britayne, and of Irlond also, and also þat he hadde i-holde counsailles fast[21] by ȝork, and cleped þerto þe bisshoppes of ȝork, and

TREVISA.

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tyme. To whom Lanfrancus schewede by reason that constitucion Gregorian not to have made mencion of the seete of Cawnterbery, but of the seetes of Yorke and of London. Wherefore the pope decrete that mater to be terminate afore the kynge of Ynglonde and bischoppes; but thauȝhe the seide Thomas was astricte by his profession to Lanfrancus, ȝitte he hade lever laboure ffor his successors raþer then to brynge eny thynge to be discussed afterwarde. Wherefore in the m[l] lxxij. yere of oure Lorde this cause was movede afore kynge William and the cleregy at Wyndeshore, where the story of Bede redde, hit was schewede that from the tyme of seynte Austyn unto the laste tymes of Bede, whiche tyme was as of a c. and xl[ti] yere, bischoppes of Cawnterbery to have hade the principalite of honour of the yle of Briteyne; and also to have kepede cownsailes nye Yorke, and to have made bischoppes þer, and to have deposede somme þere. The

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Lanfranc*, β., semper.
[2] *þat*, bis in MS.
[3] *þat cause*, γ.; *that that cause*, Cx.
[4] *termyned*, α., β., and Cx.
[5] *ytermyned tofore*, γ.
[6] *of*] in, β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *þouȝ*, β.; *þeyȝ*, γ.; *though*, Cx.
[8] *huld*, γ.
[9] *he*, γ.
[10] *biforhond*, β.; *tovore*, γ.
[11] *vor*, γ.
[12] *hym*, Cx.
[13] *þarvore*, γ.
[14] *shewde*, Cx.
[15] *and two*] om. β. and Cx.
[16] *honderd ȝere and vourty*, γ.
[17] *arche byschop*, γ.
[18] *primacye*, β.; *primacye over*, Cx.
[19] *over*, γ.
[20] *londe*, Cx.
[21] *vast*, γ.

eorum instituisse, aliquibus[1] pro[2] culpis censuras imposuisse, nonnullos amovisse;[3] et ad hæc recitata sunt privilegia super his indulta.[4] Adversus ista opposuit Thomas epistolam illam qua Gregorius[5] Eboracensem et Londoniensem ecclesias pares esse,[6] nec alteram alteri subjacere decrevit. Cui cum Lanfrancus respondisset. "Nec ego sum Londoniensis nec " de[7] Londoniensi mota est questio," adjecit Thomas, qui secum plures fautorum asciverat classes,[8] "quod " videlicet a beato Gregorio soli Augustino concessum " fuerat omnes Angliæ episcopos habere subjectos; et " quod[9] post obitum Augustini inter Londoniensem et " Eboracensem episcopos mutua foret gratiæ vicissitudo, " et quod prioritatem honoris causaret anticipatio " ordinationis; et quamvis Augustinus sedem de Lon- " donia ad Cantiam transtulisset, si Gregorius[10] succes- " sores Augustini prioratum[11] super Eboracenses habere " voluisset, facile hujus[modi],[12] verba in sua epistola " posuisset. *Hæc tibi,*[13] *Augustine, et successoribus tuis*

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[1] *aliquis*, A.
[2] *eorum*, B.
[3] *ammonuisse*, B.
[4] *varia privilegia regibus et præsulibus super primatu Cantuariensis a successivis pontificibus concessa fuisse*, C.D.
[5] *Gregorii qua*, B.
[6] *voluit*, B.
[7] *de*] om. A.
[8] *classes*] om. B.
[9] *quod*] om. A.
[10] *a Gregorio*, B.
[11] *priora tamen*, A.
[12] *modi*, from A.
[13] *et*, B.

made bisshoppes, and punshede[1] some bishopps of ȝork for here trespas, and sette doun menye and put[2] hem [out][3] of þe dignite. Here to were rehersed priveleges þat were i-graunted uppon þis manere of doynge. Aȝenst[4] al þis Thomas aleyde a[5] pistel[6] in þe whiche pope Gregory demede þat þe chirches of ȝork and of Londoun schulde be evene peres, and never[7] noþer[8] suget[9] to oþer. Þanne Lanfrank answerde and seide, "I[10] am nouȝt bisshop of Londoun, noþer the ques- "tioun is[11] i-meoved[12] of þe cherche of Londoun." Þanne Thomas, þat hadde [meny][13] fautoures and moche folk[14] i-gadred wiþ hym, answerde and seide þat seint[15] Gregory hadde i-ordeyned[16] to Austyn alone to have under hym alle þe bis-shoppes of Engelond, and þat þe bisshoppes of Londoun and of ȝork schulde be good freendes,[17] and love wel eyþer oþer, and he þat were first[18] ordeyned schulde be first[18] i-worschipped. And þei[19] Austin hadde i-chaunged þe archebisshops see from Londoun into Kent, ȝif[20] Gregory wolde þat Austyn his suc-cessours[21] schulde be above þe bisshoppes of ȝork, he wolde liȝtliche have i-sette in his pistel[22] suche manere wordes, "I "graunte to þe Austyn and to þyn successours;" but for he

Trevisa.

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seide Thomas obiecte by the constitucion of seynte Gregory that the churches of London and of Yorke scholde be egalle, and neiþer subiecte to that other. To whom the noble clerke Lanfrancus seide, "Y am not bischop of London," affermynge the seide mater to be movede for the seete of Cawnterbery. Then Thomas bischop of Yorke seide that hit was grawntede oonly to seynte Austyn of blissede Gregory to have alle bischoppes in Ynglonde subiecte to hym. And thauȝhe that seynte Austyn translate the seete from London to Cawnterbery, if seynte Gregory wolde have hade bischoppes of Yorke subiecte to Cawnterbery,[23] have writen Austyn, Y grawnte these thynges to the and to thy successors, makynge noo mencion of succession in his writynge.

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *punysched*, β.; *punysshed*, Cx.
[2] *pot*, γ.
[3] From α., β., and Cx.
[4] *Aȝenes*, γ.
[5] *a*] om. α.; þe, β. and γ.
[6] *the pystle*, Cx.
[7] *never*] om. Cx.
[8] *neiþer*, β.
[9] *nere no . . scholde be suget*, γ.; *neyther subget*, Cx.
[10] *Ich*, γ.
[11] *not*, add. Cx.
[12] *y-meued*, γ.
[13] From α. and Cx.
[14] *volk*, γ.
[15] *seint*] om. β. and Cx.
[16] *graunted*, β. and Cx.
[17] *vrendes*, γ.
[18] *vurste*, γ., bis.
[19] *þouȝ*, β.; *though*, Cx.
[20] *yef*, Cx.
[21] *þerfore he made noon mencioun þat he*, wrongly inserted here in MS.
[22] *epystle*, Cx.
[23] Sic in MS.

" *concedo.* Verum quia hoc ad[1] successores Augustini
" extendi noluit, ideo de successoribus mentionem non
" fecit." Ad hæc Lanfrancus: "Si soli Augustino et non
" ejus[2] successoribus hæc concessa sit auctoritas, exile
" foret munus apostolicum suo[3] familiari collatum,
" præsertim cum Augustinus nullum dum viveret
" ordinaverit Eboracensem archiepiscopum,[4] nec ibi
" fuerit aliquis episcopus quem Augustinus subjectum
" haberet. Hanc denique dignitatem privilegia aposto-
" lica Dorobernensibus Augustini successoribus confir-
" maverunt, æquum et justum esse censuerunt, ut
" omnes Anglorum[5] ecclesiæ ab eo loco mutuarent[6]
" vivendi disciplinam, a cujus fonte rapuerunt
" credendi flammam. Porro quod dicis Gregorium
" potuisse si voluisset successoribus Augustini confir-
" masse dicto quod concesserat Augustino, verum est,
" nec tamen hoc sedi Cantuariensi prejudicium[7] affert;
" nam quando Christus dixit Petro, 'Tibi dabo claves
" 'regni cœlorum,' potuit adjecisse si voluisset, 'Eandem

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[1] *quod*, A.
[2] *suis*, B.
[3] *sua*, A.
[4] *episcopum*, C.D.
[5] *Anglia*, B.
[6] *mutarent*, B.
[7] *præjudicium*] om. B.

wolde not þat it schulde strecche to Austyn his successours, þerfore he made non[1] mencioun of his successoures. Lanfrank answerde herto and seide, "ȝif [þat][2] auctorite was i-graunted "to Austyn alone, and nouȝt to his successoures, it were a "symple ȝifte[3] þat þe pope ȝaf Austyn, þat was prive wiþ "hym, and nameliche while Austyn ordeyned no[4] archebisshop "of ȝork while he was onlyve.[5] And also þer was no bisshop "of[6] ȝork þat schulde be [ordeyned by][7] Austin.[8] Also pri- "veleges of popes confermeþ þis dignite to Austin his succes- "sours of Dorobernia, þat is[9] Caunterbury, and demede þat "it is skile and riȝt þat al þe cherches of Engelond schulde "fonge her[10] loore[11] of lyvynge of þat place, for[12] of þe welle of "þat place he hadde þe leme[13] of byleve. But for þou[14] seist "þat Gregory myȝte ȝif he wolde have i-confermed wiþ a word "to Austyn his successoures þat he hadde i-graunted [to "seynt Austyn],[15] þat is sooþ, bote þat dooþ no prejudice to "þe see of Caunterbury. For whanne Crist seide to Peter, "'I schal ȝeve þe þe keyes of þe kyngdom of hevene,' he myȝte "have also i-seide ȝif he wolde, [I][16] graunte þe same power

TREVISA.

To the whiche obieccion Lanfrancus answeryde, seyenge that the grawnte of the pope was not worthe if that auctorite was grawnted oonly to Austyn and not to his successours, sithe that seynte Austyn made not eny bischop of Yorke in his lyfe, neiþer there was not eny bischop whom seynte Austyn scholde have subiecte to hym. The bischoppes of Rome grawntede that dignite to the sete of Cawnterbury and to the successours of seynte Austyn by ryȝhte, that alle the churches of Ynglonde scholde borowe the exemple of lyvynge from that place of whom thei toke firste the feithe of Criste. And that ye say seynte Gregory myȝhte have confermede by his writynge, and if he wolde, to the successors of Austyn the same privilege, trawthe hit is, neverthelesse that inducethe noo preiudice to the churche of Cawnterbery. For when Criste seide to Petyr, "I "schalle ȝiffe to the keyes of the realme of hevyn," he myȝhte have adiecte also, and if he wolde, "I grawnte þe same powere to

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 337 b.

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[1] *no*, γ.
[2] From α., β., and Cx.
[3] *ȝeft*, γ.; *yefte*, Cx.
[4] *non*, γ.
[5] *alyve*, β. and Cx.
[6] *of*] at, β., γ., and Cx.
[7] From β. and Cx.
[8] *be suget to Austyn*, γ.
[9] *Dorobernia, þat is*] om. β. and Cx.
[10] *her*] om. β.
[11] *vonge lore*, γ.
[12] *ana* γ.
[13] *leeme*, Cx.
[14] *bote þou*, γ.
[15] From β. and Cx., *his successoures* is wrongly added in α.
[16] From Cx.

" ' potestatem successoribus tuis [1] concedo ;' verumtamen
" hujus dicti prætermissio nihil reverentiæ vel auctori-
" tatis adimit Petri successoribus, quin in eis officiorum
" ecclesiasticorum rata sit dispensatio. Et quid agit
" hoc nisi vis divinæ liberalitatis [2] per Jesum Christum
" a beato Petro in vicarios Christi diffusa ?[3] Præterea,
" si dialecticam nosti, Quod valet in toto valet in
" parte ; quod valet in majori valet in minori. Ro-
" mana ecclesia quasi totum est omnium ecclesiarum,
" cæteræ ecclesiæ sunt quasi ejus partes. Sicut enim
" quodam intuitu homo est genus suorum individuorum,
" et tamen in unoquoque individuo inest totius
" hominis tota proprietas, ita quodam respectu sedes
" Romana est genus et totum [4] ecclesiarum, et tamen
" in unaquaque ecclesia totius Christianæ fidei tota
" regnat integritas. Romana ecclesia major est om-
" nium ecclesiarum, et [5] quod in ea valet valere debet
" in minoribus, ut potestas primæ [6] cujuscumque [7]
" ecclesiæ in succedentes demanet,[8] nisi siquid per-
" sonaliter et [9] nominatim excipiatur. Quare sicut
" Christus dixit [10] omnibus præsulibus Romanis quod
" dixit Petro, ita dixit [11] Gregorius omnibus Augustini

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[1] *tuis*] om. B.
[2] *libertatis*, B.
[3] *ejus diffusa*, A. ; *ejus transfusa*, B.
[4] *rerum*, add. A.B.
[5] *et*] om. B.
[6] *primi*, A.B.
[7] *principalis*, C.D.
[8] *remaneat*, B.
[9] *aut*, C.D.
[10] *dixit Petro sic papa dixit Augustino. Hic*, &c., C.D.
[11] *dixit*, from A.B. ; *dux*, MS.

" ' to þy successoures;' and þeiȝ he seide nouȝt soo, ȝit he bynemeþ Peter his successoures noþing of reverens noþer of auctorite ; bote þey [1] haveþ [2] lawefulliche þe dispensacioun of office [3] of holy chirche. What makeþ þat bote þe vertu of God þat springeþ by Crist of Peter [into] [4] hys [5] successours ? Also ȝif þou canst [6] knowe bytwene þe [7] false and þe [7] soþe, what haþ strengþe in al haþ strengþe in [þe party, and what haþ [8] strengþe in þe more haþ strengþe in] [9] þe lasse. Þe cherche of Rome is as it were heed [10] of alle chirches, and oþere chirches [11] beeþ [12] as it were parties þerof, and so [13] forto [14] take heede in oon manere wise, man is þe kynde of his singulers. Bote in everiche singuler man is þe kynde of al mankynde. So forto take hede in som manere wise, þe chirche of [15] þe see at [16] Rome is as it were þe kynde, and conteyneþ al in comparisoun to oþere chirches, and ȝit in every chirche regneþ þe ful [17] hoolnes [18] of Cristene fey.[19] Þe cherche of Rome is grettest of alle chirches, and what haþ strengþe in þat chirche schal have strengþe in lasse cherches. So þat in every [20] chirche þe powere of þe firste schal springe into alle his successours, bote ouȝt be nameliche and specialliche outake; þerfore as Crist seide to alle þe bisshoppes of Rome þat he seide to Peter, so Gregory seide to alle Austyn

Trevisa.

" thy successors." Neverthelesse, the levynge of that seyenge pereschethe noo thynge of reverence or of auctorite to the successours of Petre, but that the dispensacion of offices ecclesiasticall is liberalle in theym. And what causethe that but the strengthe of divine liberalite diffudede from Petre into his vicaryes by Iesu Criste. And if ye redde logike, reduce to mynde a proposicion: That thynge whiche hathe effecte in the holle, hathe effecte in the parte. The churche of Rome is as the holle body of alle churches, and thei be as partes of the churche of Rome. Then sithe the churche of Rome is moder and the holle body of all churches, and that thynge that hathe effecte in hit hathe effecte in the partes of hit. Wherefore, like as Criste seide to alle bischoppes of Rome, that he seide to Petyr, in lykewise,

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *hy habbeþ*, γ.
[2] *hadde*, Cx.
[3] *offys*, β.
[4] From α., β., and Cx.
[5] *hys*, from γ.
[6] *kanst*, β. and Cx.
[7] *þe*] om. Cx., bis.
[8] *haþ*] om. γ. and Cx.
[9] From α. and β.
[10] *heed*] om. α. ; *al*, β. and Cx.
[11] *were alle of alle cherches*, γ.
[12] *both*, Cx.
[13] *as*, α., β., and Cx.
[14] *as vorto*, γ.
[15] *and*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[16] *of*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[17] *volle*, γ.
[18] *holynesse*, Cx.
[19] *feiþ*, β., et infra ; *feyth*, Cx., et infra.
[20] *euerych*, γ.

" successoribus quod Augustino dixerat. Hinc conficitur
Sicut Canciæ subjicitur Romæ ratione ecclesiæ ita etiam Eboracensis Cantuariensi ecclesiæ.
" quod[1] sicut Cantia[2] subjicitur Romæ eo quod ex
" ea[3] fidem suscepit, ita Eboracum[4] [5] subjiciatur Can-
" tuariæ, quæ[6] illuc[7] prædicatores misit. Jam vero
" quod allegas Gregorium voluisse ut Augustinus reside-
" ret Londoniis, fluctuat plane. Quis enim credat tantum
" discipulum tanti magistri resultare voluntati, ireque
" in repulsam decretorum? Sed esto quod ipse
" Augustinus, prout dicis, migraret, quid[8] ad me qui
" Londoniensis non sum? Ea de re si lite secutura[9]
" pace media negotium ventilari desideres, pro mei
" juris officio non deero[10] judicio." Succubuit his rationibus Thomas, et libenter concessit ut ulterior ripa Humbræ fluminis esset principium suæ diœcesis. Decretumque est[11] ut Eboracensis de cætero in his quæ ad catholicum cultum pertinent subjaceat Cantuariensi, ita ut si Cantuariensis[12] ubicumque locorum in Anglia concilium cogere voluerit, Eboracensis archiepiscopus cum[13] subjectis sibi episcopis aderit, et canonicis ejus præceptis obediens erit. Obeunte autem

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[1] *ut*, B.
[2] *Cantuaria*, B.
[3] *eo*, B.
[4] *Eboracensis*, B.
[5] *cum* is wrongly inserted here in MS., the scribe having repeated the last syllable of the previous word.
[6] *qui*, B.
[7] *illud*, A.
[8] *quid*, from A.; *quod*, MS.
[9] *sequestrata*, A.; *sequestrate*, B.
[10] *recto*, add. B.C.D.
[11] *est*] om. B.
[12] *ita . . . Cantuariensis*] om. B.
[13] *suis*, add. A.

" his successours what he seide to Austyn. Hereof folweþ[1] " þat as Caunterbury [is suget to Rome for he fenȝ þe fey[2] of " Rome, so schal ȝork be sugett to Caunterbury][3] þat sent þider " prechours to preche hem þe fey. Bote for þou seist þat " Gregorie wolde þat Austyn schulde have his see at Londoun, " it may nouȝt stonde: who wolde trowe þat so noble a disciple " as Austyn was wolde wiþstonde and doo aȝenst his maister " his wille, þat was so noble a maister, and doo aȝenst holy " decrees? But þey[4] it were so þat Austyn as þou seist " passed from Londoun, what is þat to me þat am not bisshop " of Londoun. Þerfore ȝif þis strif is i-cessed, and pees i-made " for a tyme, if þow desirest for[5] to plede, I shal nouȝt be " from home,[6] bote I shal defende myn offys and myn[7] riȝt." By þese resouns Thomas was overcome, and grauntede gladliche þat þe ȝonder brynke of Humber schulde be þe bygynnynge of his deocise.[8] Also it[9] was i-demed þat þere afterward in þinges þat longeþ to þe[10] worschippe of God, and to þe fey of holy chirche, þe archebisshop of ȝork schulde be sugett to þe archebisshop of Caunterbury, so þat ȝif þe archebisshop of Caunterbury wolde make a counsaille in eny place of Engelond, þe archebisshop of ȝork schulde be þereat wiþ þe bisshop[11] of his province,[12] and he schal be obedient to his[13] laweful hestes. ȝif þe archebisshop [of Caunturbury is ded the archbischop][14]

TREVISA.

Gregory seide to the successours of seynte Austyn, that he seide to hym. Wherefore like as Cawnterbery is subiecte to Rome, in that hit toke feithe of hit, so Yorke awe to be subiecte to Cawnterbery, whiche sende þider prechers that made the cuntre bryȝhte with the feithe of Criste. These reasons approbate, Thomas archebischop of Yorke grauntede there that the ferther brynke of the water of Humbre scholde be the begynnynge of his diocyse, where hit was decrete that the byschop of Yorke scholde be subiecte to the metropolitan off Cawnterbery in alle thynges pertenynge to the honoure of God; in so moche that the archebischop of Yorke schalle come with alle his bischoppes into what place of Ynglonde hit schalle please the metropolitan to assigne eny cownsayle. And the archebischop of Cawnterbery dedde, the archebischop of Yorke schalle comme to

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 338 a.

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[1] *volweþ*, γ.
[2] *vor a veng*, γ.
[3] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[4] *þouȝ*, β.; *though*, Cx.
[5] *for*] om. β. and Cx.
[6] *þe dome*, α. and Cx.; *þe doom*, β.; *vram þe dome*, γ.
[7] *my*, β.
[8] *diocesy*, β. and γ.; *dyocesy*, Cx.
[9] *hyt*, γ.
[10] *þe*] om. β., γ., and Cx.
[11] *bischops*, β.; *bisshops*, Cx.
[12] *provinces*, α.
[13] *a*, γ.
[14] From β. and Cx.; *Ef the archebyschop of Canturbury ys ded þe archebyschop*, γ.

Cantuariensi primate, Eboracensis Doroberniam veniet, et electum cum cæteris prefatæ[1] ecclesiæ episcopis in primatem consecrabit. Quod si Eboracensis episcopus obierit, successor ejus ad Cantuariensem accedet, ubicunque in Anglia Cantuariensi visum fuerit, et ordinationem ab eo suscipiet, faciens juramentum cum professione de obedientia. Emicat igitur[2] Lanfrancus tripudio, acta excipit scripto, ne si laberentur recentia posteri fraudarentur[3] notitia,[4] modeste tamen, ut nec scienda prætermitteret nec dicendo[5] efflueret,[6] quia in proprias laudes facetiari odiosa jactantia est. Unde et epistolam ista continentem misit Lanfrancus summo pontifici Alexandro cum professione Thomæ Eboracensis. Hoc anno rex[7] Willelmus cum navali et equestri exercitu Scotiam adiit, et regem Malcolinum subegit; qui ejus homo ligius devenit, et fidelitatem[8] juravit. Sigefridus[9] Magontinus episcopus Sanctum Jacobum peregrinus adiit sed in redeundo effectus [est][10] monachus Cluniacensis. Cujus episcopatum dum quidam mercenarii comparare[11] vellent, jubente

Gratiæ MLXXIII. Willelmi VIII.

[1] *prefatæ*] om. A.
[2] *itaque*, B.
[3] *fraudarentur*, from A.B.; *fraudarent*, MS.
[4] *notitiam*, B.; *aut posteri sui juris fraudarentur noticiis*, C.D.
[5] *dicenda*, B.
[6] *affluueret*, A.
[7] *Hoc quoque rex*, B.
[8] *ei*, add C.D.
[9] *Sigebertus*, C.D.
[10] *est*, from B.
[11] *emere*, B.

of ȝork schal come to Dorobernia, þat is[1] Caunterbury, wiþ bis- TREVISA.
shoppis of þe forseide cherche, and sacre þe primat þat is i-
chose. And ȝif þe archebischop of ȝork is deed, his successor
schal come to þe archebisshop of Caunterbury, where he wole
assigne in Engelond, and be i-sacred of hym, and he schal
make hym an ooþ with professioun and obediens. Þanne
Lanfrank hopped for joye, and feng al þis i-wrete[2] for þe[3]
newe doynge schulde nouȝt slide out of mynde,[4] and his suc-
cessoures[5] be bygiled of þe knowleche þerof. Bote he bare
hym so þat he[6] lefte[7] not þat noþer passed in spekynge. For
it is i-hated a man to make hymself curious in his owne preys-
inge. Þanne Lanfrank sente a pistel to pope Alisaundre þat
conteynede al þis doynge, wiþ þe professioun of Thomas arche-
bisshop of ȝork. Þis ȝere kyng William wente into Scotlond
wiþ a greet navey and an oost of horsmen, and made kyng
Malcolyn suget, and kyng Malcolyn bycam his leege[8] man, and
swoor hym homage and fewte. And[9] Sigebertus, bisshop of
Magons, wente to Seynt James a pilgremage, bote in his com-
ynge aȝen[10] he was i-made bisshop[11] of Cluny. Þanne schip-
men[12] wolde have i-bouȝt his bisshopriche; [he siȝ[13] þat, and

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Cawnterbery, and consecrate the man electe into the metropo- MS. HARL.
litan. And if þe archebischop of Yorke dye, his successor 2261.
schalle comme to what place in Ynglonde hit pleasethe the
archebischop of Cawnterbery, and take his ordinacion of hym,
makynge an othe with profession of obedience. Whiche decrete
Lanfrancus causede to be wryten, sendynge also an epistole to
Alexander the pope, with the profession of Thomas the arche-
bischop expressede in hit. Kynge William wente to Scottelonde
in this yere, takynge ij. hostes with hym, oon for the see, an
other for the londe, and subduede to hym Malcolmus the
kynge þer, whiche was sworne lige man to kynge William.
Sigefridus bischop Magontyne wente on pilgremage to Seynte
Iames, and in returnenge he was made a monke of the ordre
Cluniacense. But thabbot understondynge marchauntes to bye

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[1] *Dorobernia þat is*] om. β. and Cx.
[2] *writen*, β.; *wreton*, Cx.
[3] *þe*] þat, β. and Cx.
[4] *mund*, γ.
[5] *sholde*, add. Cx.
[6] *a*, γ.
[7] *loste*, Cx.
[8] *lege*, β.; *lyege*, Cx.
[9] *And*] om. β. and Cx.
[10] *aȝe*, γ.
[11] *monk*, β. and Cx.
[12] *chepmen*, γ.
[13] *sawe*, Cx.

abbate suo, ad sedem propriam rediit. Hoc anno Edgare[1] adiit regem Willelmum in Normaniam, et pacificatus est cum eo. *De pontificibus Romanorum.*[2]

Cap. III.

[*De rebus Anglicis, præcipue ecclesiasticis, sub Willelmo Conquestore.*]

Gratiæ MLXXIIII. Willelmi IX.

Hyldebrandus[3] qui et Gregorius septimus, quondam prior Cluniacensis, deinde Romanus archidiaconus, tertio papa effectus sedit annis xi. Qui synodo congregata interdixit clericis consecratis uxores habere aut cum mulieribus habitare, nisi quas[4] Nicena synodus aut cæteri canones permiserunt. Sed cum sacerdotes ejus censuras parvipenderent, præcepit papa ut nullus audiret missam sacerdotis[5] concubinarii. Hic dum aliquando cardinalis esset et legatus in Franciam, contra prælatos Symoniacos acriter processit, unde et unus episcopus super hoc graviter infamatus, testes qui eum

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[1] *Adeling de Scocia*, add. C.D.
[2] A.B. omit heading.
[3] *Hatebrandus*, B.
[4] *quas*, from A.; *quos* MS.
[5] *sacerdotis*] om. B.

wente aȝen to his bysshopriche],[1] as his [2] abbot het hym. Þat[3] ȝere Edgar Adelyng wente to kyng William into Normandie, and was accorded[4] with hym. TREVISA.

Capitulum tertium.

HATEBRAND,[5] þat was þe sevenþe pope Gregory, þat[6] was sometyme priour of Cluni and þanne archedekon of Rome, and þanne he[7] was i-made pope elevene ȝere; he made a synod, and forbeed[8] clerkes þat were i-sacred[9] and ordeyned[10] þat þei schulde have no wifes, noþer wonye[11] wiþ wommen, bote wiþ suche as þe sinod Nicena and holy lawes suffreþ: bote for preostes despisede[12] his punschynges[13] þe pope heet þat me schulde nouȝt hire[14] ȝa preostes[15] masse þat hilde[16] opounliche and comounliche a concubyne,[17] aȝenst þe popes[18] ordenaunce. In a tyme þis was a cardenal and þe popes messanger[19] into Fraunce, and made hard processe aȝenst prelates þat were i-made by symonye; [þanne oon bisshop þat was scharpliche diffamed of symony],[20]

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that seete, compellede the bischop to goe to his seete ageyne. Edgar Adelyng wente in this ȳere into Normandy unto kynge William, with whom he was accorded. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum tertium.

HILTEBRANDUS other Gregory the vij[the] was pope xxj. yere; whiche callynge a cownsaile prohibite clerkes to have wifes, or to dwelle with women, theyme excepte whom the cownsaile of Nicene did permitte, other canon. But prestes despisynge this prohibicion, the pope commaunded that noo man scholde here the masses of prestes havynge concubynes. This pope, cardinalle afore, and sende to Frawnce, procedede soore ageyne men of the churche usynge symony, and putte in grete office þerby, where oon bischop accusede gretely þerof correct

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[1] From *α.*, *β.*, and Cx.
[2] his, from *α.*, *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx.; *Incis*, MS.
[3] *þis*, *β.*
[4] *acord*, Cx.
[5] *Hiltebrand*, *β.*; *Hiltebrande*, Cx.
[6] *þat*] om. *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx.
[7] *a*, *γ.*
[8] *vorbud*, *γ.*
[9] *wyfes* added here in *α.* and Cx. The word is also written in MS., but has been marked out.
[10] *forbode*, Cx.
[11] *dwelle*, Cx.
[12] *dispisiden*, *β.*; *dispreysed*, Cx.
[13] *punsyngs*, *γ.*
[14] *here*, *β.*
[15] *prist hys*, *γ.*
[16] *huld*, *γ.*
[17] *a concubyne*] om. *γ.*
[18] *aȝenes pope hys*, *γ.*
[19] *pope hys messager*, *γ.*
[20] From *α.*, *β.*, and Cx.

accusaverant clam corrupit. Quod comperiens legatus coram concilio dixit: "Cesset ad præsens humanum ju-
" dicium sæpe fallibile, et producatur divinum oraculum.
" Cum ergo certum sit quod episcopalis gratia donum sit
" Spiritus Sancti, et quisquis episcopatum mercatur con-
" tra Spiritum Sanctum facit, si ergo tu, pontifex, contra
" Spiritum Sanctum non egisti, dicas[1] palam in concilio,
" *Gloria Patri et Filio et Spiritui Sancto.*" Sed ille licet frequentius incepisset et dicere temptasset, nunquam tamen[2] *Spiritui Sancto* proferre potuit;[3] sed ejectus de episcopatu postmodum plane dixit. Hic etiam papa[4] dum[5] nocte Nativitatis Dominicæ primam missam in ecclesia beatæ Mariæ ad præsepe Domini celebraret, Crescentius præfecti urbis filius cepit eum et incarceravit; sed Romani statim fregerunt turrim et papam liberaverunt. Iste etiam papa in[6] concilio centum episcoporum excommunicavit Henricum[7] tertium imperatorem, et a fidelitate ei debita cunctos absolvit, pro

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[1] *dic*, A.B.
[2] *tamen*] om. B.
[3] *potuit*, from A.B.; *posset*, MS.
[4] *papa*] om. B.
[5] *cum*, B.
[6] *Item papa in*, B.
[7] *Henricum*] om. A.

chaungede[1] wiþ mede[2] þe witnes þat hym hadde accused; þe legat was war[3] þerof, and seide tofore al þe counsail: "Now "manis doome is away þat failleþ[4] ofte, lete us brynge "Goddes[5] owne dome þat failleþ nevere more. Seþþe[6] þat "þe grace of a bisshopriche [is þe gifte of þe Holy Goost, he "þat byeþ a bisshopriche][7] dooþ aȝenst þe Holy Goost:[8] "þanne ȝif[9] þou bisshop hast nouȝt i-doo aȝenst þe Holy Goost, "say openliche here in counsaille,[10] "Gloria Patri et Filio et "'Spiritui Sancto;'" þat is, "Ioye to þe Fadir,[11] Sone, and[12] "Holy Goost." He bygan, and assayede ofte, but he myȝte nevere seie[13] þe Holy Goost; but he seide it pleynly whan he was i-put out of þe bisshopriche. Also while þis pope songe þe[14] firste masse in a mydwynter nyȝt at Seynt Marie ad[15] presepe Domini, oon Crescensius, þe sone of þe prefecte of þe citee, took hym and putte hym in prisoun; bote anon þe Romayns breke[16] þe toure and delyvered þe pope. Also in a counsaile of þre hondred bisshoppes þis pope corsede þe þridde Henry [þe][17] emperour, and assoilede alle men of here ooth þat

Trevisa.

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prively his accusers. The legate perceyvynge that, seide afore the cownsaile, "The iuggemente of man that is fallible schalle "sease, and a token of God schalle be expressede. Wherefore "sithe hit is certeyne that the grace of a bischop is a ȝifte of "the Holy Goste, and whosoever byethe that office dothe ageyne "the Holy Goste, þou bischoppe, if thow have not doen ageyne "the Holy Goste, say openly in this cownsaile, 'Gloria Patri et "'Filio et Spritui Sancto.'" This bischoppe begynnynge, "Gloria Patria" ofte, cowthe not say in enywise, "et Spiritui Sancto." This pope syngynge the firste masse on Cristes day in a churche of oure Lady ad presepe Domini, was taken by Crescencius, the son of the maire of Rome, and putte into prison, but the Romanes delyverede hym soone from hyt. This pope cursed also in a cownesaile of a c. bischoppes Henricus the thrydde emperoure, and absolvede alle men from alle fidelite made to hym in that he

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 338 b.

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[1] *stanchede*, γ.; *chaunge*, Cx.
[2] *myde*, γ.
[3] *waare*, Cx.
[4] *failleþ*, from α; *failiþ*, β.; *fayleþ*, γ.; *faylyth*, Cx., bis.; *falleth*, MS.
[5] *vorth God hys*, γ.
[6] *Siþþe*, β.
[7] From α., β., and Cx.
[8] *he þat bisshopriche doþ aȝenst þe Holy Goost*, wrongly inserted here in MS.
[9] *ȝif*] om. Cx.
[10] *say . . . counsaille*] bis in MS.
[11] *and to the*, add. β.; *and*, add. γ.
[12] *to the*, add. β.
[13] *sygge*, γ.; *say*, Cx.
[14] *þe*] his, Cx.
[15] *ad*] at, Cx.
[16] *brake*, β.

eo quod contra statum universalis ecclesiæ[1] plurima moliretur. Sed postmodum quamvis imperator nudis pedibus super nivem et glaciem diu stans veniam rogaret, vix absolutionem obtinuit; post hæc[2] tamen imperator Romam obsedit, cives corrupit, papam incarceravit, et quendam Wybertum Ravennatem episcopum papam instituit, et Clementem vocavit. Sed Robertus dux Apuliæ hæc audiens, papam et cardinales liberavit.[3] Comes Herefordiæ Rogerus, de cujus consilio[4] rex Willelmus scrutari fecerat monasteria Angliæ pro thesauris habendis, contra regis præceptum sororem suam Radulpho[5] comiti Estangliæ copulavit. Ubi contra regem fecerunt conjurationem, et comitem Walterum[6] ad consentiendum[7] circumvenerunt.[8] Qui[9] mox Lanfrancum adiit, et pœnitentia accepta regem in Normannia petiit, factionem[10] denudavit, clementiæ[11] ultro se dedit. Rex vero rediens quosdam exlegavit, comitem

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[1] *ecclesiæ*, om. B.
[2] *hoc*, B.
[3] C.D. add: "et imperatorem "cum suo antipapa profugavit. "Hoc quoque anno omnia juxta "cursum solis et lunæ sunt com- "pleta, sicut in quindecimo anno "Tiberii Cæsaris, a quo anno usque "in præsentem duo magni cicli "sunt, hoc est 1064 anni."
[4] *Rogerus de Conci* (sic) *rex*, B.
[5] *Riđo* (sic), B.
[6] *Waltef*, A.
[7] *suis dolis*, C.D.
[8] *circumvenerunt*] om. B.
[9] *Walterus*, C.D.
[10] *pactionem*, A.
[11] *regiæ*, add. A.B.

owede[1] hym homage and feute; for he kest[2] meny þinges aȝenst þe state of holy chirche. And afterward þeiȝ þe emperour stood longe tyme baare foot[3] uppon snow and yse, unneþe he was assoiled. But after[4] þe emperour[5] byseged Rome, and mede[6] þe citeseyns, and prisoned þe pope, and took oon Wybertus bisshop of Raven, and made hym pope, and cleped hym Clement; but Robert duke of Apulia herde herof, and delyvered þe pope and þe cardinalles.[7] Roger þe[8] eorle of Herford, by whos counsaille kyng William had i-made serche[9] alle þe abbayes of Engelond for to have greet tresour, þis eorle maried his suster to Raaf eorle[10] of Est Engelond,[11] þat conteyneþ Norþfolk and Souþfolk,[12] aȝenst þe kynges heste,[13] and made þere conspiracie aȝenst þe kynges heste,[14] and made eorle Waltef assente þerto be gile;[15] bote he wente anon to Lanfrank and feng[16] his penaunce, and wente awey[17] þan into Normandie to þe kyng, and warnede hym of þe tresoun, and putte hym wilfulliche in þe kynges grace. Þe kyng cam aȝen into Engelond, and outlawed some, and chasede eorle Raaf,[18] and prisoned

TREVISA.

labored ageyne the churche of Rome. Themperoure commynge afterwarde barefoted in forste and snawe, stondynge so by a grete space, and askynge foȝifnesse, cowthe unnethe obteyne absolucion of the pope. Neverthelesse that emperour after that segede the cite of Rome, sleynge the citesynnes, and imprisonynge the pope, made Wibertus archebischop of Ravenna pope, namynge hym Clement. But Robert duke of Apulia herynge this processe, come to Rome, and delyverede þe pope. Roger erle of Herford, by the cownsayle of whom kynge William causede monasteryes of Ynglonde to be serchede for theire goodes, maryede his sustir to Rawf erle of Esteynglonde, ageyne þe wille of the kynge, and causede Waltef the erle to consente to theyme. But this erle Waltef wente to Lanfrancus, and penaunce ioynede to hym for his synnes, wente to Normandy to kynge William, rehersynge his offense, and submittynge hym to his mercy and grace. The kynge returnynge from Normandy, putte somme of þeim to exile, and chasede

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *owht*, Cx.
[2] *caste*, β., γ., and Cx.
[3] *barfot*, β.
[4] *þerafter*, α. and β.; *afterwarde*, Cx.
[5] *þe emperour*] om. Cx.
[6] *medede*, α.; *meded*, β. and Cx.; *mydede*, γ.
[7] *and þe cardinalles*] om. Cx.
[8] *þe*] om. γ.
[9] *sarche*, γ.
[10] *Raph erl*, γ.
[11] *Anglond*, γ.
[12] *and Souþfolk*] om. Cx.
[13] *kynges heste*] kyng, β.; kynge, Cx.
[14] *heste*] om. γ.
[15] *by gile*, β.; *by gyle*, Cx.
[16] *vyng*, γ.
[17] *awey*] om. γ.
[18] *erl Raph*, γ.

Ranulphum profugavit, comitem Waltef post incarcerationem juxta Wyntoniam impie fecit decollari; sed Deo ordinante processu temporis corpus ejus apud monasterium de Crouland[1] tumulatur. De quo testatus est Lanfrancus quod vere humana contagia defleverit, et felicem se fore dixit si post hujus vitæ exitum[2] illius posset frui requie. *Concilium Lanfranci.*[3]

Gratiæ MLXXVI. Willelmi XI.

Celebratum est concilium Londoniense in ecclesia Sancti Pauli sub Lanfranco, cujus[4] rei usus in Anglia diu aboleverat,[5] ubi primo ordinatum est de sessione episcoporum in conciliis celebrandis,[6] secundo quod[7] sedes episcoporum de viculis transirent ad urbes majores; unde factum est ut sedes Selesiensis transiret ad Cicestriam,[8] Cornubiensis ad Excestriam, Wellensis ad Bathoniam, Schireburnensis ad Salisburiam, Dorcestrensis ad Lincolniam, Lichefeldensis ad Cestriam, tempore Petri episcopi, sed Robertus successor ejus[9] transivit[10] de Cestria ad Conventreiam. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro ii.*[11]

Gratiæ MLXXVII. Willelmi XII.

Hoc anno Hermannus primus episcopus Salisburiensis,[12] de[13] quo supra dictum est, obiit. Cui successit Osmundus regis cancellarius xxiiii. annis;

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[1] *Croulond*, A.B.
[2] *obitum*, B.
[3] A.B.C.D. omit heading.
[4] *cujus*, from B.; *cui*, MS.
[5] *absolverat*, B.; altered to *aboleverat*, A.
[6] *celebrandum*, A.
[7] *quod*] om. B.
[8] *Cicestriam*, from A.B.; *Cercestriam*, MS.
[9] *suus*, B.
[10] *transtulit*, B,C.D.
[11] C.D. omit reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 250.
[12] *Salisburiensis*] om. A.
[13] *de quo . . . Hibernia*] om. C.D.

eorle Waltaf,[1] and made afterward [smyte of his heed wickedliche bisides Wynchestre. In a[2] tyme þat came afterward][3] by ordenaunce of God, his body was i-buried in þe abbay of Crowland. Of hym witnessith Lanfrank þat he was verray repentant of his synnes, and seide þat wel were hym ȝif he myȝte come to Waltef his reste after his ende day. In Lanfrank his tyme was [a][4] counsaille i-made at Londoun in Seint Poules[5] chirche; þat doynge hadde[6] longe tyme be[7] i-left[8] of in Engelond. First, þer was i-ordeyned how bisshops schulde sitte in counsailles and in synodes; þe secounde, þat bisshoppes sees[9] schulde passe out of smal townes to gretter townes; and so the see of Selsey[10] passede to Chichestre, of Cornewaile[11] to Excetre, of Welles to Bathe, of Shireborne to Salesbury, of Dorchestre to Lincolne, of Lichefeeld to Chestre in bisshop Peter his tyme, bote his successour Robert passede from Chestre to Coventre. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Þis ȝere deide Hermannus[12] þe firste bisshop of Salesbury, of þe whiche[13] it is i-wrete[14] to forehonde.[15] After hym þe kinges chaunceller Osmundus was bisshop foure and twenty

Trevisa.

awey the erle of Este Ynglonde, Ridulphus by name, and caused Waltef the erle to be heded wickidly after his imprisonement at Wynchestre; the body of whom in processe of tyme was brouȝte to Crowlonde and beriede þer, whom Lanfrancus seide to have made an happy ende. A cownsaile was hade at London in the churche of Seynte Paule under Lanfrancus, where hit was ordeynede firste of the seetes of bischoppes, and of cownsailes to be kepede. In the secunde, that the seetes of bischoppes scholde be translate from townes to cites of moore dignite, wherefore the seete Seliense was translate to Chichestre, and the seete of Cornubia to Excestre, Welles to Bathe, of Schirburn to Salisbury, of Dorcestre to Lincoln, of Lichefelde to Chestre in the tyme of Petir bischop. But Robert, his successor translate that seete to Coventre. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* Hermannus, firste bischop of Salisbery, diede in this yere, of whom hit is rehersed afore; whom Osmund chaunceler to the kynge did succede xxiiij. yere. Whiche made a

MS. Harl. 2261

[1] *erl Waltef*, γ.; *Waltef*, Cx.
[2] *a*] om. γ.
[3] From α., β., and Cx.
[4] From β.
[5] *Paulys*, γ.
[6] The word *be* is transferred in α. and Cx.
[7] *be*] om. γ.
[8] *i-*] om. α. and β.
[9] *see*, Cx.
[10] *Selsey*, from β., γ., and Cx.; *Sefey*, MS.
[11] *Kirtoun*, β.; *Kyrton*, Cx.
[12] *Hyrmanus*, Cx.
[13] *whoche*, γ.
[14] *wreton*, Cx.
[15] *to vorhond*, γ.

qui ecclesiam novam ibidem[1] construxit, clericos insignes tam litteris quam cantu aggregavit, ita ut ipsemet episcopus libros scribere ligare et illuminare non fastidiret. Hic quoque composuit librum ordinalem ecclesiastici officii quem Consuetudinarium vocavit, quo fere nunc tota Anglia, Wallia utitur et Hibernia; dictavit etiam vitam sancti Aldelmi.[2] Hoc anno Robertus Courthese,[3] primogenitus regis Willelmi, pro eo quod non posset obtinere Normanniam, quam pater suus sibi aliquando assignaverat, auxilio regis Francorum fretus multas prædas in Normannia egit et patri molestias intulit,[4] ita quod pater in brachio vulneratus et de equo suo dejectus[5] exclamaret; cujus vocem Robertus audiens descendit de equo suo et patrem in equum levavit.[6] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.*[7]

Gratiæ MLXXVIII. Willelmi XIII.

Gratiæ MLXXX. Willelmi XV.

Northimbrenses occiderunt Walkerum episcopum Dunelmensem.[8] Cui successit Willelmus quondam abbas Sancti Karilefi,[9] qui[10] monachos apud Dunelmiam primus posuit. Hic potens in sæculo, oris volubilitate promptus,

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[1] *ibi*, A.
[2] *Adellmi*, B.
[3] *Courthose*, A.; *Curtose*, B.
[4] *tulit*, B.
[5] *ejectus*, B.
[6] *cujus bonitatem ex instinctu naturæ pater cognoscens missis nunciis ad eum se revocavit*, B.
[7] C.D. omit reference. Script post Bedam, p. 277.
[8] *de quo prophetaverat regina Editha ut supradictum est*, B.
[9] *abbas Valerici, qui præcepto regis monachos sexto kalendas Junii in Dunelmia primo posuit*, B.
[10] *præcepto regis*, B.

ȝere ; he bulde[1] þere a newe cherche, and brouȝte þider[2] noble clerkes and konnynge of clergie and of songe. So þat þis bisshop hymself schonede not to write and lumine[3] and bynde bookes. Also he made þe ordynal of þe service of holy chirche, and cleped it þe Consuetudinarius.[4] Now wel nyh al[5] Engelond, Wales, and Irlond useþ þat ordynal. Also he endited seint Aldelm[6] his lif.[7] Þis ȝere Robert Curthose,[8] kyng[9] William his eldest sone, for he myȝte nouȝt have Normandie [that his fader had assigned him somtyme, therfore by helpe of the kynge of Fraunce he toke prayes in Normandie, and][10] dede his fader moche woo, so þat his fader was i-wonded and unhorsed, and gan for to crie. Robert herde[11] his fader voys, and lyȝte downe of is hors, and horsede his fader aȝen. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Þe Norþhumbres slouȝ Walkerus bisshop of Durham. William þat was somtyme abbot of Kariles,[12] was bisshop after hym. Þis William brouȝte firste monkes at Dyrham.[13] He was myȝti in þe

Trevisa.

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newe churche þer ; whiche getynge to hyt noble clerkes, and also men instructe in musike, whiche bischop was not aschame to wryte books, to elumyn theym, and to bynde þeim by his awne person. Also he made an ordinalle of the office of the churche, whom he callede a consuetudinary, whom alle Ynglonde and Wales usethe nowe and Irlonde ; whiche did write also the lif of seynte Aldelme. Roberte Curthose, the firste sonne of kynge William, havynge grete helpe of the kynge of Fraunce, trowblede moche his fader, in that he myȝhte not have Normandy, as kynge William his fader hade promisede to hym, insomoche that kynge William woundede in the arme, and unhorsede, cryede for helpe. Robert Curthose herynge the voice of his fader liȝhte downe of his horse, and sette his fader on him. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.* Men of Northumbrelonde did slee Walkerus bischop of Dirhem, whom William succedid, a myȝhty man in the worlde, and promotede by his

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 339 a.

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[1] *buylded*, Cx.
[2] *þuder*, γ.
[3] *lymne*, β. and Cx. ; *lumine*, from γ. *lumynede*, MS.
[4] *consuetudinarye*, α., β., and Cx. ; *consuetudinary*, γ.
[5] *ne ıȝ*, .
[6] *Aldelm*, from γ. ; *Adelms*, Cx. ; *Albon*, MS.
[7] *Aldelm's lif*, β.
[8] *Courthehose*, β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *kync*, γ.
[10] From Cx. ; *þat his fader had assigned him somtyme, þerfore by helpe of þe kyng of Fraunce he toke prayes in Normandy and dide*, β. ; *þat hys vader hadde assygned hym som tyme, þarvore by help of þe kyng of fraunce he touk prayes in Normandy, and dude hys vader moche wo*, γ.
[11] *hurde*, γ.
[12] *Karyles*, β. ; *seynt Kariles*, γ. ; *Cariles*, Cx.
[13] *Durham*, α. and γ.

de qua re confisus partes postmodum contra regem Willelmum Rufum aliqualiter fovit, unde et de Anglia fugiens post duos annos ad sedem suam rediit. Sedulo agens ut pristinum regis adquireret amorem. Unde contigit ut regis velle et nolle omnino sequeretur, potissime in illo turbine qui inter regem et Anselmum versabatur, sperans per hoc aut regis gratiam adquirere aut in archiepiscopatu succedere, sed [1] utroque excidit.[2] Nam moto inter ipsum et regem discidio, dum ipse Gloverniæ pro causa sua defendenda adesset,[3] lecto æger decubuit, quo et obiit. Hic [4] primus [5] priorem Dunelmiæ hoc insigni extulit, ut in toto illo episcopatu decanus sit [6] et vicedominus. *De fundatione monasteriorum Salopiensis et Wenlokensis.*[7] Comes Salopiæ Warinus construxit duo cœnobia, unum in suburbio Salopiæ et aliud apud Wenlok [8] in honorem sanctæ Milburgæ.[9] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tertio.*[10] Dum quidam potens sederet in convivio repente circumvallatus est a muribus, qui licet in pelagus maris adductus esset, nil ei profuit, [11] nam mures corticibus [12] malorum [13]

Salop et Wenlok.

Gratiæ MLXXXI. Willelmi XVI.

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[1] *in*, B.
[2] *occidit*, B.
[3] *adesse*, A.
[4] *dum viveret*, C.D.
[5] *primo*, B.
[6] *sit*] om. B.
[7] A.B.C.D. omit heading.
[8] *Wenloc*, A.
[9] *Mildburgæ*, B.
[10] C.D. omit reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 115.
[11] *unde ad terram iterum deductus ab illis est omnino dilaceratus*, C.D.
[12] *cortices*, B.
[13] *malo*, B.

world,[1] and hadde his mouth at his wille, and hadde greet trust [2] þerynne, and favored afterward parties somdel aȝenst kyng William þe Rede. Þerfore he fliȝ [3] out of Engelond, and com aȝen to his owne bisshopriche after two ȝere, and made hym ful besy [4] to have þe kynges love aȝen. So þat he folwede [5] þe kynges wille and his ȝee [6] and nay [7] in al manere wise, and specialliche in þat strif þat was bytwene þe kyng and Ancelm,[8] [and hopede þerby to gete þe kynges grace oþer [to] [9] be archbisshop after Ancelm [10]].[11] Bot he faillede of eyþer, for þere fil [12] strif bytwene hym and þe kyng, and he was at Glowcestre to defende his cause.[13] Þis was þe firste þat dede [14] þe priour of Durham a benefet þat he schulde be deen [15] and archedekon in al þat bishopriche. Wareyn [16] eorle [17] of Schroesbury [18] made tweie abbeyes, oon in þe suburbes of Schroesbury and anoþer at Wenlok, in worschippe of seynt Milburgh.[19] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 3°. While a myȝti man sat at þe [20] feste muys [21] bysette hym sodenliche al aboute, and þeiȝ [22] he were i-brouȝt into þe hiȝe see it halpe hym nouȝt, ffor þe muys sewede[23] hym in þe see uppon ryndes of pom- TREVISA.

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glosynge speche. Whiche takynge parte afterwarde ageyne William Rufus kynge, fledde from Ynglonde by ij. yere. But that tyme passede, he was restorede to his seete, folowynge the wylle of the kynge to obteyne his favor, and specially in that trowble betwene the kynge and seynte Anselme. But at the laste, a discorde movede betwene hym and the kynge, and commynge to Gloucestre to defende his cause, diede þer. This bischop induede the prior of Dirhem firste with his honoure that he is decan in that bischopryche and as vichaunceller. Warinus erle of Schrobbesbure edifiede ij. monasterys, oon in the subarbes of that cite, an oþer at Wenlok into the honour of seynte Milburgh *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tertio.* A noble man syttynge at meyte abowte was compassede with a grete multitude of myce, whiche was brouȝhte to the see, but hit availede not, but that MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *worl*, γ.
[2] *triste*, β.
[3] *fledde*, Cx.
[4] *busy*, γ.
[5] *folewide*, β.; *volwede*, γ.
[6] *ȝhe*, β.
[7] *in his ye and nay*, Cx.
[8] *Anselm & þe kyng*, γ.
[9] From Cx.
[10] *Anselm*, γ.
[11] From α., β., and Cx.
[12] *vul*, γ.
[13] *and vul syk in hys bed & dyede þar*, γ.
[14] *dude*, γ.
[15] *been* (sic), α.
[16] *Waryng*, β. and Cx.
[17] *Waryn erl*, γ.
[18] *Scrosbury*, β.
[19] *Myldburgh*, α.; *Mildburgh*, β. and γ.
[20] þe] a, Cx.
[21] *muyse*, β., tris; *myes*, Cx., et infra.
[22] *though*, Cx.
[23] *siwede*, β.; *syewed*, Cx.

granatorum advecti a nautis demergebantur. Nihil enim creatum destituit Deus ingenio, nec ullum noxium sine remedio. Unde homo ille ad terram iterum deductus a muribus omnino delaceratus est. Idem fertur contigisse cuidam principi Poloniæ quem leopardus momorderat; simile etiam refertur[1] de quodam principe qui nulla arte se potuit a pediculis præservare. *Henricus, libro sexto.*[2] Hoc anno facta est seditio nefanda inter monachos et ignominiosum abbatem Glastoniæ Thurstanum,[3] quem rex Willelmus de monasterio Cadoni[4] nulla prudentia instructum sedem loco præfecerat. Qui inter cæteras stultitiæ suæ[5] ineptias Gregorianum cantum et officium aspernatus, monachos cœpit compellere ut Willelmi cujusdam Fiscanensis monachi cantum exercerent. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro ii.*[6] Res etiam ecclesiæ[7] lenocinando consumpsit, severe a monachis[8] ordinem exegit, sed inter[9] hæc victualia restrinxit. Hinc lites verborum, discordiæ animorum suscitantur, quia, ut ait Lucanus, "Nescit plebs

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[1] *fertur*, B.
[2] Script. post Bedam, p. 370.
[3] *Thurstinem*, MS.
[4] *Cadomi*, A.
[5] *suæ*] om. B.
[6] Script. post Bedam, p. 254.
[7] *monasterii*, B.
[8] *severe*, C.D.
[9] *inter*] om. A.

garnet,[1] and were adreynt of the schipmen. No þing þat God haþ wrouȝt is al wiþ oute witte, noþer [2] þing wiþ oute remedie: þan þe man was i-brouȝt on [3] londe aȝen,[4] and muys al to haled [5] hym. Me seiþ þat þe same hap bifel [6] a prince of Polenia [7] þat hadde a leoparde [8] i-bete. Also suche an hap is i-tolde of a prince þat myȝte by no manere craft kepe and save hym self fro luys [9] in no manere wise. *Henricus, libro* 6°. Þis ȝere was a corsed stryf bytwene þe monkes of Glastyngbury and þe unthryvynge abbot Thurstan, þat kyng William hadde i-brouȝt þider [10] out of þe abbay of Cadoni,[11] and made hym abbot of Glastingbury, þat cowþe non [12] manere witte of redynes. Among his oþer lewednes and folie he despised Gregori his song and offys, and bigan to compelle þe monkes for to use þe song of oon William [monk] [13] of Fiscanen.[14] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. He wasted and spend [15] þe cherche good and catel [16] in leccherie, and chalengede cruelliche þe ordre and service of þe monkes, and wiþ drouȝ [therwith] [17] here mete and drynke; þerof come chidynge and strif of wordes and discord of wittes and of powȝtes, ffor [18] Lucanus seiþ, "Fast-

TREVISA.

multitude foloynge hym to the water were drownede by schippemen. But the seide man brouȝhte ageyne to the londe was devourede of myce. A lyke thynge was seide to have happede to a prince of Polonia, whom a leoparde hade byten. Also hit is redde of a prince that cowthe not be helped in eny wise, but he was devourede of lyce. *Henricus, libro sexto.* A wikked and cursed sedicion was movede betwene Thurstyn, the prowde abbot of Glaston, and his convente in this yere, whiche despisynge the ordinaunce of songe assignede by seynte Gregory, began to compelle the monkes to exercise the songe of a monke Fiscanense. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* This abbot consumede the goodes of the monastery in wikkede and unreligious ordinaunce, compellynge his breþer to the streytenesse of the religion, takynge diverse meytes from þeim. But, as Lucanus the poete seithe, "A peple fastynge cannot drede,"

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *pomegarnat*, β. and Cx.
[2] *noyfol*, γ.
[3] *a*, γ.
[4] *ayene to londe*, Cx.
[5] *halide*, β.; *haaled*, Cx.
[6] *bifil*, β.; *byvul*, γ.
[7] *Polonia*, Cx.
[8] *a leopard hadde*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *for lyyse*, β.; *lyese*, Cx.
[10] *þuder*, γ.
[11] *Cadony*, β.
[12] *no*, β.
[13] From α., β., and Cx.
[14] *Fiscamen*, Cx.
[15] *spended*, Cx.
[16] *catails*, Cx.
[17] From Cx.; *þerwiþ*, β.; *þarewyþ*, γ.
[18] *vor* γ.

" jejuna timere." Post jurgia ventum est ad arma. Abbas ille cum satellitibus suis armata manu in monachos irruit, duos ad crepidinem altaris occidit, sexdecim [1] vulneravit, sagittas et jacula ad imagines et feretra ecclesiæ direxit; monachi autem [2] tanquam necessitate compulsi ubicumque poterant se defendentes [3] cum scamnis et candelabris quosdam de militibus vulneraverunt. Hinc moto judicio coram rege abbas in [4] monasterium suum in Normanniam translatus est; monachi vero jussu regis per episcopatus et [5] abbatias sunt dispersi. Post mortem vero regis Willelmi Thurstanus [6] prædictus emit monasterium Glastoniæ a rege Willelmo Rufo quingentis libris. Et sic per possessiones ecclesiæ aliquot annis evagatus longe ab eo expiravit. Hoc anno rex Willelmus de qualibet hyda [7] terræ in Anglia accepit sex solidos argenti.[8] Item papa Hyldebrandus laborans in extremis vocavit ad se cardinalem quem [9] dilexerat, et confessus est se [10] suscitasse odium et schisma inter

Gratiæ MLXXXIIII. Willelmi XIX.

[1] 18, A.B.C.D.
[2] *autem*] om. B.
[3] *se dentes* (sic), A.
[4] *ad*, A.B.
[5] *ad*, B.
[6] *Thurstinus*, B.
[7] *hida*, A.B.
[8] *Hoc . . . argenti*] C.D. place this below at the end of the chapter.
[9] *plus*, A.B.
[10] *de*, A.

" ynge[1] folk[2] conneþ[3] nouȝt[4] drede." Þanne after chid- TREVISA.
ynge and stryf me took[5] wepone.[6] And[7] þe abbot wiþ his men of armes, fel[8] i-armed on þe monkes, and slowȝ tweyne at þe hiȝe awter and woundede eyȝtene, and schot[9] arewes[10] to ymages and schrynes of þe cherche. Þe monkes, as þey were i-dreve[11] to by nede, defended hem self as wel as þey myȝte yn everiche side wiþ foormes and stooles and candlestikkes, and woundede som of þe knyȝtes. Þis cause was i-meoved tofore þe kyng, and þe abbot was i-chaunged and i-torned to[12] his owne abbay in Normandie. Bote þe monkes were to schifte[13] aboute by þe kynges heste by dyvers bisshopriches and abbayes; but after kyng William his deeþ þis Thurstan bouȝte þe abbay of Glastyngbury of kyng William þe Rede for fyve[14] hondred pounde; and so he wente aboute somwhat of ȝeres by þe possessiouns of þe abbay, and deide fer from[15] hym. Þis ȝere kyng William hadde of everiche hide[16] of lond in Engelond[17] sex schillynges of silver. Also pope Hiltebrand lay in his deeþ [bed],[18] and cleped to hym þe cardenales[19] þat he lovede moost, and knowleched þat he hadde i-made wreþe and strif

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and soe after stryves hit come to armes soone after. Where- MS. HARL.
fore the abbot gedrenge his men, fauȝhte ageyne the monkes, 2261.
sleynge tweyne of thyme afore an awter, wowndynge soore xviij. f. 339 b.
monkes, and schotynge at the ymages in the churche. The monkes as coacte to theire defense, takynge formes and suche thynges as they myȝhte, did slee diverse knyȝhtes whiche were ageyne þeim. This mater movede afore the kynge, the abbotte was sende to Normandy to his monastery, and the monkes were dispersede into other places. But the seide abbot bouȝhte the seide monastery of William Rufus, after the dethe of kynge William his fader, for v^{c}. li. Kynge William toke this yere of every hyde of grownde in Ynglonde vj. solidos of silver. Hildebrandus the pope, laborynge in extreme languor and infirmite, callede to hym a cardinalle whom he luffede moste,[e] and confessede that he hade movede grete division betwene them-

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[1] *Vastyng*, γ.
[2] *volk*, γ.
[3] *kunneþ*, β.
[4] *can noo*, Cx.
[5] *touk*, γ.
[6] *wepne*, β.
[7] *And*, from β., γ., and Cx.; MS. has *of*.
[8] *vul*, γ.; *fille*, Cx.
[9] *schet*, γ.
[10] *and dartes*, add. γ.
[11] *dryve*, β.; *y-dryve*, γ.; *drive*, Cx.
[12] From γ. and Cx.; MS. has *fro*.
[13] *scatered*, β.; *to scatred*, Cx.
[14] *vor vyf*, γ.
[15] *deyde fer fram*, β.
[16] *huyde*, Cx.
[17] *in Engelond*] om. Cx.
[18] From β.; *dede bedde*, Cx.
[19] *cardynal*, α. and β.

imperatorem et alios Christianos, unde et ipse dissolvit vincula bannorum et obiit.

Cap. IV.

[*Ordo Carthusiensis. Mors Willelmi Conquestoris.*]

Gratiæ MLXXXV. Willelmi vicesimo.

Victor tertius post Hyltebrandum [1] sedit papa anno uno mensibus quinque, qui aliquando fuit nuncupatus [2] Desiderius, abbas Montis Cassini,[3] veneno in calice ejus misso extinctus est. Quo anno rex Daciæ Canutus, auxilio soceri [4] sui Roberti Flandrensis comitis fretus, cum magna classe Angliam venire disposuit; sed rex Willelmus hoc audiens, collecto grandi exercitu de Normannia [5] Angliam rediit; sed [6] hostibus suis impeditis [7] curiam suam magnam apud Gloverniam tenuit, ubi tres episcopatus tribus capellanis contulit, scilicet Mauricio Londoniensem, Willelmo Tedfordensem, Roberto Cestrensem; sed Robertus sedem transtulit usque Conventreiam.[8] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro quarto.*[9] De cujus ecclesiæ una trabe quingentas marcas argenti cor-

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[1] *Hildebrandum*, A.
[2] *vocatus*, B.
[3] *qui*, B.
[4] *socii*, B.
[5] *et Gallia*, C.D.
[6] *At uti cognovit hostes fuisse impeditos medietatem exercitus ad propria remisit. Deinde apud Gloverniam curiam*, &c., C.D.
[7] *impeditis*] de volente propter defectum apparatus præpediti, B.
[8] *apud monachorum ecclesiam*, C.D.
[9] Script. post Bedam, p. 289.

bytwene þe emperour and [the][1] oþer Cristen men, þerfore he [1][un-]dede,[2] þe bondes [of þe peynes][3] þat were i-sette of peynes,[4] and deide. TREVISA.

Capitulum quartum.

AFFTER Hiltebrand, þe þridde Victor was pope oon[5] ȝere and fyve[6] monþes; somtyme he heet[7] Desiderius, abbot of Mont Cassyn; he was i-poysened[8] wiþ venym þat was i-doo in his chalys. Þat ȝer Canutus kyng of Denmark, by help of his wifes fader,[9] Robert of Flaundres, arayed hym forto come into Engelond [wiþ a grete navey. Bote kyng William herde[10] þerof and gadrede[11] a greet ost and com into Engelond][3] out of Normandie; but his enemyes were i-lette, and he hilde his court[12] at Gloucestre, þere[13] he ȝaf[14] bisshopriches to his þre preostes; to Morys[15] he ȝaf þe bisshopriche of Londoun, to William þe bisshopriche of Thetford,[16] to Robert þe bisshopriche of Chestre, but he chaunged[17] þe see to Coventre. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 4°. He rasede of oon beem of þat cherche

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peroure and oþer Cristen men. Wherefore he dissolvynge the bondes of his sentence diede soone after. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum quartum.

VICTOR the thridde succedid Hiltebrandus the pope oon yere and v. monethes, somme tyme called Desiderius, and abbote of þe mownte Cassyne. In whiche yere Canutus kynge of Denmarke hade intended to have entrede into Ynglonde with a grete hoste; but kynge William herynge that, gedrenge a grete hoste in Normandy, come to Ynglonde. But this hoste of the Danes lette, kynge William wente to Gloucestre, where he ȝafe iij. seetes of bischoppes to thre chapelyns to hym; the seete of London to Mauricius, of Tedford to William, of Chestre to Roberte, whiche translate that seete unto Coventre as hit is seide afore. A man of grete worschippe, Walterus de Laceo,

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[1] From Cx.]
[2] *undide*, β.; *undude*, γ.
[3] From α., β., and Cx.
[4] *of peynes*] om. α., β., γ., and Cx.
[5] *o*, γ.
[6] *vyf*, γ.
[7] *het*, β.; *hyȝte*, γ.
[8] *poysent*, γ.
[9] *vader*, γ.
[10] *hurde*, γ.
[11] *gadderde*, γ.
[12] *his greet court*, γ.
[13] *þar vore*, γ.
[14] *þre*, γ.
[15] *Morice*, Cx.
[16] *Tedford*, β., γ., and Cx.
[17] *chayngede*, γ.

rosit, unde regis manum impleret et papæ[1] occupationes falleret. Ditaverat namque Leofricus comes locum illum auro, argento, gemmis et reliquiis; sic ergo[2] Robertus præfatus crimen peculatus[3] incurrit repetendarum,[4] reus mox futurus si esset accusator paratus; monachos quoque loci illius agresti victu cibavit, et non nisi triviali[5] litteratura permisit informari, ne deliciæ aut litteræ[6] redderent monachos contra episcopum elatos. Verumtamen apud Lichefeld magnarum fuerat[7] ædificationum inchoator.[8] *Qualiter ordo Cartusiensis incepit.*[9] Circa hæc tempora incepit ordo Cartusiensis in Calabria[10] in episcopatu Grannopolitano per quendam Brunonem, qui ex[11] Colonia oriundus natione Teutonicus, ecclesiæ Remensis in Gallia canonicus et magister scholarum fuit. Hic relicto sæculo Heremum Cartusiæ circa festum sancti Johannis[12] fundavit, et rexit sex annis. Tandem cogente papa Urbano secundo, cujus aliquando præceptor fuerat, Romam porrexit, ubi papam in negotiis ecclesiasticis multum juvit, sed cum tumultum et mores curiæ ferre non posset, relicta curia

Ordo Cartusiensis incepit.

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[1] *pp*^{e}, A.
[2] *igitur*, B.
[3] *peculiatus*, B.
[4] *repetundarum rerum*, B.
[5] *triennali*, B.
[6] *littera*] space left in A., *litteratura* having been added in the margin.
[7] *fuit*, B.
[8] C. D. add: "Vir venerabilis "Walterus de Laceio, fundator ec- "clesiæ Sancti Petri in Herefordia, "dum opere pene consummato "scalam ascenderet, pede lapso "corruens expiravit."
[9] A.B. omit heading.
[10] *in Calabria*] om. B.
[11] *urbe*, A.B.
[12] *primo*, B.

fyve hundred mark of silver for to fille[1] þe kynges hond and forto begile[2] þe occupacioun of þe pope. Eorle Leofricus hadde i-made þat place[3] riche of gold and of silver, of relikes, and of[4] oþer[5] precious stoones. And so þis[6] Robert robbed his owne cherche, and was gilty to make good þerfore in his lif, oþer wiþ his catel[7] after his deeþ, ȝif eny man were þat wolde hym[8] accuse. Also he fedde[9] þe monkes of þat place wiþ symple mete and drynke, and suffred[10] hem[11] nouȝt to lerne[12] but symple lettrure[13] [lest likynge mete and drynke and grettre[14] lettrure][15] wolde make þe monkes stoute and prowde aȝenst[16] þe bisshop. Noþeles at Lichefeeld[17] he bygan meny grete buldynges. Aboute þat tyme bygan þe ordre of the Charthous[18] in Calabria, in þe bisshopriche of Grannopolican, by oon Bruno þat was i-bore at Coleyn,[19] of þe nacioun of Duchesmen,[20] [and][21] chanoun of Remene[22] in Gallia, and maister of þe scoles; he forsook[23] þe worlde,[24] and foundede þe hermytage of Cartus, aboute seynt[25] Johnes feeste, and rulede it sixe ȝere. At þe laste he com to Rome by heste of þe secounde [pope][26] Urban, þat hadde i-be somtyme his scoler; þere he halpe[27] þe pope gretliche in doynges[28] of holy chirche.

TREVISA.

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fowndér of the churche of Seynte Petyr in Herdforde, goynge on a ladder when that þe werke was allemoste finischede, his foote faylynge, felle and diede. The ordre Cartusiense began abowte this tyme in Calabria, in the bischopryche Grannopolitan by a man callede Bruno, borne in the cite of Colony, chanon of the churche Remense in Fraunce, and maister of the scoles. But pope Urban the secunde movynge hym, the maister of whom Bruno was somme tyme, he come to Rome, where he helpede the pope moche in offices of the churche. Whiche electe to the

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *vulle*, γ.
[2] *bigile*, β.
[3] *plasce*, γ.
[4] *of*] om. Cx.
[5] *oþer*] om. γ.
[6] *þes*, γ.
[7] *cataill*, Cx.
[8] *hym wolde*, α., β., and γ.
[9] *vedde*, γ.
[10] *suffryd*, Cx.
[11] *ham*, γ.
[12] *lurne*, γ.
[13] *letture*, γ.
[14] *gret letture*, γ.
[15] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[16] *prout aȝenes*, γ.
[17] *Lychfeld*, γ.
[18] *Charterhous*, α.; *Chartus*, β. and γ.; *Chartrus*, Cx., et infra.
[19] *Coloyn*, Cx.
[20] *Duchische men*, α. and β.; *Duchesch men*, γ.; *Duche men*, Cx.
[21] From β.
[22] *Reynes in Champayne*, Cx.
[23] *vorsouk*, γ.
[24] *worl*, γ.
[25] *seyn*, γ.
[26] From β. and Cx.
[27] *som tyme hys scoler*; *þar he halp*, γ.
[28] *dygnyte*, Cx.

contemptoque archiepiscopatu Risensi,[1] ad quem jubente papa electus fuerat, in Heremo Calabriæ, cui nomen Turris est,[2] secessit et decessit. Hoc[3] genus heremitarum sive Cellistarum sub priore agit,[4] numerum duodenarium in clericis non transcendit, nisi forte pro aliqua insigni persona; laicos tamen usque ad xx. recipit;[5] unusquisque in cella propria privatis diebus ab aliis separatus orat, dormit et manducat; habent quoque singuli unum panem per hebdomodam quo reficiantur. Ab omni carne et sanguine perpetuo abstinent; lino numquam nec stamine utuntur, sed cilicio subtus ad carnem desuper lanea pelliciaque tunica superinduuntur.[6] Tresdecim separatas cellas habent quadrifarie dispartitas et interius[7] divisas, pro oratorio, dormitorio, refectorio, et pro[8] ergasterio ubi operantur, quæ tamen sibi invicem contiguæ sunt. Festivis diebus et Dominicis ad[9] ecclesiam et

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[1] *Rifensi*, A.
[2] *est*] om. B.
[3] *Hoc . . . readmittunt* (p. 308)] om. C.D.
[4] *nunquam carnem comedens aut apostatam readmittans nec*, A.
[5] *recipiunt*, A.
[6] *induuntur*, B.
[7] *interius*, from A.B.; *internis*, MS.
[8] *pro*] om. B.
[9] *et*, A.

But whan he myȝte nouȝt suffre þe stryf and þe maneres of þe court, he forsook þe world,[1] [and þe archebisshopriche of Risens,[2] to þe whiche he was y-chose by heste of þe pope, and wente to þe ermytage][3] þat hatte þe[4] tour in Calabria, and þere[5] ended his lif.[6] Þat manere ermytes[7] [þat][3] beeþ i-cleped Celestes[8] also, for þey woneþ in celles and lyveþ[9] under a priour, and passeþ[10] nouȝt þe nombre of twelve in clerkes, but it be for som worþi person, bote þey fongeþ lewed[11] men anon to þe noumbre of twenty, everiche in his [owne][12] celle in symple dayes i-served[13] by hem self, biddeþ her[14] bedes, slepeþ and eteþ. Eueriche[15] of hem haþ oon loof for his brede for al þe woke;[16] þey eteþ nevere flesche noþer blood; þey wereþ nevere lynnen clooþ, noþer stamyn, but þe heer next þe flesche,[17] and above þe[18] curtelle of wolle[19] and a pilche.[20] Þey haveþ[21] þrittene celles, and everiche celle is departed in[22] foure,[23] and to sette wiþ ynne for þe oratorie, þe dortour, þe freytour,[24] and þe werkhous, þere þey dooþ here werkes, bote þey joyneþ[25] al to gidres.[26] [On][27] Sondayes[28] and oþere hiȝe

TREVISA.

archebischop Rifense despisede hit, and takynge leve of the pope wente to Calabria, where he diede. This kynde or maner of heremites admittethe not the nowmbre of xij. men as in clerkes, with owte hit be for a laudable person, receyvenge other lay men to the nowmbre of xx^{ti}, eiche man separate from oþer by propre celles in private daies, and eite and slepe; eiche of whom have oon loofe of brede by whiche thei be refreschede by alle the weke, abstenynge from flesche, usenge no lynen clothes, but the heire nexte to þeire flesche; havynge a certeyn place assignede where thei schalle laboure contiguate to gedre; syttenge to gedre on Sonnedaies and holy daies at a table, havynge com-

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 340 a.

[1] *world*] court, β.; courte, Cx.; *and foundede þe hermytage* wrongly inserted here in MS.
[2] *he vorsouk þe court and þe bischoprych of Risens*, γ.
[3] From α., β., and Cx.
[4] *to* wrongly inserted here in MS.
[5] *þere*] om. α.
[6] *endede þare hys lyf*, γ.
[7] *hermytes*, γ,
[8] *Celystes*, α.; *Celistes*, β.; *Cellistes*, γ.; *Cellystes*, Cx.
[9] *lyven*, Cx.
[10] *passen*, Cx.
[11] *leude*, Cx.
[12] From β. and Cx.; *oune*, γ.
[13] *ysevered*, β.; *y seuered*, γ.
[14] *his*, α. and Cx.
[15] *Eche*, Cx.
[16] *weke*, β. and Cx.
[17] *vleysch*, γ.
[18] *þe*] a, β. and Cx.
[19] *wollen*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[20] *pylche*, γ.
[21] *habbeþ*, γ.
[22] *on*, α. and Cx.
[23] *a voure*, γ.
[24] *fraytour*, Cx.
[25] *a juneþ*, γ.
[26] *gedders*, γ.
[27] From β. and Cx.
[28] *Sondawes*, γ.

communem mensam conveniunt, ubi de spiritualibus humiliter secum conferunt;[1] instituta divini officii secundum regulam beati[2] Benedicti persolvuntur;[3]

Gratiæ MLXXXVI. Willelmi XXI.

apostatam nunquam readmittunt.[4] Rex Willelmus fecit totam Angliam describi, quantum terræ quisque baronum suorum possidebat, quot fœdatos[5] milites, quot carucatos,[6] quot villanos, quot animalia. Et vexata est terra multis cladibus inde provenientibus; et redacta est hæc descriptio in uno volumine positaque in archivis regiis apud Wyntoniam. Hoc etiam anno Edgar Adeling licentia regis Willelmi cum [7]multa classe transiit in Apuliam. Cujus [8]soror Christiana intravit monasterium de Ramesee.[9] *De pontificibus Romanorum.*[10] Urbanus secundus, post Victorem sedit papa annis tresdecim. Hic primo fuit monachus Cluniacensis, deinde archidiaconus Remensis, Odo vocatus, post hoc episcopus Hostiensis, tandem apostolicus; quem multum vexavit alius papa intrusus nomine Clemens, archiepiscopus quondam Ravennensis. Hoc anno magna

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[1] *et*, B.
[2] *beati*] om. B.
[3] *persolvunt*, A.
[4] See note 3, page 306.
[5] *feodatos*, A.B.
[6] *carucatos*] altered in A. from *carucas* to *carucatos*.
[7] 200 *navibus*, C.D.
[8] *germana virgo*, C.D.
[9] *Romeseye*, A.
[10] A.B. omit heading.

dayes þey comeþ to cherche and to a comyn bord and eteþ[1] in fere, and talkeþ mekeliche[2] in fere of gostly[3] tales. Þey seieþ[4] her service after seint Benet his rule.[5] An[6] apostata þat brekeþ his ordre þey fongeþ[7] nevere aȝen. Kyng William made [to][8] descrive al Engelond, for he wolde wite and knowe how moche lond everiche of his barons hadde; how meny knyȝtene[9] fees,[10] how meny teme[11] lond, how meny townes and men, and how meny beestes. Þe lond was greved wiþ meny mescheves[12] and happes þat fil for þat drede;[13] þat discripcióun was i-write [al][8] in oon volym, and i-doo in þe kynges librarie at Wynchestre. Also þis ȝere Edgar Adelyng wente into Apulia wiþ greet strengþe, by leve of kyng William, and his suster Cristine[14] wente into þe abbey of Ramsey.[15] After Victor, þe secounde Urban was pope þrittene ȝere. First þis was a monk of Cluny, and þanne[16] archedekene of Remne,[17] and heet[18] Odo; þerafter he was bisshop Hostient,[19] and pope at þe laste.[20] Anoþer pope, þat heet Clement, þat was in þe poperiche wiþ wrong, dede[21] þis Urban moche woo and tene:[22] þis Clement was somtyme bisshop of Ravenna. Þat ȝere in Engelond was

TREVISA.

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municacion of spiritualle maters with oþer, kepynge the rule of seynte Benedict; but thei admitte not a man that hathe fallen in apostasy. Kynge William caused Ynglonde tō be describede, and what londe every baron hade, how mony fees of knyȝhtes, how mony carucates of londe, how mony men, and how mony bestes were in the seide londe; where thro the londe was vexede with diverse infeccions; whiche descripcion was redacte into oon volume, and put in the kynges cofurs at Wynechestre. Edgarus Adelynge wente in this yere by licence of kynge William with a grete navy of schippes into Apulia, and Christian his suster entrede into the monastery of Rumesey. Urbanus the secunde succedid Victor the pope xiij. yere. A grete

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *etyn*, Cx.
[2] *mekeliche*] om. Cx.; *myklyche*, γ.
[3] *goostlich*, β.; *gostlyche*, γ.
[4] *siggiþ*, β.; *Hy segeþ*, γ.
[5] *reul*, γ.
[6] From Cx.; *and*, MS.
[7] *vongeþ*, γ.
[8] From β.
[9] *knyghtes*, Cx.
[10] *feos*, γ.
[11] *teeme*, β.
[12] *meschyefs*, Cx.
[13] *dede*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[14] *Cristyn*, γ.
[15] *Romsee*, β.; *Rumesee*, γ.
[16] *þanne*] om. Cx.
[17] *Rome*, Cx.
[18] *hyȝte*, γ.
[19] *Hostyence*, Cx.
[20] *atte laste*, γ.
[21] *dide*, β.; *dude*, γ.
[22] *teone*, β.

fuit in Anglia lues animalium et intemperies aeris, qua plures mortui sunt febribus et fame; interea vorax flamma consumpsit pæne principales urbes Angliæ, ecclesiam Sancti Pauli, cum magna[1] parte Londoniæ. *Alfridus.*[2] Hoc anno Dani dominum suum Canutum in quadam ecclesia occiderunt. *Willelmus*[3] *de Regibus, libro tertio.*[4] Istum Willelmum regem in extremo vitæ suæ anno apud Rothamagum decubantem rex Franciæ derisit in hunc modum: "Rex Angliæ Willelmus jacet "modo[5] more fœminarum absolutarum enixarum otium "fovens;" jocatus per hoc in ejus ventris grossitiem, quem potione tunc alleviaverat. Quo perstrictus rex convicio, rex respondit: "Et ego cum ad missam "post partum[6] accessero, centum millia candelarum ei "libabo." Nec multo post, mense Augusto, quando segetes erant in agris, botri in vineis, poma in viridariis, occi-

[1] *majore*, C.D.
[2] *Alfridus*] om. C.D.
[3] *Alfridus*, C.D.
[4] Script. post Bedam, p. 112. C.D. add: "Eo quoque anno rex "Willelmus oppidum quendam "in Francia cum ecclesiis in eo "sitis et duos reclusos igne con-"sumpsit, unde in reditu suo apud "Normanniam tantus eum visce-"rum dolor invasit ut omnes quos "custodiæ mancipaverat relaxaret. "Hii fuerunt Odo frater suus epi-"scopus Barocensis, comites Mor-"carus et Rogerus, Wilnotus frater "Haraldi. Deinde Willelmo Rufo "filio suo comitatum Normanniæ "concessit, Henrico clerico filio "suo thesauri copiam legavit, et "vigesimo secundo regni sui anno, "decimo mense, quinto idibus Sep-"tembris obiit; in monasterio Ca-"doni, quod a fundamentis con-"struxerat, sepultus est. *Henri-"cus, lib. v.* Erat quidem Willel-"mus," &c.
[5] *modo*] om. B.
[6] *meum*, A.

greet deeþ of beestes and distemperynge of þe ayer,[1] by þe whiche[2] meny men deide in þe[3] feveres and for honger. In þe same [tyme][4] grisliche fuyre[5] destroyede the principal citees of Engelond, and Seynt Poul[6] his chirche, and a greet deel of Londoun. *Alfridus.* Þat ȝere þe Danes in a chirche slowȝ her kyng Canutus. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tercio.* Þis kyng William lay a bedde at[7] Rothomage in þe laste ȝere[8] of his lyf; þe kyng of Fraunce scornede hym in þis manere: "Kyng William[9] of Engelond lieþ now as wommen[10] dooþ[11] a "childe bedde, and takeþ[12] hym to slewþe:" he boorded[13] soo for kyng William hadde i-slaked[14] his greet wombe wiþ a drynke[15] þat he hadde i-dronke. Þe kyng was[16] displesed wiþ þat scorne, and seide, "I schal offre hym a þowsand candelles "whan I schal go to cherche of childe." And nouȝt longe þerafter in [a][17] Lamasse[18] monþe, whan þe cornes were in feeldes,[19] fruyt on trees,[20] and grapes on þe vynes, he sette afuyre þe westside of Fraunce and þe citee Medant and Oure Lady

TREVISA.

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moreyne of bestes was in Englonde in this yere, and intemperance of the aier, where thro mony men diede of the axes and for hungre. Also a grete flamme of fyre consumede allemoste the principalle cites of Ynglonde, and the churche of Seynte Paule at London, with a grete parte of the cite. *Alfridus.* The Danes did sle Canutus theire lorde in a churche on this yere. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tertio.* The kynge of Fraunce did skorne William kynge of Ynglonde lyenge in bedde at Roone in the laste yere of his lyfe in this maner: "William kynge of Ynglonde "lyethe nowe in his bedde in maner of a woman child bredynge, "and gedrenge vices and ydelnesse." William kynge of Ynglonde havynge indignacion of that derision, sende to the kynge of Fraunce an epistole contenynge this sentence: "When that y "go to here masse after my childynge, y schalle offre to the a "c. m^{l} candeles." And soone after that, in the monethe of Auguste, when cornes were in the feldes, grapes in vineȝardes, and apples on trees, William kynge of Ynglonde brente the weste

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *eyr*, β.; *aer*, γ.; *eyer*, Cx.
[2] *whoche*, γ.
[3] þe] om. β. and Cx.
[4] From β. and γ.
[5] *vure*, γ.; *grysely fyre*, Cx.
[6] *Paul*, γ.
[7] Cx. inserts *Roen* before *Rothomage*.
[8] *ende*, β. and Cx.
[9] *William kyng*, γ.
[10] *wymmen*, γ.
[11] *don*, Cx.
[12] *takiþ*, β.
[13] *bourded*, β.
[14] *yslaket*, γ.
[15] *drench*, β.; *dreynch*, γ.
[16] *was*] om. γ.
[17] From α., β., and Cx.
[18] *lambmas*, γ.
[19] *veldes*, γ.
[20] *treen*, β.; *tren*, γ.

duam [1] partem Franciæ incendit, urbem Medantum cum ecclesia beatæ Mariæ conflagravit, in qua unam reclusam, quæ non putavit in tali necessitate cedendum, ustulavit. Ex qua calefactione morbum incurabilem incurrit, vel quia sonipes ejus dum fossam transiliret interranea pinguis [2] ventris ei sunt interrupta. Morte ergo a medicis intimata, delegavit Normanniam primogenito suo Roberto, Angliam Willelmo Rufo, possessiones maternas et thesaurum Henrico clerico. Vinctos suos omnes fecit absolvi; hi fuerunt comites Morkarus et Rogerus, Wilnotus filius Haroldi, Odo frater suus, episcopus Baiocensis. Et sic vicesimo primo anno regni sui, decimo mense, ducatus sui quinquagesimo ii., vitæ suæ quaquagesimo nono, gratiæ millesimo octogesimo septimo sexto, idus Decembris obiit; in monasterio Cadomi, quod ipse fundaverat, sepultus, ubi erat videre mundi miseriam, quod tantus Europæ terror et honor sepulturam sine calumnia habere non potuit; nam ibi miles

De ætate et obitu Willelmi conquestoris.

[1] *quando . . . occiduam*] quandam magnam, B.

[2] *pinguia*, B.

chirche. In þat cherche he brende a woman þat was i-closed and trowed[1] nou3t þat sche[2] schulde flee in suche a manere nede. In þat heete he took a manere[3] evel[4] þat my3t nou3t be i-helèd, oþer elles whan his hors leep[5] over þe diche, he[6] brak þe entrailles of his fat[7] wombe; þanne leches warned hym þat he[6] schulde deie. Þanne he ordeyned Normandie to his eldest sone Robert, and Engelond to William þe Rede, and þe moder possessiouns and tresour to Henry clerk, and made delyvere his prisoners þat he hadde in bondes, þat were þe eorles[8] Markarus, Roger,[9] Wilnotus Harald his sone, his broþer Odo bisshop of Raveyn.[10] And so he deide þe 3ere of his kyngdom oon and twenty, þe tenþe monþe; þe 3ere of his ducherie two and fifty; þe 3ere of his lyf nyne and fifty;[11] þe 3ere of our Lord a þowsand[12] fourescore and sevene, þe ey3teþe[13] day of Decembre; and he[6] was i-buried in the abbay of Cadoni,[14] þat he hadde i-founded. Þere me my3te see sorowe þat he þat was so dredful and so worschipful in Europa my3te nou3t be i-buried wiþ oute chalange. For þere a kni3t forbeed openliche[15] his

Trevisa.

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partes of Fraunce, and brente the cite Medantum with a churche of oure Lady in hit, in whom he brente a recluse not knowen to hym of here necessite. After whiche tyme hade soone a disease incurable, other elles for his horse lepynge over a diche oppressede the internalle partes of his bely in somoche þat thei were broken. Wherefore dethe schewede by the leches to drawe nye, kynge William assignede Normandy to Roberte his firste sonne, and Ynglonde to William Rufus, the possessions of his moder and treasure to Henricus clerke; also he causede alle his prisoners to be losede, Morkarus and Roger, Wilnotus the sonne of Harold, Odo his broþer bischop Baiocense; and so he diede in the xxj. yere of his reigne, the lix^the yere of his lyfe, in the yere of oure Lorde a m^l lxxxiiij. the vj. idus of December, and was beriede in the monastery of Caane whom he made. Whiche my3hte not have sepulture þer with owte blame, for a kny3hte inhibite his body to be beryede in that place, seyenge

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 340 b.

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[1] *trowyd*, Cx.
[2] *heo*, β.; *a*, γ.
[3] *a manere*] an, β.; *manere*, om. Cx.
[4] *an evel*, γ.
[5] *lupe*, γ.
[6] *a*, γ.
[7] *vatte*, γ.
[8] *erles*, γ.
[9] *Rogyer*, Cx.
[10] *Bayen*, α.; *Baion*, γ.; *Bayon*, β. and Cx.
[11] *vyfty*, γ.
[12] *voure*, γ.
[13] *ei3te*, β.; *eyght*, Cx.
[14] *Cadony*, β.
[15] *oponlych vorbude*, γ.

quidam palam inhibuit sepulturam fieri, dicens illud solum suum esse, violenterque ab eo sublatum, nec debere [1] quempiam in rapina sepeliri. Quocirca Henricus, qui solus ex filiis tunc aderat, centum libras illi militi dedit. Nam Robertus primogenitus tunc [2] patriam debellabat, Willelmus Rufus Angliam navigaverat; qui tamen apud Wyntoniam erutis paternis thesauris, multa pro patris memoria erogaverat. *Henricus, libro quinto.*[3] Erat nempe Willelmus [4] iste conquestor insapiens [5] sed astutus, locuplex sed cupidus, gloriosus sed famæ deditus, affabilis Dei servis, sed rigidus sibi [6] resistentibus. Apud novam forestam in Hamptunensi provincia ad spatium xxx. miliarium [7] villas et ecclesias eradicans feras instituit, ita ut qui feram caperet oculum amitteret, qui mulierem vi opprimeret genitalia amitteret. *Willelmus de Regibus.*[8] Erat [9] rex Willelmus staturæ justæ,[10] immensæ corpulentiæ, facie fera, fronte nuda, magni roboris in lacertis, ut fere nemo ejus arcum [11] tenderet,

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[1] *debere*] ab eo, A.

[2] *primogenitus tunc*] filius suus B.

[3] Should be *libro sexto.* Script. post Bedam, p. 370.

[4] See note 4, page 310.

[5] *sapiens*, C.D.

[6] *ei*, A.

[7] *in . . . miliarium*] om. C.D.

[8] Lib. p. 112

[9] *Erat . . . sexto* (page 86)], om. C.D.

[10] *justæ*] om. B.

[11] *arcum suum*, B.

burienge,[1] and seide þat[2] þat grounde was his owne, and i-take of hym wiþ strengþe. Þerfore his sone Henry ȝaf þe knyȝt an[3] hondred pounde for to cese, for þere were no mo[4] of kyng William his sones, for his eldest sone Robert werrede [than][5] in þe contray, and William the Rede was seillede into Engelond. But at Wynchestre he took his fader tresorie, and ȝaf moche[6] for his fader mynde.[7] *Henricus, libro* 5°. Þis William Conquerour was a wise man and a gileful, riche [and][8] coveitous, glorious, and loved wel greet loos; faire[9] spekere wiþ Goddes servauntes, and sturne[10] to hem[11] þat wolde hem[12] wiþ stonde. In þe province of Hamptoun, in þe newe forest, in þe space of þritty myle, he þrew doun cherches and townes, and put[13] þere wilde bestes. So þat who[14] took þere a wilde best schulde lese[15] his oon yȝe;[16] and who[17] þat took a womman by strengþe schulde lese his genitras.[18] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 3°. Kyng William was of skilful stature, to greet and fat[19] of body, and[20] sturne of

Trevisa.

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that the grownde longede to hym, whiche was taken awey from hym by violence affermynge that noo man awe to beriede in grownde taken by violence and by rape; wherefore Henricus his sonne beynge presente þer at that tyme, ȝafe to the knyȝhte an c. li. For Robert his sonne fauȝhte that tyme ageyne the cuntre, and William Rufus was departede to Ynglonde; whiche takynge the treasure of his fader at Wynchestre, distribute grete richesse for hym. *Henricus, libro quinto.* This William Conquerour was a man of grete prudence, and subtile ryche and covetous, glorious and ȝiffen to fame, affable to the servauntes of God; whiche destroyede mony townes and churches at the Newe Foreste in Hampteschire, to the space of xxx. myles, and puttynge dere þer, makynge a statute that whosoever toke a beste þer scholde lose oon eie, and he that oppressed a woman by strengthe scholde lose his stones. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro tertio.* This kynge William was a corpulente man, and of grete myȝhte, and specially in his armes, that allemoste noo man in

MS. Harl 2261.

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[1] *buryinge, β.*; *beryeng,* Cx.
[2] *þat*] om. Cx.
[3] *and,* MS.
[4] *no mo*] none, Cx.
[5] From Cx.; *þo, γ.*
[6] *myche, β.*
[7] *munde, γ.*
[8] From *α.*, *β.*, and Cx.
[9] *veyre, γ.*
[10] *sterne, β.*, et infra; *storn, γ.*
[11] *ham, γ.*
[12] *hym, β.*
[13] *dide, β.*; *dyde,* Cx.
[14] *þat,* add. *γ.*
[15] *luse, γ.*
[16] *eye,* Cx.
[17] *who*] om. *γ.*
[18] *genetraces, β.*; *genitoryes,* Cx.
[19] *vatte, γ.*
[20] *and*] om. *γ.* and Cx.

quem tamen ipse equo admisso pedibus numero extento sinuaret. Commoda valitudine gaudens exercitio nemorum nimis[1] deditus, ita ut[2] stratis villis et ecclesiis loca silvestria faceret. In præcipuis[3] festis profuse convivebat. Natale Domini apud Gloverniam, Pascha apud Wyntoniam, Pentecost apud Westimonasterium, quando in Anglia foret, tenere consuevit. Sed in[4] emungenda pecunia semper excessivus, vel pro hostilitate pollenda vel pro cupiditate sedanda.[5] Tradit fama quod iste Willelmus adhuc junior patruum suum Malgerum archiepiscopum Rothomagensem de sede sua perturbaverit, eo quod neglecto officio divino venationi et conviviis[6] indulserit, vel potius quia ipse Willelmum ducem et Matildum uxorem sibi consanguineam pro illicita copula excommunicaverit. Verumtamen dux Willelmus pro hoc delicto expiando monasterium virorum et Matilda monasterium fœminarum apud Cadomum

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[1] *nimis*] om. B.
[2] *quod*, B.
[3] *principuis* (sic), B.
[4] *in*] om. B.
[5] *satianda*, B.
[6] *connusso* (sic), A. error of scribe.

face, bare[1] of forheed, greet of strengþe [in brawne and armes, so þat unneþe eny man myȝt[2] bende his bowe; bote he wolde on [his][3] hors strecche forþ his senewes and bende hit esiliche ynow uppon his owne[4] foot.[5] He had skilful strengþe,][6] and ȝaf hym self to moche to hontynge, so þat he þrewe doun cherches and townes to make wodes. He made grete festes and revelles in [the][7] hiȝe feestes of þe ȝere. He hilde[8] his mydwynter tide at Glowcestre, his Esterne[9] at Wynchestre, Witsonday[10] at Westmynstre, whan he was in Engelond. But he passede and over dede in gadringe of[11] money of þe people, oþer to wiþstonde his enemyes, oþer to make hym a greet name, oþer to cese his covetise. Hit is a comoun[12] tale þat whan þis William was ȝong he destourbed his eme[13] Malgerus, archebisshop of Rothomage, of his bisshopriche, for he forgendred[14] Goddis service, and ȝaf hym self to hontynge and to festes, bote more verrailiche[15] for þe bisshop hadde i-corsed[16] duke William and Molde his wif and his cosyn, for þey were unlawfulliche i-wedded to gidres. But for þat trespas duke William bulde[17] an abbay of men and[18] Mold anoþer of wom- TREVISA.

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his courte myȝhte drawe that bawe, whom he wolde drawe sittenge on his horse. But this kynge was ȝiffen moche to huntynge, insomoche that he made townes, stretes and churches to be a woode; usynge when he was in Ynglonde to kepe Christemasse at Gloucestre, Ester at Wynchestre, and Pentecoste at Westemynstre. Neverthelesse this kynge made excesse in gederynge of rychesse, other for expulsion of his enemyes, or for the mitigacion of his covetise. The commune peple say that this William expellede the archebischop of Roone, Malgerus by name, from his seete, in that he despisede the service of Allemyȝhty God, and ȝafe hym to festes and to huntynge. But y suppose hit was for this cause, in that the archebischop excommunicate that kynge William and Matilda his wife, cosynne to hym, for unlawefull matrimony. For whiche synne that William duke of Normandy made ij. monasterys at Caan, oon of men, MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *baar*, β.
[2] *myȝte*, γ.
[3] From Cx.
[4] *one*, Cx.
[5] *vot*, γ.
[6] From α., β., and Cx.
[7] From Cx.; þe, β. and γ.
[8] *huld*, γ.
[9] *Ester*, γ.; *Eester*, Cx.
[10] *Witsontyde*, β.; *Whitsontyde*, Cx.
[11] *of*] om. γ. and Cx.
[12] *comyn*, γ.
[13] *eame*, Cx.
[14] *vor a vorgendrede*, γ.
[15] *verely*, Cx.
[16] *acorsed*, α. and γ.; *acursed*, β.
[17] *bylded*, Cx., et infra.
[18] From γ. and Cx.; MS. has *at*.

construxerunt. *Ranulphus.* Willelmus quoque duo fundavit monasteria in Anglia, unum apud Bermundesey juxta Londoniam, aliud de Bello in Southsaxonia[1] ubi pugnaverat.[2] *Henricus, libro sexto.*[3] Mortuo iste Willelmo vix erat[4] in Anglia princeps Anglicus; immo[5] Anglis in servitutem redactis probrosum[6] fuit vocari Anglus, Deus enim ad exterminium Anglorum præordinaverat populum ferocem,[7] quorum natura est cum hostes depresserint ipsi se deprimant.[8] *Henricus, libro sexto.*[9]

Cap. V.

[*Res Anglicæ sub Willelmo secundo.*]

Gratiæ MLXXXVIII. Willelmi Rufi primo. Coronatio Willelmi Rufi in regem.

Willelmus Rufus[10] coronatus est in regem die sanctorum Cosmæ et Damiani, juvantibus eum Wulstano Wygorniensi episcopo et archiepiscopo Lanfranco, qui

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[1] *Soutsaxonia*, A.; *Soutsexia*, B.

[2] *quoque quod tertium monasterium apud Selby non longe ab Eboraco primitus fundavit*, B.

[3] Script. post Bedam, p. 370.

[4] *vix tunc erat*, C.D.

[5] *in*, B.

[6] *opprobrium*, C.D.

[7] *et quadam sævitiæ singularis prærogativam promementem*, C.D.

[8] *et sua in pauperiem redigant, unde id quod habeat quærit nemo, sed omnino habere oportet*, C.D.

[9] A.B. omit reference.

[10] *redit Angliam raro validus, in qua regnavit tresdecim annis mense minus*, C. D.

men at Cadoni.[1] ℟. Also William bulde tweie abbayes in Engelond, oon at Bermoundeseie,[2] faste by Londoun, and anoþer at þe[3] bataile[4] in Souþsex þere he hadde i-fouȝte.[5] *Henricus, libro* 6°. Whanne þis William was kyng[6] unneþe was þere a lord in Engelond [an][7] Englische man; bote Englische men were i-made bonde, so þat it was schame and despite to be i-cleped an[8] Englischeman. To bere a doun and[9] destroye[10] Englische men God had i-ordeyned cruel men[11] and sturne, þat beeþ[12] of suche kynde þat whanne þei [haveþ[13] y-bore[14] doun here enemyes þann þey[15]][16] bereþ doun hem[17] self.[18] *Willelmus.* TREVISA.

Capitulum quintum.

WILLIAM þe Rede was i-crowned kyng þe day of seint Cosma [and][19] Damyan. Hym halp Wolstoun[20] bisshop of Worcestre,[21]

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an oþer of women. ℟. Also kynge William foundede ij. monasteryes in Ynglonde, oon at Bermundesey, nye to London, an other in Sowthesax where he fauȝhte ageyne kynge Harald. *Henricus, libro sexto.* This kynge William dedde, there was unnethe in Ynglonde a prince borne in the same londe; but Ynglische men redacte into servitute, hit was a grete rebuke and schame to be called an Ynglische man in those dayes. For God hade ordeynede to the mischefe of Ynglische men a cruelle peple to governe theyme, the nature of whom is to depresse theym selfe when they have depressede and devicte theire enemyes. MS. HARL. 2261. 341 a.

Capitulum quintum.

WILLIAM Rufus was crownede kynge in the feste of Cosmas and Damianus, Wulfstan bischop of Worcestre helpynge hym moche,

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[1] *Cadony, β.*
[2] *Bermundseye, β.*; *Bermundeseye, γ.*
[3] *þe*] om. *β.* and *γ.*
[4] *Batayl, β.*
[5] *y-voȝte, γ.*
[6] *ded, γ.*
[7] From Cx.
[8] *an*] om. *γ.*
[9] *to*, add. *γ.*
[10] *distruye, β.*
[11] *men*] om. Cx.
[12] *be*, Cx.
[13] *hy habbeth, γ.*
[14] *have boren*, Cx.
[15] *a, γ.*
[16] From *α.*, *β.*, and Cx.
[17] *ham, γ.*
[18] *bere doune theyrself*, Cx.
[19] From *β.* and *γ.*
[20] *Wulstan, β.*, et infra.
[21] *Wyrceter, γ.*

eum nutriverat et militem fecerat. Et regnavit xiii. annis mense minus. Quod audiens Robertus primogenitus, qui tunc in Alemannia exercitum contra patrem congregaverat, Normanniam redit,[1] cujus mediam partem præter castella Henrico fratri suo impignoravit, ut exercitum contra fratrem [2] Willelmum conduceret. Tandem apud Hamptoniam appulit; cui rex Willelmus misit nuncios qui dicerent, "Frater tuus Willelmus non se "clamat regem sed subregulum, sub te et per te regna- "turum, qui illo major es, melior, et natu prior. Non "usurpavit, si placet, quod ad tempus pro tui absentia "suscepit. At quia jam [3] coronatus,[4] petit ut sub te reg- "net,[5] solvendo annuatim tria milia marcarum ;[6] et qui al- "tero supervixerit honores utriusque possideat." Robertus velut arundo [7] statim concessit, exercitum dimisit, Neustriam rediit, nil nisi promissa referens; tota fere nobilitas

Robertus primogenitus Willelmi conquestoris contra fratrem suum.

Tertius Willelmi conquestoris filius Henricus.

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[1] *rediit*, B.
[2] *suum*, B.
[3] *contigit quod*, C.D.
[4] *est*, B.
[5] *regnaturo*, C.D.
[6] *suscipias*, add C.D.
[7] *non experimentato*, add C.D.

and þe archebisshop Lanfrank, þat hym hadde i-norsched[1] and i-made kny3t. Þus[2] William regnede þrittene 3ere, a monþe lasse. Robert þe eldest sone was þoo[3] in Almayne, and hadde i-gadred a greet oost a3enst[4] þe fadir, and herde herof, and come a3en to[5] Normandie, and leyde þe halvendel of[6] Normandie outake castelles to wedde to his broþer Henry for to wage an oost a3enst his broþer William, and cam at þe laste alonde at Hamptoun. Þanne þe kyng[7] sent hym messangers[8] þat seide in þis manere: "Þy broþer William clepeþ not hym "self[9] kyng, [under þe][10] but under kyng, to regne under þe "and by help of þe, þat art[11] gretter þan he and better and "raþer i-bore, 3if it is þy wille; he haþ nou3t mystake as his "owne þat he haþ i-fonge for a tyme by cause of þyn absens. "But for[12] he is now i-crowned he prayeþ þat he moot regne "under þe, and paye to þe eueriche 3ere þre þowsand mark, "and he þat lyveþ over[13] schal have þe worschippe of eyþer." Robard, waggynge as a[14] reed,[15] assented anon, and left his oost, and went a3en into Normandie, and hadde ri3t nou3t but faire wordes.[16] Wel nyh[17] al þe noble men of Engelond wolde

TREVISA.

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and Lanfrancus, whiche noryschede and made hym kny3hte; whiche reignede xiij. yere, oon monethe excepte. Roberte the eldeste son of William, beynge with a grete hoste in Alemayne, herynge thereof returnede to Normandy; the halfe parte of whom, castells excepte, he putte in plegge to Henricus his broþer, to hire an hoste ageyne William his broþer; and londed at the laste at Hampton. To whom kynge William sende enbassiators, seyenge to hym "William youre broþer claymethe not hym kynge but "under yow, and to reigne by yow, whiche be elder to hym "and better; he usurpethe not the realme, but kepede hit in "youre absence. Neverthelesse, he desirethe now, in that he "is crownede, he may reigne under yow, payenge to yow þer-"fore yerely iij. m[1] markes, and wheiþer of yow lyve longer to "possede bothe honors." Robert herynge this, condescende þerto, and returnede to Normandy, havynge noo thynge with him but feire promisses; ffor alle the noble men of the[8] wolde,

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *norysshed*, Cx.
[2] *Þes*, γ.
[3] *þoo*] that tyme, Cx.
[4] *host a3enes*, γ.
[5] *into*, β.
[6] *half*, Cx.
[7] *kyng William*, γ.
[8] *messagers*, γ. and Cx.
[9] *hymsylf no3t*, γ.; *clepeth himself not*, Cx.
[10] From γ., but apparently in error.
[11] *ert*, γ.
[12] *for*] bycause, Cx.
[13] *over lyveþ*, α., β., and γ.; *overleveth*, Cx.
[14] *a*] om. α. and β.
[15] *reode*, β.; *rued*, γ.; *waggyng his heede*, Cx.
[16] *byhestes*, α., β., and Cx.; *veyr byhestes*, γ.
[17] *nei3*, β.
[18] Sic in MS.

Angliæ voluerat[1] erexisse Robertum in regem, excepto Lanfranco et Wulstano.[2] Interea per Angliam tempestas dira sævit, nam post hiemem, vere incipiente, patruus regis Willelmi Odo Baiocensis episcopus,[3] a[4] carcere Willelmi[5] nuper liberatus, Angliam venit, cui datus est Cantiæ comitatus; sed cum videret non omnia suo arbitratu ut quondam in regno disponi, livore ictus a rege descivit, et multos eodem suspirio infecit, potissime Dunelmensem episcopum, comitem Northimbrensem et Rogerum de Monte Gomerico, comitem Salopiæ. Ipse tunc Odo fiscos regios et terras archiepiscopi Lanfranci devastat, pro eo quod ejus consilio ipse in vinculis Willelmi primi conjectus fuerat; nam conquerente aliquando rege Willelmo primo de Odone fratre suo quod ab ipso desiliret, "Tu," inquit Lanfrancus, "prende[6] eum "et vinci[7] ne tibi noceat, non dico episcopum sed comi- "tem Cantiæ." Interea[4] Rogerus Salopiensis[8] cum suis Walensibus fines Angliæ usque Wygorniam devastat, sed precibus sancti Wulstani simul et anathemate ita debilitati sunt[9] et excæcati ipse et viri sui, ut a parvo numero castellanorum[10] et ipsius familiæ episcopi dispergerentur. Videns[11] ergo rex Willelmus Normannos pæne omnes contra se conspiratos, delinivit Anglos pro-

Sævitia Odonis episcopi fratris Willelmi.

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[1] *voluit*, B.

[2] C.D. add: "Unde rex Willel- "mus mulcebat animos Anglorum "contra Normannos, permittentes "quod silvas eorum venaticas di- "mitteret liberas, et bonas leges "sanciret, sed nichil horum post- "modum observabat."

[3] *Canciam occupat. Willelmus episcopus Dunelmensis opem parat*, C.D.

[4] *a carcere . . . Interea*] om. C. D.

[5] *primi*, A.

[6] *apprehende*, B.

[7] *vinci*] from A.; *vince*, MS.

[8] *Salapiensis*, A.

[9] *sunt*] om. B.

[10] *episcopalis familiæ*, C.D.

[11] *Videns . . . cepit*] om. C.D.

have i-made Robert kyng outake Lanfrank and Wolstoun. Þat tyme fil cruelnesse[1] and grisliche[2] tempest in Engelond.[3] For after wynter, in þe bygynnynge of springyng tyme, kyng William his eme[4] Odo, bisshop of Baiocens, þat was toforehonde[5] delyvered out of þe firste kyng William his prisoun, cam into Engelond; to hym was i-ȝeve[6] þe erldome of Kent; he siȝ þat it ȝede[7] nouȝt al at[8] his devise in þe londe, as it dede[9] somtyme in þe firste kyng William his tyme, and was wroþ þerfore, and forsook[10] þe kyng, and infected meny oþer wiþ þe same grucchinge, and nameliche þe bisshop of Durham, þe eorle of Northumberlond, and Roger of monk Gormerik,[11] eorle of Schroesbury. Þo[12] þis Odo wastede and destroyede the kynges rentes and enchetes, and Lanfrank þe archebisshopes londes,[13] for he was by his counseil [14][y]-cast in þe firste kyng William his bondes. For þe firste kyng William playnede[15] somtyme of his broþer þat he wolde forsake hym. "Take "hym," quod Lanfrank, "and bynde hym þat he greve þe "nouȝt. I seie[16] not the bisshop, bote þe eorle[17] of Kent." Þat tyme Roger[18] eorle[17] of Schroesbury, wiþ his Walsche[19] men, destroyede þe endes of Engelond anon to Wircestre.[20] But by þe prayer and curse of seynt Wolston þei were so i-febled and i-blend[21] þat he and his men were i-chased of a litel noumbre of men into[22] castelles of þe same bisshoppes meynye.[23] Kyng William siȝ þat þe Normans were nygh al conspired aȝenst

TREVISA.

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have erecte Robert to be kynge, Lanfrancus and Wulstan excepte. After that, Roger erle off Schropschire wastede the weste marches of Ynglonde with men of Wales unto Worcestre; whiche hoste was made feble and blynde by the preiers of seynte Wulstan, insomoche that the hoste was dispersede by a fewe nowmbre of men longynge to that bischop, and by a fewe men of the castell. This kynge William seenge allemoste alle the

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *vul cruwel*, γ.
[2] *a cruwel and grislich*, β.
[3] *a cruell and grysely tempest*, Cx.
[4] *eame*, Cx.
[5] *byfore*, Cx.
[6] *yeven*, Cx.
[7] *ȝude*, γ.
[8] *at*] to, Cx.
[9] *dude*, γ.
[10] *vorsouk*, γ.
[11] *Mont Gomeryk*, α. and Cx.; *Gomerik*, β.; *Mont Gomerik*, γ.
[12] *þanne*, β.
[13] *þe archebisshopes londes*, from α., β., and Cx.; *hys londes*, γ.; *archebisshop of London*, MS.
[14] From α.
[15] *pleined*, Cx.
[16] *sigge*, β.; *sygge*, γ.
[17] *erl*, γ.
[18] *Rogyer*, Cx.
[19] *Walysch*, γ.
[20] *Wyrceter*, γ.
[21] *Wulstan*, β.
[22] *blent*, β.; *blente*, Cx.
[23] *into*] of, γ. and Cx.
[24] *meyne*, β.

missis meliorum legum et liberæ venationis[1] in silvis propriis. Eodemque modo Rogerum Salopiensem inflexit, et statim in[2] desertores desævit, castella Odonis in Cantia occupavit, ipsum Odonem captum Angliam[3] abjurare[4] coegit, urbem Roffensem, ubi erat nobilitas congregata, obsedit et cepit.[5] Hoc etiam anno corpus sancti Nicholai ad urbem Barrum in Apulia advehitur. Dum enim[6] Turci Mirream[7] urbem destruerent,[8] viginti quatuor milites Barrenses illuc profecti ossa beati Nicholai in oleo natantia ad urbem suam detulerunt. Hoc etiam anno Urbanus papa, comitante Anselmo tunc abbate Beccensi, concilium celebravit apud Clarum Montem in Gallia, ubi statutum est ut horæ de beata Virgine quotidie dicerentur, et ejus officium[9] fieret diebus sabbatinis. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.*[10] Rex[11] Willelmus quædam castella in Nor-

Translatio corporis sancti Nicholai.

Anselmus.

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[1] *venationis*, from A.; *venerationis*, MS.
[2] *in*] om. B.
[3] *Angliam*] om. B.
[4] *abjurare*, from A.B.; *adjurare*, MS.
[5] See note 11, page 322.
[6] *enim*] om. B.
[7] *Barream*, C.D.
[8] *destruxerunt*, B.
[9] *solempniter*, C.D.
[10] Script. post Bedam, p. 121.
[11] *Rex . . . primo* (page 330)] om. C.D.

hym; þanne he plesede Englische men wiþ byhestes of better lawes and fre hontynge in his owne woodes. In þe same manere he awelde[1] Roger eorle of Schroysbury, and anon he fil[2] on hym[3] þat hym hadde forsake[4] and occupied Odo his castelles in Kent, and took Odo and made hym forswere[5] Engelond, and bysegede and took þe citee of Rouchestre, þere and[6] þe noble men were i-gadered. Also þat ȝere seint Nicholas his body was i-brouȝt to þe citee Barrus in Apulia, whan Turkes destroyede þe citee Mirrea. Foure and twenty knyȝtes of Barrus wente þider[7] and brouȝte to hire owne citee seint Nicholas[8] bones swymmynge in oyle. Also þat ȝere pope Urban hadd wiþ hym Ancelyn[9] abbot of Becco,[10] and made a counsaile at Clermount in Gallia, þat is [in][11] Fraunce;[12] þere it was i-ordeyned þat þe houres of Oure Lady schulde be i-seide every day, and[13] ful service of hire þe Satirday.[14] Kyng William corumpede þe wardeynes wiþ money, and wan som of Robert his castelles in Normandie, and lette þe kyng of

TREVISA.

Normannes to be conspirede ageynes hym, pleasede men of Ynglonde, promysynge to theym moore esy lawes, ȝiffynge licence to peple to hunte in his forestes. And so he inclinede to hym Roger Mowntegomerik, erle of Schrobbesbury; that doen he began to wexe cruelle ageyne his adversaryes, and occupiede the castells of Kente longynge to Odo, and takynge hym causede hym to forsake Ynglonde; and segenge the cite of Rochestre, where alle the noble men of Ynglonde were allemost, toke hit. The body of seynte Nicolas was brouȝte to the cite of Barrus in Apulia. For when the Turkes destroyede the cite of Mirrea in this tyme, xxiiij. knyȝhtes of Barrus conveyede þider brouȝhte the boones of seynte Nicolas, swymmynge in oyle, unto theire cite. Urbanus the pope kepede a cownsaile at Claremownte in Fraunce, with Anselme prior Bectense, where hit was ordaynede that the howres of oure Lady scholde be seide dayly, and that servyce scholde be seide of her in Seturdayes. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.* Kynge William gate diverse castells

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 341 b.

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[1] *awelded*, β. and Cx.
[2] *vul*, γ.
[3] *ham*, γ.; *them*, Cx.
[4] *vorsake*, γ.
[5] *vorswere*, γ.
[6] *and*] om. α. β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *þuder*, γ.
[8] *hys*, add. γ.
[9] *Ancelm*, β.; *Anselm*, γ.
[10] *Becko*, Cx.
[11] From Cx.
[12] *Frauns*, γ.
[13] *in*, MS.
[14] *and vul seruys of here þe Saturday*, γ.

Gratiæ MLXXXIX. Willelmi Rufi II.

mannia Roberti adquisivit, custodes pecunia corrumpens, et regem Franciæ ne fratri suo faveret impediens; sicque Normannia diu fluctuabat, modo uni modo alteri fratri favens, donec Robertus Cenomanniam, et rex Willelmus quædam castra in Normannia obtineret. Interea tertius frater Henricus infrendens quod nil sibi de terris impartiebatur, Montem Michaelis occupavit, utrumque fratrem vicissim incursavit. Ubi quadam die rex Willelmus tabernaculum suum egressus cum paucis irruit in multos hostes ipse improvisus; sed equo suo sub feminibus suis occiso, ipse per pedem diu tractus probitate loricæ [suæ][1] salvatus est ne læderetur. Miles autem qui eum dejecerat manum ad capulum gladii sui aptavit ut regem feriret. Cui rex, "Quiesce, "nebulo, rex Angliæ sum ego." Tremuit vocem vulgus militum, alterum equum regi adducunt, quo ascenso

[1] *suæ*, from A.B.

Fraunce þat he schulde nouȝt favoure[1] his broþer Robert. And so Normandie was longe unstedefast,[2] now favorynge þe[3] oon[4] broþer, now[5] þat oþer, forto[6] þat Roberd[7] hadde Cenomannia,[8] and kyng William som castelles in Normandie.[9] Þanne[10] þe þridde broþer Henry grucchede for he hadde no part, and occupied Seynt Michel[11] his mount, and reysed[12] up[13] eyþer broþer now uppon þat oon,[14] now uppon þat oþer.[10] Þere in a day king William wente out of his tente unware,[15] and fil[16] on meny enemyes wiþ fewe[17] men, but his hors was i-slawe[18] under hym, and he was longe i-drawe and i-haled by þe foot,[19] but his habergeoun[20] was so good þat it saved hym þat he was nouȝt i-hert. Þe knyȝt þat hadde i-þrow hym downe, sette his hond on[21] his swerd[22] for to slee þe kyng; "Leef,[23] "fool," quod þe[24] kyng William, "I[25] am kyng of Engelond." Alle þe oost dradde whanne þey herde þat voys, and brouȝt þe kyng anoþer hors; and whanne he was on þat hors[26] he

TREVISA.

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in Normandy by fals kepers thro corrupcion of money, lettynge also the kynge of Fraunce leste he wolde have ȝiffen helpe to Roberte his broþer as so Normandy was nowe with that oon broþer and with þat other untille that Robert hade geten Cenomannia, and kynge William diverse castells in Normandy. Then Henricus the thrydde broþer, thenkynge that thei did wronge to hym, occupiede the mownt of Michael, troublynge bothe his breþer oftetymes. Where hit happede in a day kyng William to goe furthe of a castelle with fewe men ageyne mony enemyes, and his horse sleyne under hym hongede by the legges a grete space, neverthelesse he was salvede, by the signe of his armes that he was not hurte. The knyȝhte whiche hade caste hym owte of the sadelle put honde to his swerde to have sleyne hym. To whom kynge William seide, "Sease, gloton, y am kynge "of Ynglonde;" and anoon an other horse was brouȝhte to the kynge. Whiche sette on hym inquirede what man hit scholde be

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *favere*, γ.; *faver*, Cx.
[2] *unstidfast*, β.
[3] þe] þat, β.; that, Cx.
[4] *o*, γ.
[5] þat, add. γ.
[6] *forto*] til, β. and Cx.
[7] *vorto Robert*, γ.
[8] *Chynon*, Cx.
[9] *in Normandie*] in Saint Nycolas mount, Cx.
[10] þanne . . . oþer] om. Cx.
[11] *Mighels*, β.
[12] *resed*, β.
[13] *uppon*, α. and β.; *oppon*, γ.
[14] *and efte*, γ.
[15] *onwar*, Cx.
[16] *vul*, γ.
[17] *feaw*, γ.
[18] *sleyn*, β.
[19] *voot*, γ.
[20] *haberione*, β. and Cx.; *haberjon*, γ.
[21] *on*] to, β. and γ.
[22] *schord*, γ.
[23] *Leve*, β. and Cx.
[24] þe] om. Cx.
[25] *Ych*, γ.
[26] *and . . . hors*] om. Cx.

inquirit quis eum dejecerit. "Ego," ait miles qui hoc fecerat,[1] nec putavi regem dejicere sed militem." Et rex,[2] "Per vultum de Luca et[3] tu mihi de cætero carior "eris." Cum ergo Henricus ab utrisque fratribus ita obsideretur ut aqua sibi deficeret, misit ad Robertum fratrem suum, virum utique[4] lenioris animi, dicens impium fore aquam negare, quæ omni mortali communis est, magisque civile fore pugnare virtute militum quam violentia elementorum. Tunc ille aquam concessit, quod rex Willelmus[5] audiens derisit factum, dicens "Siccine didicisti, O Roberte, hostes tuos debellare potum "præbens?" Cui Robertus, "Numquid[6] aquam præponderas fratri, dimittens eum mori? si eum amiserimus "quem alium fratrem habebimus?" Ad hæc rex Willelmus resolvit prælium, ambos fratres in Angliam secum[7] ducens.

Concordia facta inter fratres Robertum Willelmum et Henricum.

[1] *fecit*, B.
[2] *Et rex*] om. A.
[3] *et*] om. B.
[4] *itaque*, A.
[5] *Willelmus*] om. A.
[6] *Numquid*, from A.; *Nunquam*, MS.
[7] *secum*] om. B.

axede who þrewe hym doun. "I," quod[1] þe kny3t þat hadde i-doo þe[2] dede; "I wende nou3t to þrowe adoun a kyng, "bote a kny3t." Per vultum de Luca," quoþ þe kyng, "þou "schalt be me the levere after þis." Þanne whan Henry was [so][3] byseged of boþe his breþeren[4] þat hym lakked water, he sente to his broþer Robert, þat was þe more benigne man, and seide þat it was an evel dede for to werne[5] water, þat is comyn to alle men and bestes, and þat it were more laweful to fi3te[6] wiþ strengþe of kny3tes þan wiþ violence[7] of þe elementes: þan he graunted hym water. Kyng William herde[8] þerof, and scornede[9] þat dede, and seide: "So þou hast i-"lerned, Robert, to overcome þyn enemyes, and to 3eve hem "drynke." "Þou tellest greet prise[10] of water," quod Robert; "telle[11] þou more prise[12] of water þan of oure broþer? "woldest þou suffre hym deie for defaute of water? where "schal we have anoþer broþer 3if we leseþ[13] hym?" For þis answere þe kyng undede[14] þe werre, and hadde boþe his breþeren[15] wiþ hym into Engelond.

Trevisa.

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that caste hym downe. The kny3hte seide "Y am he that caste "yow downe, but y supposede hit hade bene an other kny3hte." To whom the kynge seide, "Now by the chere of Luke, y schalle "luffe the better for that dede." When Henricus that oþer broþer was segede by kynge William and Robert Curtehose, insomoche that he wontede water, he sende to Robert his broþer seyenge that hit was a wikkede thynge to denye water, which, is commune to every thynge mortalle; for hit is moore civile to fi3hte with a multitude of kny3htes then with the violence of elementes; and then he suffrede his broþer to have water. Kynge William herynge þat skornede hym, seyenge, "Broþer Roberte, "where lernede ye to use that crafte that ye scholde have victory "of your enemyes 3iffynge to theyme drynke." To whom Robert seide "Luffe ye water moore þen youre brother, suffrenge hym "to dye. If we loose hym, where schalle we have an other "broþer?" Kynge William herynge that, dissolvede the sege, and toke bothe his breþer with hym into Ynglonde.

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 342 a.

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[1] *quaþ*, γ.
[2] *þat*, γ.
[3] From α., β., and Cx.
[4] *brethern*, γ.
[5] *wurne*, γ.
[6] *vy3te*, γ.
[7] *wyolens*, γ.
[8] *hurde*, γ.
[9] *schornede*, γ.
[10] *pryce*, Cx.
[11] *tellest*, β., γ., and Cx.
[12] *more pris*, add. γ.
[13] *luseþ*, γ.; *leese*, Cx.
[14] *undide*, β.; *undude*, γ.
[15] *breþern*, γ.

Cap. VI.

[*Lanfrancus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus.*]

Obitus Lanfranci.

Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.[1] Hoc anno Lanfrancus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit, quinto[2] kalendas Junii, postquam octodecim annis præsedisset;[3] et vacavit sedes plene quatuor annis. Iste Lanfrancus genere Lumbardus, litteratura insignis, quippe qui juventutem suam liberalibus artibus attriverat,[4] sacris paginis ævum maturaverat, quibus edoctus mundi fumos et ampullata gentilium eloquia parvipendere, Beccum ex omnibus Normanniæ monasteriis præelegit, paupertate loci et religione captus, ubi sub Herlewyno primo abbate monachatus, homo qui nesciret agresti opere victum quærere, publicas scholas de dialectica professus est, ut sic egestatem loci scholarum liberalitate sullevaret; sed gloria laudis ejus conflavit apud improbos viros[6] invidiam, adeo ut a vicinis capellanis comes Normannicus Willelmus turbatus[7] ediceret Lanfrancum pro sua importunitate Normannia propellendum. *Willelmus, libro ii.*[8] Nam Herfastus[9] ducis Willelmi capel-

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[1] Script. post Bedam, p. 205; A.B. transpose reference before *Iste Lanfrancus* below.

[2] *quatuor*, C.D.

[3] *postquam . . . præsedisset*] om. C.D.

[4] *in*, B.

[5] *Herelewinum abbatem loci primum ad coquendos panes succinctum et fimo fœdatum conspicatus est. Ibi igitur monachatus homo*, &c., C.D.

[6] *viro*, B.

[7] *turbatur*, A.

[8] *Willelmus, libro ii.*] om. C.D; Script. post Bedam, p. 238.

[9] *quidam*, C.D.

Capitulum sextum. TREVISA.

THIS ȝere deide Lanfrank archebisshop of Canturbury, þe fourþe[1] day tofore[2] Iuyn,[3] after þat he hadde i-be archebisshop eyȝtene ȝere; and þanne þe see was voide foure ȝere. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Þis Lanfrank, of þe nacioun of Lombardes, was a noble man of lettrure;[4] he hadde i-ȝeve al his ȝowþe to fre artes and sciens, and spende[5] his elde al in holy bookes; he was konnynge þerof, and despisede þe smokynge and schillynge speche of mysbyleved men. And of alle abbayes in Normandie he chees Becco, and was bycapped[6] by þe povert and religioun of þat place. Þere he was a monk under abbot Herlewyn,[7] and was a man þat kouþe doo no grete werkes to gete his liflode þerwiþ. Þerefore he hilde open scole of art to releve þe nedy place by fredom[8] of his scolers; þe loos of his preysinge and of his worschippe sprang out among wicked men, so þat þey hadde greet envie to þe good man, and[9] preostes[10] of þe contray meoved so William duke of Normandie [þat he commaundede to put[11] out Lanfranc out of Normandye][12] for his unesynes. *Willelmus, libro* 2°. For[13] Hervast,[14] duke William his preost,[15] was holde a man of

Capitulum sextum. MS. HARL. 2261.

LANFRANCUS archebischop of Cawnterbery diede in this yere, the v^the^ kalendes of Iunius, after his presidency by xviij. yere, whiche seete was vacante after his dethe by iiij. yere. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* This Lanfrancus, borne in Lumbardy, was noble, instructe in the vij. science, whiche hade exspende the tyme of his yowthe in studyes and artes liberalle. This noble clerke Lanfrancus chosede afore the monastery Bectense to oþer monasterys for poverte of the place, and for the observaunce of religion kepede þer, where he was made monke under Herlewinus, the firste abbotte; whiche, not usede to servile labors, tauȝhte gramer and logike, that he myȝhte helpe the poverte of the place by the doctrine of his scolers. But the glory of his lawde engendred hate and envye in his enemyes, in so moche that William duke of Normandy hade purposede to have putte hym from that cuntre. *Willelmus, libro secundo.* For Herfastus, chapeleyne to the seide

[1] *vurde*, γ.
[2] *tofore*] of, Cx.
[3] *tovore Jun*, γ.
[4] *letture*, γ.
[5] *spente*, Cx.
[6] *cappet*, γ.; *ycapped*, Cx.
[7] *Herlewing*, Cx.
[8] *vredom*, γ.
[9] *to the*, add. Cx. wrongly.
[10] *prustes*, γ.
[11] *pot*, γ.
[12] From α. and β.
[13] *For Hervast*] Bycause herof, Cx.
[14] *Herfast*, β., γ.
[15] *prust*, γ.

lanus, ante adventum Lanfranci probabilis scientiæ æstimatus, ad gymnasium Lanfranci [1] cum magna pompa [2] pervenerat.[3] Tunc Lanfrancus ex prima [4] hominis collocutione perpendens quod prope nihil sciret, abecedarium litterarum illi [5] apposuit expediendum, ferociam hominis Italica peritia sic eludens. Quo ille irritatus effecit per Willelmum ducem ut Lanfrancus omni Normannia submoveretur; sed occasio recuperandæ gratiæ fuit quod ad curiam comitis tendens Lanfrancus equus ejus claudicans comiti cachinnum excussit. Unde conspecta in Lanfranco responsi facetia et elegantia [6] frontispicii, de priore Beccensi effectus est abbas Cadomensis, et postmodum præsul Cantuariensis. *Willelmus de Pontificibus,*[7] *libro primo.*[8] Vir [9] iste tam famosus in doctrina fuit ut ei [10] Romam venienti Alexander [11] papa dignanter assurgeret, protestans se non illius [12] archiepiscopio sed ejus litteraturæ deferre. Quapropter petiit papa ut cum ipse fecisset quod erat honoris, ipse [13]

Commendatio Lanfranci.

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[1] *probabilis . . . Lanfranci*] om. B.
[2] *sociorum et equorum*, add. C.D.
[3] *p'munerat*, B.
[4] *primi*, B.
[5] *litterarum illi*] om. B.
[6] *elongantia*, A.
[7] *de Pontificibus*] om. A.
[8] Script. post Bedam, p. 205.
[9] *Erat nempe*, C.D.
[10] *doctrina erat ut ei*, A.; *doctrina ut ei*, B.; *et ei*, MS.
[11] *cujus indicium erat quod dominus*, C.D.
[12] *ejus*, B.
[13] *fecisset . . . ipse*] om. B.

greet sciens tofore þe comynge of Lanfrank. He cam in a day to Lanfrank his scole wiþ greet brag and boost; þanne by his firste speche Lanfranc was war þat þe man couþe wel nygh[1] riȝt nouȝt, and took hym a þing wiþ letter[2] for to spel,[3] and so he overcom þe wildenesse of þe man by connynge[4] of Italy. Þerfore he was wrooþ, and made duke William putte Lanfrank out of al Normandye. But occasioun to have grace of þe duke was, for[5] Lanfrank wente to þe dukes court, and his hors haltede and made þe duke lawhe.[6] Þe duke took heed[7] of þe[8] curtesie[9] of Lanfrank his answere, and of þe fairenesse[10] of his face,[11] and made hym [of][12] priour of Becco, abbot of Cadony,[13] and afterward archebisshop of Caunterbury. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Þis man was so famous of lore þat pope Alisaundre aroos[14] worschipfulliche aȝenst hym whan he come to Rome, and seide þat he dede nouȝt to þe archebisshop [þat worschippe],[15] but to his clergie. Þerfore þe pope axede þat seþþe[16] þat he hadde i-doo what was worschipful, Lanfrank schulde doo what was

Trevisa.

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duke, was supposede and trawede to have bene an excellent clerke afore the commynge of Lanfrancus; whiche come with grete pride in a tyme to the scole of Lanfrancus, whiche, perceyvynge anoon that he was but of simple intellect, toke to hym an abscedary; whiche, havynge indignacion þerof, movede duke William to expelle hym from Normandy. But this Lanfrancus havynge communicacion with the seide duke, his cowntenaunce chere and eloquence was soe grete[17] commendede, that of the prior Bectense he was made abbote of Caane, and after metropolitan of Ynglonde. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* This noble man was so famose in doctrine that he commynge to Rome, and apperynge afore the pope, the pope wolde have aryse to do reverence to hym, makynge protestacion to hym that he did not that honoure to the archebischop, but to his connynge. Wherefore, that doen, the pope desirede, sithe he hade doen that longede to honoure, Lanffrancus scholde

MS. Harl. 2261

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[1] *neiȝ*, β.
[2] *lettres*, β.
[3] *spede*, α., β., and Cx.; *of letters vor to spyde*, γ.
[4] *kunnyng*, β.
[5] *was, vor*, γ.
[6] *lauȝe*, β.; *lauȝhe*, γ.; *laugh*, Cx.
[7] *hyde*, γ.
[8] *þe*] om. β.
[9] *courtosye*, Cx.
[10] *veyrnes*, γ.
[11] *fas*, γ.
[12] From β.
[13] *Caen*, Cx.
[14] *aros*, β.
[15] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[16] *syth*, Cx.
[17] Sic in MS.

Lanfrancus faceret quod esset justitiæ, ut videlicet se prosterneret pedibus vicarii sancti[1] Petri. Quo facto[2] ambos itineris ejus socios[3] episcopos, anulis et baculis merito privatos,[4] ejus pretextu gradibus suis restituit prout superius prælibatum est.[5] Item ipse Lanfrancus regem Willelmum conquestorem sacra tractabat, arte non rigide objurgando, sed seria jocis immiscendo. Erat nempe rex Willelmus timoris immodici, secularia et ecclesiastica ad libitum disponens, nullum in terra sua pro apostolico admittens nisi animo suo blandiretur; concilium in regno suo[6] nullum cogi nisi se consulto, nec aliquid ibi diffiniri nisi ipse dictasset;[7] nullum ex proceribus pro quavis culpa puniri nisi ipse jussisset.[8] Accipiebat Lanfrancus quandoque pecuniam quo magis parceret delictis subditorum.[9] Quod non fecit ad alleviandum peccati sarcinam, sed magis ad cumulandum regis gratiam. Excusabat aliquantulum factum regis pecunias[10] glomorantis ipsa necessitas, qua oportuit cum[11] multis pecuniis pacem procurare provinciæ quam[12] armis subegerat; et quamvis rapere a provincialibus et dare hostibus, apud homines sit exiguum, apud Deum

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[1] *beati*, A.B.

[2] *magna amoris apostolici insignia expertus*, C.D.

[3] *Thomam Eboracensem et Remigium Dorcestrensem*, add. C.D.

[4] *precibus suis restituit officio, eapa vero pondus negocii ad ejus considerationem transfudit. Porro rex Willelmus Conquistor Lanfrancum contuitu propriam contundebat superbiam quam et ille sacra tractabat*, &c., C.D.

[5] *prælibatum est*, from A.B.; *prælibatus*, MS.

[6] *suo*] om. B.

[7] *dictasset . . . ipse*] om. B.

[8] C.D. add: "ad recensionem "hostium pluris egens multa fisco "suo sociavit. Dicebat enim pa- "pam et episcopos suis debere mol- "liri muneribus quo minus rigo- "rem canonum exequerentur. Adeo "autem ipsum Lanfrancum talis "infamia respergebat ut ab acci- "pienda pecunia non obstineret "quo magis," &c.

[9] *subjectorum*, B.

[10] *pecuniam*, B.

[11] *cum*, from A.B.; *eum*, MS.

[12] *quam*, from A.B.; *qua*, MS.

TREVISA.

riȝtful, þat is þat he schulde falle adoun to þe feet[1] of seint Peter his vikarie.[2] Whanne he hadde soo i-doo þe pope by cause of hym restored his felowes bisshoppes þat com wiþ hym to here staat, crosses[3] and rynges, þat were to forehonde[4] i-preved,[5] as it is seide to forehonde.[4] Also þis Lanfrank tredede[6] and bylad[7] kyng William conquerour by an holy craft, nouȝt wiþ grym chidynge, but somtyme [an hernest[8] and sometime][9] in good merþe. Kyng William was sterne[10] and dradde no man, and rulede[11] boþe temperalte and spiritualte at his owne wille; he fenge[12] no man for[13] þe pope in his lond, but þey[14] come and plesede hym; he suffred no counsaile i-made in his lond wiþ oute his owne leve. Also he wolde suffre no þing to be ordeyned in suche a counseil but as he wolde assente. Also no lord of his lond schulde be punsched[15] bote at his owne heste. Somtyme Lanfrank took money for to spare þe more þe[16] trespas of his sugettes,[17] þat dede he nouȝt for to[18] liȝte þe charge of synne, bote for to gete þe more grace of þe kyng; þe nede[19] why it moste be i-doo excused somdel[20] þe kynges dede in gaderynge of money. For wiþ greet money me[21] mote[22] make pees in þe lond þat is i-wonne wiþ dedes of armes and wiþ strengþe; and þeiȝ it be litel acounted among men [to ravese[23] of men][9] of þe lond, and ȝeve to enemyes, ȝit tofore God I

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 342 b.

do that dewe obedience required, that he scholde falle downe to the feete of the vicare of blissede Petyr. This Lanfrancus inducede kynge William Conqueroure by laudable meanes to vertu, not by bostuous communicacion, but makynge as a commixtion of sadde thynges with thynges of disporte. This kynge William Conqueror disposede thynges temporalle and spiritualle after his pleasure, suffrenge not eny cownsaile to be hade with his specialle licence; neither eny thynge to have bene diffinede withowte his commaundement; commaundynge also noo gentille longynge to hym to be punyschede or correcte with owte he hade ȝiffyn that iuggemente to hym. The dedes

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[1] *veet*, γ.
[2] *vikere*, α.; *viker*, β.; *saynt Peter vyker*, Cx.
[3] *croyses*, Cx.
[4] *bifore*, Cx., bis.
[5] *yprived*, β. and γ.
[6] *tretid*, Cx.
[7] *byladde*, β.
[8] *ernest*, β., γ., and Cx.
[9] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[10] *storn*, γ.
[11] *reulede*, γ.
[12] *vynge*, γ.
[13] þey] he, β. and Cx.
[14] *for*] fro, Cx.
[15] *punyschide*, β.
[16] þe] om. α.
[17] *subget*, Cx.
[18] *to*] om. Cx.
[19] *neode*, α.
[20] *somwhat*, Cx.
[21] *one may make*, Cx.
[22] *mot*, γ.
[23] *ravysch*, β.

tamen puto nihilum; facta ergo regis Willelmi respectu regum modernorum prædicanda sunt magnanimitatis exempla, quæ quondam dicebantur præsumptionis facinora. Patiebatur ista invitus [1] Lanfrancus, captato loco et tempore conveniebat regem placide, suggerebat opportune.[2] At cum [1] Lanfrancus omnibus quasi virtutibus ingenium solidasset,[3] in eleemosyna tamen præcipue dicto et facto effloruit, utens sæpe hoc verbo, "Date eleemosy-" nam, et ecce omnia munda sunt vobis." Et cum avaritia Longobardis familiare sit vitium, a persona sua longe depulit hoc contagium, adeo ut in pauperes expenderet victum et vestitum, nec pudebat eum alte succinctum pauperes recreare, aut tenerioris fortunæ scholares ad disputationis conflictum provocare. Post verba [4] utrique abibant læti, victor ex scientiæ triumpho, victus ex verecundiæ solatio. Promovebat potissime monachorum et clericorum habitacula,[5] revocabat viriliter possessiones [6] abalienatas, quem animabant mentis vivacitas

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[1] *archiepiscopus*, C.D.

[2] *resecans nonnulla adeo ut religioni, quæ tunc per archiepiscopum in Anglia refloruit, rex ipse congauderet. Cum igitur Lanfrancus*, &c., C.D.

[3] *animumque componeret*, C.D.

[4] *in fine dicens utrique*, &c., C.D.

[5] C.D. add: "ubi in diversis "coloris picturis lenocinante fu-"corum splendore ars spectabilis "rapiebat animos et pulchritudinis "gratia sollicitabat oculos."

[6] *ecclesiæ suæ, nam et prævalebat in eo animi vivacitas et beati*, &c., C.D.

holde it riȝt nouȝt. Þan kyng William his dedes, in comparisoun of dedes of kynges þat now beeþ, [beeþ][1] worþy to be i-preved[2] for ensample of fre[3] and lordliche herte; þat was i-seide trespas of presumcioun. Lanfranc suffred it aȝenst his wille, and whanne he sigh his tyme he wolde speke plesyngliche,[4] [and warnede him and wiþseide him in skileful[5] manere. Lanfranc hadde y-fylled[6] his witt wiþ al vertues, bote[7] passyngliche][8] in almes[9] dedes, he passede oþere men in word and in dede, and usede ofte þat word of holy writt, "ȝeveþ almesse, and al þing is clene to ȝow." And þey covetise "be a special vice[10] to Lombardes, he put[11] þat gleymynge[12] fer from his persone, so þat he spende in[13] pore men mete and drynke and cloop. Hym schamede nouȝt to girde[14] hym self hiȝe,[15] and fede[16] and serve pore men, and make poure scolers stryve and dispute,[17] and whan þey hadde i-doo[18] eiþer schuld goo glad awey, þe victor for he hadde þe maistrie, and he þat were overcome for comfort[19] and solas of schame. He avaunsede[20] nameliche þe place[21] of monkes, and of cherches[22] he brouȝte manliche aȝen possessiouns þat were aliened. Scharpnes of

Trevisa.

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of whom be rehersede nowe in this tyme of magnanimite amonge kynges, and that tyme those dedes were callede of synne and of presumpcion. This hooly clerke Lanfrancus suffrede these thynges ageyne his wylle, spekynge to kynge William Conqueroure for his synnes in places and tymes congruent. Neverthelesse, this noble metropolitan Lanfrancus stablede in mony vertues, floryschede specially in almes, usynge this sentence: "Moche ȝiffe ye almes, and alle thynges be "clene to yow;" usynge also to calle poore clerkes to disputacions; that doen thei wente furthe bothe with gladdenes, the victor of the triumphe of science, and the man overcomen thro the solace of his doctryne. Whiche restorede specially to monkes possessions taken from theyme; whom vivacite of

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] From α. and γ.; *beþ*, β.; *now ben be*, Cx.
[2] *preched*, β. and Cx.; *ypreched*, γ.
[3] *vre*, γ.
[4] *pleasauntly*, Cx.
[5] *skilfol*, γ.
[6] *y-vulled*, γ.
[7] *and specially*, Cx.
[8] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *almesse*, .
[10] *vys*, γ.
[11] *potte*, γ.
[12] *gleymyng*, β. and γ.
[13] *spente on*, Cx.
[14] *gurde*, γ.
[15] *heyȝ*, β.
[16] *vede*, γ.
[17] *despuyte*, γ.
[18] *doon*, β.
[19] *comford*, γ.
[20] *advanced*, Cx.
[21] *plas*, γ.
[22] *clerkes*, α., β., and γ.; *clerkis*, Cx.

et beati Dunstani favor in eum effusus. Nam quotienscumque in talibus cunctabundus deferret sententiam,

Dunstanus Lanfranco episcopo.

aderat Dunstanus soporato Lanfranco, adversariorum detegens versutias, et evadendi ostendens semitas, quin etiam aliquando ægrotantem Lanfrancum, luctamine quod secum Dunstanus iniisse[1] videbatur eripuit discrimini, restituit valitudini. Et ut ex vita beati Dunstani colligitur, Lanfrancus in confessionibus audiendis tam pius et affabilis extitit ut manus sibi confitentium peracta confessione oscularetur, et diceret, "Manus istæ[2] me beatum "fecerunt hodie." Ejus quoque tempore monachi Cantuariæ, sic omnes fere tunc[3] temporis in Anglia[4] monachi haud assimiles, nisi quod[5] pudicitiam non

Sæcularibus contra lasciviam monachorum ecclesiæ Christi.

facile proderent, venari, aucupari, tesseras quatere, potibus[6] indulgere consueverunt, ut magis illos consules quam monachos pro[7] famulorum frequentia putares. Horum insolentiam Lanfrancus aliquandiu toleravit, sed opportune conto[8] austeritatis exterruit;[9] sciebat enim peritus animarum magister[10] consuetudinem a natura esse secundam, et repentina morum conversione tene-

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[1] *misse*, A.
[2] *hodie*, C.D.
[3] *monachi*, A.B.
[4] *sæcularibus haud assimiles nisi*, &c., A.; *sæcularibus essent similes nisi*, &c., B.
[5] *ad*, B.
[6] *gulæ*, B.
[7] *præ*, B.
[8] *opportuno tempore conto*, B.; *consilio*, C.D.
[9] *conterruit*, A.
[10] *magister*] om. B.

wit and Donston his[1] favour conforted hym ofte; for as ofte as he was þouȝtful[2] in[3] suche doynges, and bood[4] wiþ þe sentens, seynt Donstoun wolde come to Lanfrank whan he were on slepe, and warne hym of al þe sleiþe of his adversaries, and teche þe weies how he schulde ascape. Also in a tyme Lanfrank was sike, and hym semede þat Donstoun wrastled[5] wiþ hym [and delyvered hym of his siknes][6] and made hym [al][6] hool. And as it is i-take out of seint Donston his lif, Lanfrank was so mylde and so faire of speche in herynge of schrifte, þat whanne þe schrift were i-doo he wolde kesse her[7] hondes þat were[8] i-schryve to hym, and seide, "Þese haveþ[9] i-made me holy "þis day." Also in his tyme þe monkes of Caunterbury, as wel nyȝ alle oþere monkes in Engelond, were nouȝt onliche[10] to seculer men, sauf[11] þat þey lefte nouȝt liche[12] her chastite, bote þey usede hontynge and haukynge[13] and playeng at þe dees and greet drynkynge also, so þat þou woldest wene þat þey were consuls raþer þan monkes, for þey hadde so menye servauntes and[14] so greet aray. Lanfranc suffrede her outrage somwhat of tyme, but he ferede it away wiþ þe staf of covenable[15] sturnes.[16] Þe wyse maister of soules knewe[17] and wiste[18] wel þat costome[19] is þe secounde fro[20] kynde, and he knewe also þat sodeyn chaungynge of maneres and þewes

Trevisa.

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mynde and favor of seynte Dunstan made bolde to do soe; and as hit is collecte of the lyfe of seynte Dunstan, he was so meke and affable in herynge of confessions that he wolde kysse the hondes of peple confessed to hym after the confession made, and wolde say, "These hondes have made me a blissede man in "this day." The monkes of Cawnterbery, and allemoste alle other monkes in Ynglonde, ȝafe theyme to ryette, to hawkynge and huntynge in that tyme, semynge to be lyke to lordes, raþer then to monkes, by theire apparaile and cumpanye of men doynge servyce to theyme. Whiche insolence Lanfrancus metropolitan of Ynglonde suffrede for a season, and reducede theyme to vertuous life afterwarde, not hastily, but by certeyne space folowynge, for scharpe correccion and hasty movethe the

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Dunstan's*, β.
[2] *þoȝtfol*, γ.
[3] *in*] for, Cx.
[4] *abode*, β. and Cx.; *bod*, γ.
[5] *warstled*, Cx.
[6] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *theyr*, Cx.
[8] *where*, MS.
[9] *have*, Cx.; *segge þes habbeþ*, γ.
[10] *unlyk*, Cx.
[11] *save*, β.
[12] *liȝtliche*, β.; *lyȝtlych*, γ.; om. Cx.
[13] Transposed in α. and Cx.
[14] *and*] of, β., γ., and Cx.
[15] *covenabel*, γ.
[16] *sternenesse*, β.
[17] *knwe*, γ.
[18] *weste*, α.; *wuyste*, γ.
[19] *the customme*, Cx.
[20] *from*, β.; *vram*, γ.

riores[1] animos exacerbari. Quapropter per intervalla blande nonnulla submovens, totæ[2] virtutum[3] rudes ad bonum exacuebat[4] mentes, ita ut abdicatis adulterinis fætibus ultronei geniales virtutum[5] adoptarent successus. Unde et inest in[6] eis adhuc beati viri memoria, ingens ad Deum devotio, in hospites affabilitas, in alterutrum mutua caritas. Hic Lanfrancus nullum a se unquam tristem dimisit, sed si quemquam subnubilum videret, causam impiger quærebat,[7] medelam adhibebat, ultroneus offerre denarios juvenibus, ibique[8] providens[9] necessaria[10] monachis, ut nec deplorarent necessaria nec claudicarent a regula. Increverat tunc temporis episcoporum livor, volentium de sedibus suis monachos extrudere, et clericos[11] sæculares intrudere.[12] Cujus auctor factionis fuit Walkelinus, Wentanus præsul, ad cætera bonus, sed ad hoc malum consiliis susurronum

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[1] *conversione teneriores*] om. B.
[2] *cote*, A.
[3] *cute virtutis*, B.
[4] *acuebat*, B.
[5] *virtutes*, B.
[6] *in*] om. B.
[7] *mœstitia querebat*, C.D.
[8] *ubique*, A.
[9] *per totam Angliam, ita monachis providens*, &c., C.D.
[10] *necessaria*] om. B.
[11] *clericos*] om. B.
[12] *et . . . intrudere*] om. C.D.

greveþ þouȝtes and wittes; þerfore oþer whiles among[1] he putte[2] awey somwhat of suche manere doynges[3] wiþ faire speche and softe, and whette þe rude[4] soules to goode wiþ þe whestoun of[5] vertues, so þat þey forsook þe braunches of schrewednesse and evel manere of levynge, and desired[6] the kynde cours of vertues and of good þewes by here owne good wille. Þerfore ȝit þey haveþ[7] þe holy man in mynde,[8] and greet devocioun to God, and faire speche to gestes,[9] and charite among hem self. Þis Lanfrank leet nevere a[10] man goo from hym helynge[11] and[12] sory; ȝif he sigh eny man discomforted he wolde besiliche axe and wite þe cause and ȝeve comfort and medecyne;[13] he wolde freliche profre penyes to ȝong[14] children; he ordeynede to monkes what hem nedede in eueriche side, so þat hem lakked nouȝt[15] of[16] what þat hem neded, and out of rule þey schulde nouȝt blenche. Þat tyme sprang envie among bisshoppes þat wolde putte out monkes of here places,[17] and set[18] in seculer clerkes; auctor[19] þerof schulde be[20] Walkelinus bisshop of Wynchestre, a good man in

Trevisa.

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paciente raþer to vice þen to vertu. Unto whiche tyme presente the memorialle of that noble clerke is hade moche in that monastery amonge the breþer, whiche have grete devocion to God, comforte and hospitalite to poore peple, and habundant charite amonge theyme selfe. The seide Lanfrancus wolde not suffre eny broþer to departe from hym with hevy chere, and if he percevyde a man to be hevy he wolde soone inquire the cause, ȝiffynge to the monkes thynges necessary, that thei scholde not have eny occasion to refuse the observaunce of f. 343 a.
theire religion. The malice and envye of bischoppes encreasede moche in that tyme, insomoche that they thouȝhte to have expellede or expulsed monkes from theire places, and to have put seculer clerkes into þeyme. The auctor of whiche labour was Walkelinus bischop of Wynchestre, goode to other thynges, but

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *emonge*, Cx.
[2] *pot*, γ.
[3] *doyngis*, Cx.
[4] *rued*, α.; *ruyde*, β. and Cx.
[5] *whestoun of*] om. γ.
[6] *desirede*, β.
[7] *hy habbeþ*, γ.; *have*, Cx.
[8] *munde*, γ.
[9] *gistes*, β.; *ghestes*, Cx.
[10] *a*] om. α., β., and Cx.
[11] *elenge*, α. and Cx.; *elyng*, β.; *elynge*, γ.
[12] *and*] or, Cx.
[13] *medicyn*, β. and Cx.
[14] ȝunge, γ.
[15] *schulde lacke of*, α.; *they should not lack of*, Cx.
[16] *blynche*, γ.
[17] *her place*, β.
[18] *brynge*, α. and β.; *bringe*, Cx.
[19] *autor*, β.
[20] *auctor of* þat *doynge was*, α., β., γ., and Cx.

inflexus: regem etiam Willelmum in hanc sententiam attraxerat,[1] sed Lanfrancus ut audivit potentium machinas velut aranearum casses dissolvit; adeo ut, ne idem aut simile auderent posteri,[2] egit ut Alexander papa illud scriptis inhiberet.[3] Roffense monasterium de quaternario clericorum numero usque ad quinquaginta monachos necessariorum sufficientia affluentes instauravit. Ejus industriæ ascribitur[4] quod Gundulphum Cadomensem[5] monachum ad sedem transtulit Roffensem, divina ut putatur electione; nam iste Gundulphus cum apud Cadomum divinas sub Lanfranco audiret scripturas, magistro interim alias[6] intento, sedens ipse cum Waltero socio suo et quodam alio ac librum evangelicum manu tenens, "Experiamur," inquit, "revolutione foliorum quis "vestrum[7] erit abbas, quis episcopus." Invenit Gundulphus locum illum: *Fidelis servus et prudens quem constituit dominus*[8] *super familiam suam.*[9] Walterus

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[1] *attraxerit*, B.
[2] *attemperare*, C.D.
[3] *monasterium Sancti Albani provexit*, C.D.
[4] *inscribitur*, A.
[5] *Godamensem*, A.
[6] *aliis*, B.
[7] *nostrum*, C.D.
[8] *dominus . . . suam*] &c., B.
[9] *suam*] om. A.

oþere dedes, þey3 he were badde in þat doynge, and i-brou3t þerto by counsaile of bakbiters. Also he hadde i-drawe[1] kyng William to þat same entent, but Lanfranc herde[2] þerof, and destroyede þe castes of þe my3ti men as who destroyeþ copweb.[3] So þat þey þat come afterward schulde nou3t be hardy to begynne þat doynge ne non oþer i-liche, he made þat pope Alisaundre forbeed[4] it by his writynge. He restored þe abbay of Rochestre from þe nombre of [foure][5] clerkes [to þe noumbre of fifty monkes],[6] þat hadde ri3t inow[7] to lyve by. [8] It is i-woost[9] þat he translated monk Gundulphus of Cadoni to þe bisshopriche of Rouchestre, as me troweþ[10] by þe elleccioun of God. For þis Gundulphus lernede[11] holy writ of Lanfrank at Cadoni, while his maister took hede[12] to oþer þinges, he and his felowe Walter, wiþ þe þridde, hilde in[13] honde þe book of þe gospelles, and seide, "Now assay we by[14] tornynge "of þe leeves whiche[15] of us schal be abbot and whiche schal be "bisshop?" Þanne Gundulphus fonde[16] þis place: "Trewe[17] "servaunt, wise and redy, þat oure lord ordeyneþ over his

Trevisa.

condescende to the intente of wyckede peple; insomoche that he hade movede the kynge into the same purpose. But Lanfrancus, herynge that, dissolvede that labour, insomoche that he caused Alexander the pope to sende an inhibicion that the wickede purpose of those men scholde not procede. Also he instaurede the monastery of Rowchestre that tyme, but of a convente unto þe nowmbre of l^ti^ monkes, with sufficiaunce of thynges necessary to theym; hit is ascribede also to the discrecion of Lanfrancus that he brou3hte Gundulphus, abbot of Caane, to the seete of Rowchestre, as hit is supposede, by the eleccion of God. This Gundulphus, disciple to Lanfrancus, sittynge with Walter his felawe and an oþer, havynge a masse booke in his honde, seide: "Lete us prove an experimente by "turnynge of levys, whiche of us schalle be an abbot and "whiche a bischop." The seide Gundulphus founde this texte: "Fidelis servus et prudens;" and Walter founde,

MS. Harl. 2261.

[1] *convertid*, Cx.
[2] *hurde*, γ.
[3] *attercop weftes*, β.; *copweft*, γ.; *attercops nestes*, Cx.
[4] *vorbud*, γ.; *forbode*, Cx.
[5] From α., β., and Cx.; *voure*, γ.
[6] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *ynough*, Cx.
[8] *Hit wit*, add. α.; *His wit*, add. β. and γ.; *His witte is ywyst*, Cx.
[9] *ywust*, β.; *ywuyst*, γ.
[10] *I trowe*, Cx.
[11] *lurnde*, γ.
[12] *hyde*, γ.
[13] *on*, α., β., and Cx.
[14] *essaye we be*, Cx.
[15] *whoche*, γ., bis.
[16] *vond*, γ.
[17] *truwe*, γ.

vero invenit, *Serve bone et fidelis, intra in gaudium domini tui.* Tertium vero socium nescio quid durum inventum habuit,[1] quod etsi audivi libenter oblitus sum, quia ingenuæ mentis est alienis malis non insultare. Cachinnis ergo ex hoc eventu crepitantibus, quæsivit Lanfrancus quid haberent lætitiæ, utque cognovit indubitanter pronunciavit Gundulphum futurum[2] episcopum, Walterum abbatem, tertium ad lubrica[3] sæculi devolvendum. Eventus rei probavit veritatem dicti, nam Gundulphus factus est episcopus Roffensis, Walterus abbas Eveshamiæ, tertius abiit in vanum. Igitur cum Lanfrancus moribus regis Willelmi Rufi minime conveniret,[4] tandem decidit in febrem, et previis confessione et viatico poculum medicinalem hausit, sicque spiritum vitalem efflavit sicut optavit; fatebatur namque[5] Deum precasse ut aut febre aut dysenteria expiraret, eo quod hæc valitudines memoriam nec turbent nec loquelam implicent.

Obiit Lanfrancus tanta febre ut optavit.

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[1] *turbavit*, A.
fore, B.
lubricum, B.

[4] *quem semper fallacem in promissis inveniret*, add. C.D.
[5] *se*, B.

" meyne." But Walter fond þis place: " Good[1] servant and " trewe,[2] [entre][3] into þe ioye of þy lord." Þe þridde felowe fonde I not what hard word þat greved hym sore, and þeyȝ I[4] have i-herde it I forȝete[5] it gladly. For it is a gentil herte to make no game and scorne of oþer men[6] woo. Þan þey made ioye for þat hap,[7] and Lanfrank axede what þey hadde of merþe. And whan he knewe[8] how it stood he tolde hem wiþoute dowte þat Gundulphus schulde be a bisshop, and Walter an abbot, and þe þridde schulde torne to [þe][3] slydynge of þe world.[9] As it fil afterward þe soþe was i-preoved,[10] for Gundulphus was bisshop of Rouchestre, and Walter abbot of Evesham, and þe þridde[11] felawe passede in vayn.[12] Whan Lanfrank accorded nouȝt in þe[13] maneres wiþ kyng William þe Rede, he lay at þe laste sike in þe feveres, and was i-schryve[14] and i-houseled,[15] and drank a medicinal drynke,[16] and so he ȝilde up þe goost as he hadde desired; he knowleched þat he hadde i-prayed God þat he moste deie in þe feveres oþer in þe flux,[17] for þese evels distourbeþ nouȝt þe mynde[18] noþer letteþ þe speche. TREVISA.

" Serue bone et fidelis intra in gaudium." That oþer founde an oþer sentence not pretendynge to eny happy ende. This doen thai laȝhede, insomoche that Lanfrancus herde theym, whiche commynge to theym, and knowynge the cause, seide that Gundulphus scholde be a bischop, Walterus scholde be an abbot, and that the thrydde scholde turne to the worlde. And so hit was provede, for Gundulphus was made bischop of Rowchestre, Walterus abbot of Evysham, and the thrydde monke diede miserably. The seide Lanfrancus havynge not convenience with William Rufus kynge, felle into a fever, and so confession made and the sacramente receyvid, and receyvynge a pocion, diede like as he desirede; for he preiede Allemyȝhty Godde oftetymes that either he myȝhte dye of the fever or of the flix, in that those infirmites trouble not þe mynde neiþer lette the speche of a man. MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Goddes*, Cx.
[2] *truw*, γ.
[3] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[4] *ich*, β.
[5] *yhurd hyt ych vorȝute*, γ.
[6] *mennis*, β.
[7] *of that happe*, Cx.
[8] *wuyste*, γ.
[9] *worl*, γ.
[10] *y-preved*, β.
[11] *felawe*] om. Cx.
[12] *veyn*, β.
[13] þe] om. β.
[14] *yscryve*, γ.
[15] *hosled*, β.; *y-hosled*, γ.
[16] *drynch*, γ.; *medecinale drank* Cx.
[17] *flix*, α.
[18] *munde*, γ.

Cap. VII.

[*Terra Sancta recuperata. Quædam de rebus Scotiæ.*]

Gratiæ MXC. Willelmi Rufi III.

Hoc quoque anno [1] concilio apud [urbem] [2] Turonensium in Gallia Urbanus papa in subsidium Terræ Sanctæ totum pæne provocat occidentem; unde et imperator Henricus tertius, Reymundus [3] comes Sancti Egidii, Boamundus [4] de Apulia, cruce signati transfretaverunt apud brachium Sancti Georgii, cum quibus erant ducenta millia [5] Chris-

Terra sancta recuperata est.

tianorum. Et sic Terra Sancta tunc [6] recuperata est, et lancea Christi per revelationem beati Andreæ cuidam rustico factam reperta est. Cum illis processit Robertus dux Normanniæ; qua de causa amicitias cum fratre suo rege Willelmo fecit. Cui Normanniam pro x. milibus libris invadiavit;[7] sed ob hoc rex grave [8] tributum Angligenis indixit, ita ut prælati vasa [9] sua

Gratiæ MXCI. Willelmi IIII.

conflarent, et domini [10] subditos spoliarent.[11] Rex Scottorum Malcolinus Northymbriam deprædavit; quapropter rex Willelmus una [12] cum fratre suo Roberto [13] Scotiam adiit; cujus classis pæne tota demersa est, exercitus fame et frigore contabuit. Quibus occurrens Malcolinus cum

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[1] *celebrato*, A.B.
[2] *urbem*] from A.B.
[3] *Romundus*, A.
[4] *Beaumundus*, B.; *Reymundus*, C.D.
[5] *quasi* 200,000, C.D.
[6] *tunc*] om. B.
[7] *eique Normanniam in vadimonium pro se posuit*, C.D.
[8] *gravissimum*, C.D.
[9] *ecclesiæ vasa sacra*, C.D.
[10] *deinde*, B.
[11] *et . . . spoliarent*] om. C.D.
[12] *una*] om. B.
[13] *fratre suo de Normannia*, C.D.

Capitulum septimum.

TREVISA.

THIS[1] ȝere whanne þe counsaille was i-made in þe citee Turon in Gallia, þat is[2] Fraunce, pope Urban excitede nygh[3] al þe westlondes to socour of þe Holy Lond. Þerfore þe þridde Henry emperour, Reymond eorle of Seynt Giles, and Bemond[4] of Apulia, took þe cros and passede þe see of Myddel erþe at þe place þat hatte Seynt George his Arme, and hadde wiþ hym two hondred þowsand[5] of Cristen men, and so þe Holy Lond was i-wonne at þat tyme, and Cristes spere was i-founde by revelacioun of seynt Andrew, þat was schewed by[6] a cherle.[7] Wiþ hem went Robert duke of Normandie, and þerfore he made acord wiþ his broþer kyng William þe Rede, and leide to hym Normandie to wedde for ten þowsand pounde. But by cause þerof kyng William took a grevous tribute of Englische men, so þat prelates moste ȝit[8] here vessel and[9] lordes spoyle[10] here sugettes. Malcolyn kyng of Scotland took prayes at[11] Norþhumberlond, þerfore kyng William and his broþer Robert wente into Scotland; his navey was nyh [al][12] adreynt, and his oost i-schend[13] wiþ colde and wiþ honger. Malcolynus cam aȝenst

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Capitulum septimum.

MS. HARL. 2261.

A COWNESAILE hade in this yere at the cite Turon in Fraunce, pope Urban movede the weste partes of the worlde to the subsidy of the Holy Londe. Wherefore Henricus the thryd emperour, Reymund the erle of Seynte Gyle, Boamundus of Apulia, merkede with the signe of the crosse, saylede unto the arme of Seynte George, with whom were ij^{c}. m^{l} of Cristen peple; and so the Holy Londe was recurede þen, and the spere of Criste was founde by revelacion of blissede Andrewe made to a chorle. With whom Robert duke of Normandy wente, makynge accorde with kynge William Rufus his broþer, to whom he hade put Normandy in plegge for x. m^{l} li. for whiche thynge kynge William receyvyd a gret tribute of Ynglische men temperalle and spiritualle. Malcolinus kynge of Scottes robbede Northumbrelonde, wherefore kyng William toke with hym Robert his felawe, whose schippes were drownede and his hoste pereschede] for hunger and colde. Neverthelesse,

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[1] *Also þys, γ.*
[2] *þat is*] in, Cx.
[3] *neiȝ, β.*
[4] *Beomund, β.; Boamund, γ.*
[5] *þousent, γ.*
[6] *to, α., β.*, and Cx.
[7] *clerke*, Cx.
[8] *molte, β.; ȝote, γ.*
[9] *and*, from *β.* and *γ.*; *of*, MS.
[10] *prelates melted theyr vessel and lordes spoylde*, Cx.
[11] *at*] in, *β.* and Cx.
[12] From *β.* and Cx.
[13] *yschent, β.*; *marryd*, Cx.

Edgaro Adeling, mediante Roberto pacem fecit, ita ut[1] Malcolinus[2] regi Willelmo sicut quondam patri ejus obediret, et rex Willelmus[3] annuatim duodecim marcas auri daret; et duodecim urbes in Anglia redderet;[4] sed cito post deficiente rege,[5] Robertus sumpto secum[6] Edgaro[7] Normanniam rediit.[8] Hoc anno idus Octo-

De periculo fulminis in diversis locis.

bres vehemens ictus fulminis turrim Wynchecumbensis ecclesiæ concussit, parietem perforavit, caput crucifixi in terram dejecit, femur[9] dextrum fregit, imaginem[10] Mariæ juxta crucem elisit; fumus fætidus subsequens ecclesiam implevit, donec monachi cum aqua benedicta[11] et reliquiis sanctorum officinas monasterii decantando letanias circuirent. Similiter apud Londonias plusquam sexcentas domos cum pluribus ecclesiis turbo depressit. In ecclesia[12] de Arcubus duos homines occidit, sex tigna ecclesiæ elevans ita in terram defixit ut vix

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[1] *ut*] om. B.

[2] *habens in suo comitatu Clitonem Edgarum, quemvidens Robertus sibi ascivit. Cujus ope pacem inter reges procuravit, ea condicione ut Malcolmus*, &c., C.D.

[3] *eidem*, B.

[4] *marcas auri daret, et duodecim civitates in Anglia, quas tempore patris sui habuerat, redderet*, C.D.

[5] *in pactis*, B.

[6] *secum*] dicto, B.

[7] *Adelyng*, B.

[8] *adiit*, B.

[9] *crus*, C.D.

[10] *beatæ*, add. A.C.D.

[11] *benedicta*] om. B.

[12] *Sanctæ Mariæ*, C.D.

him[1] wiþ Edgar[2] Adelyng, and made pees by mediacioun, so þat Malcolyn schulde be obedient to kyng William, as he was somtyme[3] of his fader, and kyng William schulde [ȝeve hym every[4] ȝere twelf[5] mark of gold, and he schulde][6] ȝeelde hym twie[7] citees in Engelond. But sone þerafter þe kyng faillede, and Robert took wiþ hym Edgar, and wente aȝen into Normandie. Þis ȝere, þe fiftenþe[8] day of Octobre, a grym[9] strook of liȝtnynge[10] smoot þe cherche tour at Wynchecombe, and þrulled[11] þe wal, and þrew[12] doun þe crucifex his heed doun to þe erþe, and brak þe riȝt þigh, and þrew doun oure Lady ymage þat stood by þe rode. Þerafter com a stinking smook[13] þat fillede[14] al þe cherche, and durede forto[15] þe monkes hadde i-goo a processioun aboute all places and offis of þe abbay with holywater[16] and relikes of holy seyntes and wiþ þe letanye. Also at Londoun a whirlewynd þrew[12] doun passynge sixe hondred houses and meny chirches þerto, and slowȝ tweie men in Seint Marie cherche at þe Bowe,[17] and lefte[18] up sixe rafters[19] of þe cherche, and piȝte[20] hym so depe[21] in þe grounde þat

Trevisa.

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pease was reformede by the seide Robert in this condicion, that Malcolinus scholde make obedience to kynge William lyke as he did to his fader, and pay to the seide kynge William xij. mˢ ℔i of golde yerely, and yelde xij. cites in Ynglonde. A huge wynde and stroke of lyȝhtynge pereschede the towre of the churche of Wynchecumbe in this yere, and persede thro the walle, castynge downe the hedde of the crucifix into þe erthe, brekynge the ryȝhte parte of hit; hurtenge also the ymage of oure Lady nye to the crosse; and then an ylle favoured smoke replete that churche, untille that the monkes, takynge holy water, and diverse relikes they hade with ynne[22] þeim, goynge with procession, songe the letanye. Also a whirlewynde destroyede moo then vj.ᶜ houses at London, sleynge ij. men in the churche of the Arches at London, where a parte of that churche felle in to the grownde, insomoche that unnethe a

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *ham*, γ.
[2] *Edgar*] om. Cx.
[3] *so in tyme*, α.
[4] *everyche*, γ.
[5] *twelve* α.
[6] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *twelve*, β.; *twelf*, γ.
[8] *fyfte*, Cx.
[9] *grete*, Cx.
[10] *tiȝnynge*, β.; *lyȝtnyng*, γ.
[11] *þurled*, β.; *þurlede*, γ.; *thyrled*, Cx.
[12] *þruw*, γ.
[13] *smoke*, γ.
[14] *vullede*, γ.
[15] *till*, Cx.
[16] *halywater*, γ.
[17] *atte Bowe*, β. and Cx.
[18] *lifte*, β.; *lyft*, γ.; *lyfte*, Cx.
[19] *refters*, β.; *reftres*, Cx.
[20] *stroke*, Cx.
[21] *dupe*, γ.
[22] Sic in MS.

eorum sexta pars appareret. Item turbo tectum ecclesiæ Salisburiæ dejecit, quinto die postquam dedicaverat eam Osmundus. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iiii°.*[1]

Gratiæ MXCII. Willelmi Rufi. V.

Remigius præsul, qui nuper sedem Dorcestrensem ad Lincolniam transtulerat, ecclesiam quam de novo construxerat dedicare proposuit; sed restitit Thomas Eboracensis,[2] asserens locum illum fore in parochia sua. At rex Willelmus pro pecunia quam Remigius clam sibi dederat, mandavit omnibus fere Angliæ episcopis ut idibus Maii convenientes ecclesiam illam dedicarent, sed biduo ante consecrationem Remigius occulto Dei judicio decessit. Solus Robertus Herefordensis venire abnuerat, quia certa siderum inspectione præviderat et prædixerat dedicationem illam tempore Remigii nequaquam processuram. Hic nempe Remigius, cum præ corporis exiguitate pæne portentum videretur, naturam[3] vicit, animum[4] generosum foras[5] extulit, ita ut esset, *Gratior exiguo veniens*[6] *e corpore virtus.* Huic Remigio successit Robertus Bloet, vir libidinosus, qui dedica-

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[1] *Item . . . libro iiii.*] om. C.D. Script. post Bedam, p. 290.
[2] *archiepiscopus*, B.
[3] *naturas*, B.
[4] *for̃* (sic), B.
[5] *fore*, B.
[6] *vehemens*, A.

unneþe þe sixte part of hem was i-seie above þe erþe; also a whirle wynde þrew doun þe helynge of þe cherche of Salisbury, þe fifte day after Osmound [1] had i-halwed [2] þat chirche. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 4°. Remygius þe bisshop, þat translatede þe see from Dorchestre to Lyncolne, caste forto halwe [3] þe cherche þat he hadde newliche i-bulde. But Thomas bisshop of ȝork wiþstood hym, and seide þat þat place was of [his] [4] parische. And kyng William, for money þat Remygius had i-ȝeve hym priveliche,[5] commaundede nyh [6] alle þe bisshoppes of Engelond þat þey schulde come to þat dedicacioun þe fiftenþe [7] day of May. Bote tweie dayes [8] tofore þe [9] day of þe dedicacioun, Remygius was dede, by Goddes prive dome.[10] Robert bisshop of Herford allone wolde nouȝt come to þat [11] halwynge of þat chirche, for he knew by certeyne sight of þe sterres þat þat chirche schulde nouȝt be i-halwed [12] in Remigyus his tyme. Þis Remigius semede nyȝ a wonder forbeddynge [13] for his body was so lite,[14] but he overcome kynde,[15] and schewed outward [a] [4] noble hearte and witte. So þat gracious and noble vertue come of þat litel [15] body. After þis Remygius, Robert Bloet was bisshop, a ful [16] leccherous

TREVISA.

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sixthe parte of hit apperede above grownde. Also a grete wynde putte aweye the coverynge of the churche of Salisbury, in the v^the^ day after hit was dedicate by seynte Osmunde. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro quarto.* Remigius bischop, whiche hade translate but late the seete of Dorchestre to Lyncoln, intended to have dedicate a churche þer, whom he hade edifiede. But Thomas archebischop of Yorke resiste hym, seyenge that place to be in his paresche. Neverthelesse, kynge William receyvynge certeyne goodes ȝiffen to hym prively by Remigius, commaunded allemoste alle bischoppes of Ynglonde that they scholde mete at his churche in the idus of Maii, and dedicate hit; but the seide Remigius diede in the secunde day afore the consecracion. Robert bischop of Herdeford wolde not come, for he hade knowlege, by certeyn inspeccion of sterres afore, that dedicacion not to procede in the life of Remigius. Robert Bloet succedid Remigius, a man ȝiffen moche to

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Osmundus*, α., β., and Cx.
[2] *halewed*, β.
[3] *habbe*, γ.
[4] From Cx.
[5] *yeven pryvely*, Cx.
[6] *neiȝ*, β.
[7] *fifteþe*, α.
[8] *twy dawes*, γ.
[9] *þat*, β.
[10] *prevy doome*, Cx.
[11] *the*, Cx.
[12] *halwide*, β.
[13] *forbodyng*, β. and Cx.; *vorbodyng*, γ.
[14] *lytel*, β. and Cx.
[15] *kunde*, γ.
[16] *vol*, γ.

tionem illam segniter[1] explevit; qui tandem apud Wodestok a latere regis[2] decedens exenteratus est. Ejus[3] viscera apud monasterium Eygnesham,[4] quod ipse fundaverat, cætera apud Lincolniam sunt tumulata; ubi satis constabat[5] loci custodes nocturnis umbris exagitatos quoadusque[6] locus ipse[7] orationibus piaretur. Hoc etiam anno rex Willelmus profectus Northumbriam, urbem Lugubaliæ, quæ modo Caerlill dicitur, reparavit, castrum in ea ponens, quæ a primo adventu Danorum per trescentos[8] annos desolata jacuerat; et cito post rex apud Gloverniam gravi morbo percussus, de consilio procerum vitam suam corrigere promisit. *Henricus, libro sexto.*[9] Sed quamvis illo anno archiepiscopatum Anselmo conferret[10] nil tamen de rebus archiepiscopus[11] ultra regis jussum sumere licuit, donec tributum quod[12] imposuerat persolveretur. Simili modo dixit episcopatum Lincolniæ Eboracensi sedi subjacere debere, quousque Robertus Bloet quinque millia marcarum regi dedisset.[13] Hoc quoque anno Rogerus[14] comes Salopiæ

Gratiæ MXCIII. Willelmi Rufi. VI.

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[1] *segniter*] om. B.
sedens, C.D.
Cujus, B.

[4] *Eygnisham*, A.; *Eygemesham*, B.

[5] *constat*, B.

[6] *quousque*, A.B.

[7] *ille missis et*, B.

[8] *cc.*, A.B.

[9] C.D. omit reference. Read *septimo*. Script. post Bedam, p. 373.

[10] *multum de archiepiscopatu ultra quam regis jus dictaverat sumere non omisit*, C.D.

[11] *archiepiscopatus*, A.B.

[12] *ipse*, ins. B.; *quod rex post obitum Lanfranci*, ins. C.D.

[13] *Ita etiam licet rex cancellario suo Roberto Bloet episcopatum Lincolniæ dedisset, calumpniatus est Thomas tum illum episcopatum Eboracensi subjacere debere, donec Robertus quinque millia marcarum spopondisset*, C.D.

[14] *Robertus*, A.; *illustris*, ins. C.D.

man, he fulfilled [1] realliche [2] þe halwynge of þat chirche. At þe laste, at Wodestoke, he wente from the kyng [and deyde],[3] and his bowels were i-take out of his body and i-buried [in þe abbay of Evesham þat he hadde y-foundede; þe oþer del was y-buryed] [4] at Lyncolne, þere it was wel i-knowe þat þe wardeynes of þe place [were ofte desesed wiþ schadewe [5] by ny3tes, forto [6] þe place] [4] was i-clensed wiþ holy prayer and bedes. Þat 3ere kyng William wente into Northumberlond, and reparaillede [7] þe cite Lugubalia,[8] þat now hatte Caerleel,[9] and made a castel þerynne; þat citee hadde i-lay [10] destroyed from the comynge of þe Danes, two hondred 3ere; and sone þerafter, at Glowestre,[11] þe kyng was i-take wiþ a greet siknesse, and byhet[12] þat he wolde amende his lyf by counsaile of þe lordes. *Henricus, libro* 6°. And he 3af þat 3ere þe archebisshopriche to Ancelm, bot he moste not take þerof, but as þe kyng wolde hote, or [13] þe tribute was paide, þat þe kyng hadde i-sette. [Also he [14] sayde] [3] þat þe bisshopriche of Lyncolne longede [15] to see of 3ork, forto Robert Bloet hadde i-3eve þe kyng fyve þousand mark.[16] Also þis 3ere deide Roger eorle of Schroisbury, whanne he

Trevisa.

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lechery; fulfyllynge but slawely the dedicacion of þat churche; whiche beynge at Wodestoke, and departede from the presence of the kynge, hade his bowells taken owte from his body. The bowelles off whom were beryede at the monastery of Evysham, whiche he made, and the other partes were beryede at Lyncoln, where the kepers of the churche were trowblede moche untille that place was made clene by preiers. Kynge William goynge in this yere to the costes of Northumbrelonde, repairede the cite of Caerliell, makynge a castell in hit. *Henricus, libro sexto.* But thau3he kynge William 3afe to venerable Anselme the seete of Cawnterbery in this yere, he receyvyde not eny summe of goode longynge to that office untille that he hade paiede the tribute commaunded by the kynge. In lyke wise he saide the seete of Lincolne to be subiecte to the churche of Yorke untylle that Robert Bloet hade paiede v.^{mt} marke to the kynge. Roger erle of Shrobbesbury diede in this yere,

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 344 a.

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[1] *vulvullede*, γ.
[2] *rialich*, β.; *ryally*, Cx.
[3] From β. and Cx.
[4] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[5] *schadewis*, β.; *schadewes*, γ.; *shadowes*, Cx.
[6] *vortto*, γ.; *till*, Cx.
[7] *repayred*, Cx.
[8] *Lucubalia*, γ.
[9] *Caercol*, Cx.
[10] *y-leye*, β.; *ben*, Cx.
[11] *Gloucestre*, Cx.
[12] *byhy3te*, γ.
[13] *ar*, γ.
[14] *seide*, β.
[15] *longide*, β.
[16] *þousent marc*, γ.

obiit, qui cum decubaret factus est monachus ad succurrendum[1] consentiente comitissa sua Adelisa;[2] miserat namque Reginaldum priorem[3] Salopiæ apud[4] Cluniacum pro tunica sancti Hugonis abbatis induenda. Cui successit[5] Hugo filius suus. Hoc[6] quoque anno fuit magna pluviarum inundatio, et cito post tantum gelicidium ut ubique et ultra aquas possent plaustra duci; quo soluto pontes ubique pæne sunt effracti.[6] [7]Rees rex Walliæ occisus est in pugna juxta Breknot,[8] et sic reges ibi[9] desiere. [10]Malcolinus rex Scottorum occurrit regi Willelmo apud Gloverniam die sancti Barnabæ, ut concordaret cum eo, sed[11] impacati recesserunt; nam rex Willelmus voluerat ut Malcolinus in curia[12] ubicumque foret in Anglia judicium subiret; sed e contra Malco-

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[1] *animæ suæ*, add. B.
[2] This sentence is transposed in B.
[3] *monasterio et animæ saluti*, C. D.
[4] *apud*] om. B.
[5] *comitatu Salopiæ*, B.
[6] *Hoc . . . effracti*] om. C.D.
[7] *Circa hoc tempus*, ins. B.
[8] *Brechnoc*, A.; *Breghenok*, B. *Breheynok*, C.D.
[9] *ibidem*, B.
[10] *Eodem anno*, B.
[11] *et*, B.
[12] *suo*, B.

lay seke and[1] made hym monk for to have som socour, by assent of þe contasse[2] Adelisa, for he hadde i-sent Reynold,[3] priour of Shroesbury, to] Cluny, for to have seint Hewe[4] þe abbot his kurtel[5] to were it aboute [hym].[6] *Trevisa.* A wise man wolde wene[7] þat eorle Roger[8] hadde as moche mede[9] of þat he was a monk, as Malkyn of here maydenhood, þat no man wolde have, and nouȝt a deel more. Þanne it foloweþ[10] in þe storie: after[11] Rogeris[12] sone [Hugh][13] was eorle. Also þat ȝere was greet reyn and floodes,[14] and sone þerafter so grete froste[15] þat me myȝte overal lede cartes and waynes over wateres and ryveres ;[16] and whanne þat[17] frost gan to þawe[18] and to melte,[19] it brak nygh al þe brugges[20] in every side. Rees kyng of Wales is i-slawe yn a fiȝtynge,[21] faste by Brethnoc,[22] and so cesede þe kyngdom of Wales. Malcolyn, kyng of Scottes, come to Gloucetre aȝenst kyng William, in seint[23] Barnabe is day, to accorde wiþ hym. Bote þey departed in wreþþe, for kinge[24] William wolde þat Malcolyn schulde be demed in his court where it evere were[25] in Engelond. But Malcolyn wolde

Trevisa.

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whiche lyenge in his bedde in his laste dayes, was made a monke, whom Hewe his] sonne did succede. A grete inundacion of water was in this yere, and after a grete froste, insomoche that waynes and cartes myȝhte passe over waters, in the dissolvynge of whom mony brigges were broken. Rees kynge of Wales was sleyne in fiȝhte nye to Brechnoc, and so kynges seasede in Wales. Malcolinus kynge of Scottes mette William kynge of Ynglonde at Gloucestre, in the feste of seynte Barnabas, to accorde with hym ; but thei departede with malice. For William kynge of Ynglonde wolde that Malcolinus kynge of Scottes scholde comme and make obedience to hym in what place of Ynglonde he scholde assigne to hym. But Malcolinus refused þat, seyenge that he awe not to make obedience to

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *he*, α., β., and Cx.
[2] *contas*, γ.
[3] *Raynald*, β. ; *Reyngnold*, γ.
[4] *Huwe*, γ. ; *Hughe*, Cx.
[5] *kirtel*, β.
[6] From Cx.
[7] *mene*, Cx.
[8] *Rogyer*, Cx.
[9] *myde*, β.
[10] *folwiþ*, β.
[11] *after*, from α. and β. ; *of*, MS.
[12] *Roger his*, β.
[13] From Cx. ; *Hugus*, β. ; *after Roger hys sone Huwe*, γ.
[14] *vlodes*, γ.
[15] *forst*, α. and β. ; *vorst*, γ.
[16] *ryver*, α.
[17] *þat*] þe, Cx.
[18] *þewe*, β.
[19] *multe*, β. ; *molte*, β. ; *mylte*, γ.
[20] *bridges*, Cx.
[21] *vyȝtynge*, γ.
[22] *Breȝnok*, β. ; *Brechnok*, Cx.
[23] *seyn*, γ. ; *on a Saynt*, Cx.
[24] *for kinge*] From Cx. ; *for kynge*, β. ; *vor kynge*, γ. ; *workynge*, MS.
[25] *be*, α.

linus[1] et primogenitus suus Edwardus cum multis aliis die sancti Bricii occisi sunt in Northimbria a militibus Roberti comitis. Quorum morte audita Margareta Scottorum regina, Dei cultrix, tanta affecta est tristitia ut in morbum decidens quemadmodum Deum[2] rogaverat tertio dehinc die obiit. Qua mortua Scotti erexerunt Dunwaldum fratrem Malcolini in regem; sed Duncanus[3] filius Malcolini, ope regis Willelmi expulso Dunwaldo regnum Scottiæ suscepit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus.*[4] Isti Malcolino relatum est aliquando quod quidam de proceribus suis[5] in necem ejus conspirasset.[6] Imperat rex delatori silentium, siluit et ipse usque ad proditoris adventum. Qui cum ad regis curiam insidiaturus venisset, jubet rex summo mane omnes venatores adesse cum canibus suis. Hi dum venatum processissent, accessit

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[1] *id recusavit nisi in confiniis amborum regnorum, ubi id solebat fieri, sed eo anno Malkolinus,* A.B.; *sed Malcomus id recusabat nisi in confiniis amborum regnorum, ubi reges Scotorum solvebant rectitudinem regibus Anglorum. Eo quoque anno rex Scotorum Malcolmus,* &c., C.D.

[2] *Deum,* from A.B.; *Domini,* MS.

[3] *Dunkanus,* B.

[4] Not found.

[5] *suis*] om. B.

[6] *cum cæteris hostibus,* add. C.D.

nouȝt bote in þe marches of boþe kyngdoms, þere it was i-woned.[1] But þat ȝere in a[2] seint Bricius his day, Malcolyn, and his eldest sone Edward, and meny oþere, were i-slawe in Norþhumberlond of eorle Robert his knyȝtes. Margrete queene of Scottes, þat lovede and worschipped God wiþ here[3] myȝt, took so grete sorwe þat sche[4] fil sike,[5] as sche hadde i-prayed God, and deide þe þridde day þerafter. Whan sche was deed þe Scottes made Dunwale,[6] Malcolyn his broþer, kyng. But Dunkan, Malcolyn his sone, by help of kyng William put out Dunwald, and took þe kyngdom of Scotlond. *Willelmus de Pontificibus.* It was i-tolde þis Malcolyn in a tyme þat oon of þe lordes in[7] his lond hadde conspired forto brynge hym to þe[8] deeþ. He heet[9] hym be stille þat tolde hym þat tale, and he hilde[10] it prive hym self for to þe traitour was i-come.[11] At þe laste þe traitour com to þe kyng to awayte[12] his tyme to doo þat cursede dede. Þe kynge heet[9] erliche amorwe[13] þat alle þe hontes[14] schulde come wiþ her houndes. While þey were

TREVISA.

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hym but in the costes of bothe the realmes, where hit was usede to be made. In which yere Malcolinus, and Edwarde his firste son, were sleyne in Northumbrelonde, with mony moo, in the day of seynte Bricius, by the knyȝhtes of Robert erle. Margarete, qwene of Scottes, and the worschipper of God, herynge of theire dethe, was so sory that sche diede in the thridde day folowynge, as sche hade preyede to Allemyȝhty God. That qwene dedde, the Scottes erecte into theire kynge Dunwaldus, broþer of Malcolinus; but Duncanus, son of Malcolinus, thro helpe of kynge William, reioycede the realme of Scottelande, and expulsede Dunwaldus. *Willelmus de Pontificibus.* Hit was schewede in a tyme to this Malcolinus that oon of his gentillemen hade conspirede his dethe. The kynge commaunded that man to kepe silence, and also he kepede silence hym selfe unto the commynge of that traytour. The kynge perceyvynge that he was commen, commaunded alle the hunters to be redy with theire dogges, and so the peple goynge

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 344 b.

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[1] *wont*, β.
[2] *in a*] uppon, Cx.
[3] *hir*, β.
[4] *heo*, β.
[5] *hue vul syke*, γ.
[6] *Dunwald*, β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *in*] of, β.
[8] *þe*] or. Cx.
[9] *hyt*, γ.
[10] *huld*, γ.
[11] *comen*, β. and Cx.
[12] *aweite*, β.; *aweyte*, γ.
[13] *in a morwe*, γ.; *erly in a mornyng*, Cx.
[14] *huntes*, β.; *hunters*, Cx.

rex cum proditore ad quandam latam planiciem quam in modum coronæ densa silva cingebat, in cujus medio colliculus turgescebat. In quo dum soli hi duo constitissent,[1] "Ecce," inquit rex,[2] "ego et tu soli similibus "armis et equis muniti, non est modo qui impediat "aut qui[3] opem ferat. Si vales, si audes, imple quod "proposuisti,[4] nescio videre quando melius quando "liberius[5] id fieri possit. Si venenum parasti, hoc mu- "lierum est, non militum; si lectulo meo insidiaris, "hoc possunt et adulteræ;[6] si ferrum occultasti, hoc "sicarii est, non militis. Age ergo quod viri, quod mili- "tis est, ut proditio tua saltem turpitudine careat, "quam[7] infidelitate carere non potest." Procidit ille statim ad pedes regis, et præstito sacramento de fidelitate futura promissisque[8] obsidibus ad votum regis eligendis, proditor jam factus fidelis tempore opportuno ad socios suos revertebatur. *De adventu Anselmi.*[9] Hoc quoque anno venerabilis Anselmus abbas Beccensis

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[1] *constituissent*, B.

[2] *dum rex secundum legem venandi constitisset singulis proceribus ad singula loca deputatus, rex ipse retinuit secum proditorem. Ecce, inquit rex*, &c., C.D.

[3] *parti*, C.D.

[4] *si me occidere jurasti*, C.D.

[5] *quam modo*, C.D.

[6] Sic in MSS.

[7] *quæ*, A.B.

[8] *præmissisque*, B.

[9] A.B.C.D. omit heading.

ahontynge, þe kyng wente wiþ þis traytour to a broode[1] pleyne þat was byclipped wiþ þilke[2] wode al aboute as a gerland, in þe myddel of þat playn was a litel toft[3] as it were an hille. Þese tweie[4] stood allone on þat hille:[5] "Lo," quoþ þe kyng, "I and þow be[6] here allone, iliche[7] wel i-horsed and i-wepened, iliche[8] wel arrayed; now is no man þat seeþ us þat myȝte helpe or lette. [Yf thou myght and][9] ȝif þou dorst[10] [do][11] now as þou haddest i-þouȝt, I can nouȝt see whan it myȝte be bettre noþer more freliche i-doo. ȝif þou hast ordeyned venym, þat is þe doynge of wommen and nouȝt of knyȝtes. ȝif þou desirest my wyf, so may spouse-brekers. ȝif þou kastest[12] to stele uppon[13] me wiþ a swerd, þat is a þeef his doynge, and nouȝt a knyȝtes; þerfore doo as a man and a knyȝt schulde, þat þy tresoun be wiþ oute schame of cowardise, for wiþ oute falshede may it nouȝt be." Anon he fil doun to the kynges feet,[14] and swore þat he wolde þerafter be trewe to þe kyng to his lifes ende, and byheet[15] hym plegges[16] whiche he wolde chese. And so þe traytour is i-made trewe, and gooþ[17] aȝen to his felawes whanne he seeþ his tyme. Also þis ȝere Ancelm, abbot of Becco, cam out of

TREVISA.

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to hunte, the kynge wente with that traytour unto a brode pleyne, compassede abowte with a thikke woode, in the myddes of whom was a litelle hylle. They tweyne beynge þer allon, the kynge seide to hym: "Now we tweyne be here with lyke weppyn and horses; there is not eny man that seethe us, neiþer for to helpe us; if thou be a man, fullefylle thy purpose nowe; I knowe not when þow may do hit better. For to ordeyne poyson is a properte of a woman; if thow ymaginede to slee me prively it is a signe of a cowarde, and noo man; þerfore prove nowe thy manhode." That knyȝhte felle downe anoon to his feete, made promyse to the kynge of fidelite, fyndynge certeyne suertes þerof; and after that tyme he was tru knyȝhte to the seide kynge. Venerable Anselme,

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *brod*, γ.
[2] *þicke*, β.; *byclepped wiþ þykke*, γ.; *bysette with thykk*, Cx.
[3] *tote*, β.; *tout*, γ.; *toote*, Cx.
[4] *hulle*. *Þues tweyne*, γ.
[5] *toute*, γ.; *toote*, Cx.
[6] *ben*, Cx.
[7] *eche*, Cx.
[8] *and eche*, Cx.
[9] From Cx.; *ȝif þu miȝt and*, β.; *Ef þu myȝt or*, γ.
[10] *darst*, α.; *darrest*, β. and Cx.; *þerrest*, γ.
[11] From β. and γ.
[12] *castest*, β.
[13] *oppon*, γ.
[14] *veet*, γ.
[15] *byhyte*, γ.
[16] *pledgys*, Cx.
[17] *wente*, Cx.

Anselmus monasterium Cestrense fundat.

de[1] Normannia venit [2] Angliam rogatu Hugonis Cestrensis comitis tribus de causis; ut videlicet monasteria quæ prius in Anglia fundaverat a gravi tributo regio levigaret,[3] ut Hugonem comitem tunc graviter ægrotantem visitaret, et ut monasterium apud Cestriam fundaret. Cui loco capellanum suum Ricardum primum assignavit abbatem canonicos sæculares in monachos regulares convertendo,[4] sed inde redeundo factus est archiepiscopus Cantuariensis.

Cap. VIII.

[*De bello Wallensi. Wulstanus præsul Wygorniensis.*]

Gratiæ MXCIIII Willelmi Rufi VII.

Hoc anno Anglia et Normannia[5] vexata est[6] gravi tributo et clade hominum, ita ut agricultura cessaret et fames succederet.[7] Wallenses etiam jugum servitutis abhorrentes in provinciis Cestriæ, Salopiæ et Herfordiæ prædas agebant, et castrum Menaviæ[8] ceperunt. Interim

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[1] *de . . . convertendo*] om. C.D.
[2] *in*, B.
[3] *leniaret*, B.
[4] *qui tamen sepius ante venerat ad monasteria fundanda, sed iste anno rogatu Hugonis Cestrensis comitis venit Cestriam, ubi monasterium in honorem sanctæ Wereburgæ fundavit, monachos de canonicis inventis tonsoravit, quibus et Ricardo capellanum suum primum loci abbatem præfecit, sed inde redeundo*, &c., C.D.
[5] *et Normannia*] om. C.D.
[6] *vexatæ sunt*, B.
[7] *ita . . . succederet*] om. C.D.
[8] *Meneviæ*, B.

Normandie into Engelond, at þe prayere[1] of Hewe[2] eorle of Chestre, for þre causes: oon þat he schulde releve abbayes þat he hadde to forehonde i-founde[3] in Engelond of grevous tribut, þat þe abbayes paide to þe kyng; þe secounde for to visite eorle Hewe, þat was sore sike[4] þat tyme; þe þridde þat[5] he schulde founde an abbay at Chestre. In þat place he assignede his preost[6] Richard first[7] abbot, and chaungede seculer chanouns into monkes. Bote in [þe][8] comynge aȝen þennes he was i-made archebisshop [of Caunterbury].[9] TREVISA.

Capitulum octavum.

THIS ȝere Engelond and Normandie were i-greved wiþ a grevous tribut, and wiþ moreyn of men, so þat eorþe[10] telynge[11] ceesede, and þerafter come greet honger, and Walsche men forsook þe ȝokke[12] of [þraldom and of subieccioun, and took prayes in þe][13] shires[14] of Chestre, of Schroesbury, and of Hereford, and took þe castel of Menavia.[15] Þat tyme þe Scottes

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abbot Bectense, come to Ynglonde from Normandy in this yere, at the instaunce of Hewe erle of Chestre, for thre causes: the firste was that he myȝhte helpe monasterys, whom he hade founded in Ynglonde, from a soore tribute of the kynge; that he myȝhte visitte also Hewe the erle of Chestreschire, beynge seke that tyme; and also that he myȝhte make a monastery at Chestre. In whiche monastery he made Ricardus his chapeleyne the firste abbote, chaungynge that place of seculer canons into monkes; whiche returnede from those costes, was made archebischop of Caunterbery. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum octavum.

ENGLONDE and Normandy was vexede with a grete tribute, and dethe of men, insomoche that plowynge of londes was seasede. Men of Wales, abhorrenge the charge of servitute, robbede in the provinces of Chestre, Schrobbesbury, and of Herdeforde, and toke the castelle of Osuania. The Scottes did

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[1] *atte request*, Cx.
[2] *Hugus*, β., bis; *Huwe*, γ., et infra; *Hugh*, Cx., et infra.
[3] *y-founded*, α. and β.; *founded*, Cx.
[4] *seke*, β.
[5] *for*, α.; *vor*, γ.
[6] *prust*, γ.
[7] *vurste*, γ.
[8] From β.
[9] From Cx.
[10] *erþe*, β.
[11] *tilynge*, β.; *tylynge*, γ.; *tylyenge*, Cx.
[12] ȝ*ok*, β.; *yok*, Cx.
[13] From α., γ., and Cx.
[14] *shires*] from Cx; *schyres*, β. and γ.; *schiles*, MS.
[15] *Menevia*, β. and Cx.

Scotti regem suum Dunkanum peremerunt, et Dunewaldum iterum erexerunt; et[1] stellæ de cœlo visæ sunt cadere, et[2] quasi[3] mutuo ad invicem concertare.[4] Rex Willelmus de Normannia rediens[5] exercitum in Walliam misit,[6] ubi[7] multos homines et equos perdidit. Videns ergo rex Wallenses ex locorum angustiis et densis nemoribus fore invincibiles, construxit castra in locis maritimis, et nemora pro magna parte succidit, unde postmodum multos ex illis stravit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo et iii°.*[8]

Gratiæ MXCV. Willelmi Rufi VIII.

[1] Wulstanus præsul Wygorniensis obiit octavo decimo die[9] Januarii. Hic Wulstanus in hora moriendi apparuit dilecto suo Roberto Herefordiensi episcopo in villa de Crikkelade, mandans ei ut suæ properaret sepulturæ. Iterum post hoc xxx. die apparuit eidem, monens eum ut de negligentia sui suorumque se

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[1] *Hoc anno*, B.
[2] *et . . . concertare*] om. C.D.
[3] *quasi*, from A.B.; *quia*, MS.
[4] *certare*, B.
[5] *veniens*, B.
[6] *Willel., lib. iii., de Pontificibus*, C.D.
[7] *ubi . . . et iii°.*] C.D. omit here, vide page 380.
[8] B. puts the reference after the first sentence. Should be *libro iv.* Script. post Bedam, p. 279.
[9] *die*] om. A.

slowȝ here kyng Duncanus, and maad Dunwald eft kyng. Sterres were i-seie[1] falle[2] downe from hevene,[3] as it were fiȝtinge to giders.[4] Kyng William com out of Normandie, and sente an ooste into Wales, þere he loste meny hors[5] and men. Þanne þe kyng sigh þat þe Walsche men myȝt not be overcome for streitnes of dyvers places, and for þikke woodes; þerfore þe kyng made strong castelles in places[6] by þe see side, and hewe[7] doun a greet deel of þe woodes, and þerafter he beet downe meny Walsche[8] men. Wolstoun,[9] in þe houre of his deienge,[10] bischop of Worcestre,[11] deide þe eiȝteþe[12] day of May.[13] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Þis Wolstoun in þe houre of his deienge[14] [apperede][15] to his leef[16] frende[17] Robert, bisshop of Herford, in þe toun of Crekelade,[18] and chargede hym þat he schulde array for his burienge.[19] And eft þe þrittenþe day þerafter he appered to hym, and warnede þat he schulde amende hym of þe necligence[20] of hym self and

TREVISA.

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sle Duncanus theire kynge, and erecte Dunwaldus ageyne into kynge; and sterres were seen to falle from hevyn, and as to fiȝhte to gedre. Kynge William returnede from Normandy, sende an hoste into Wales, where he loste mony men and horses. The kynge perceyvynge men of Wales to be as invincible, what for streytenesse of the cuntre, and what for habundaunce of woodes, made diverse castelles þer on the costes nye to the see, and kytte downe a grete parte of the woodes, whereby he destroyede afterwarde mony of theyme. Seynte Wulstan, bishop of Worcestre, diede this yere, the xviij. day of Ianuarius. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* This seynte Wulstan apperede in the howre of his dethe to his wellbelovyde Roberte, bischop of Herforde, in the towne of Crikkelade, commaundynge hym to ordeyne for his sepulture. Also in the xxx^ti^ day folowynge he apperede to hym monyschynge hym to correcte his awne negligence and of his subiectes, seyenge that he

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 342 a.

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[1] *seen*, β.
[2] *valle*, γ.
[3] *from the skye*, Cx.
[4] *togedders*, γ.
[5] *horses*, Cx.
[6] *plas*, γ.
[7] *hewed*, Cx.
[8] *Walysch*, γ.
[9] *Wulfstan*, β.; *Wulstan*, Cx., et infra.
[10] *in . . . deienge*] om. α., β., γ., and Cx.
[11] *Wircetre*, β.
[12] *eyghtenth*, Cx.
[13] *Janyver*, α. and γ.; *Januare*, β.; *January*, Cx.
[14] *diyng*, β.; *dyyeng*, Cx.
[15] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[16] *leove*, α.; *lueve*, γ.
[17] *his wel byloved frende*, Cx.
[18] *Criklade*, β.; *Crykkelade*, γ.; *Cryklade*, Cx.
[19] *beryeng*, Cx.
[20] *neglygence*, Cx.

corrigeret, asserens quod non diu in sua cathedra sederet; unde et cito post hoc obiit. Hic quoque Wulstanus anulum cum quo benedictionem episcopalem susceperat non permisit etiam mortuus a quoquam avelli; dixerat, enim sæpe dum viveret se nunquam illum [1] velle dimittere.[2] Dixerat etiam [3] frequenter Anglis tribulatis, " Flagellum Dei est quod patimini." Et cum Angli dicerent quod pejores illis essent Normanni quam unquam fuerunt Angli,[4] respondit, " Malis illorum bene in vos [5] " utitur Deus, et per indignos excercet ultionem in me- " ritos. Sic [6] et mala voluntate sua, sed [7] bona voluntate " Dei, punit[8] dæmon perversos in Gehenna,[9] cum eisdem " pariter [10] puniendus. Exemplum est si aliquem iratus " baculo percusseris, non multum curabis de fractura " baculi." [11] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iiii°.*[12] Igitur Wulstanus [13] in provincia Warewycensi oriundus, apud monasterium de Burgo litteris et officiis ecclesiasticis

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[1] *ipsum*, B.

[2] *perdere. Solebat etiam dicere frequenter Anglis suas oppressiones plangentibus: Flagellum Dei est quod patimini. Allegantibus autem Anglis quod nusquam deteriores fuissent Angli quam modo sunt Normanni, iterum respondit. Malis*, &c., C.D.

[3] *enim*, A.

[4] *quam . . . Angli*] om. B.

[5] *nos*, A.

[6] *sed*, A.

[7] *et*, A.B.

[8] *perimit*, C.D.

[9] *Jehenna*, MS.

[10] *in eadem involvendus ærumpna*, C.D.

[11] The whole of this passage down to page 380, is inserted in C.D. at page 214 in bk. vi.

[12] Script. post Bedam, p. 279, *seqq.*

[13] *Deo amabilis*, add. C.D.

of his also, and seide þat he schulde not longe in his chayer[1] sitte; and[2] sone þerafter Robert was dede.[3] Also þis Wolstoun[4] wolde suffre no man whan he was dede to take of hym his ryng þat he hadde first whanne he was i-sacred bisshop; he [hadde][5] ofte[y-][6] seide while he was on lyve þat he wolde nevere leve þat ryng. Also he seide ofte to Englische men, "It is "Goddes chastisynge þat ȝe sufferep." Englische men answerde hym and seide þat þe Normans were worþy[7] more[8] þan[9] [evere][10] [were][11] Englische men. "God Almyȝti," quoþ he, "useþ wel þe wickednesse[12] of hem in ȝow, and by hem þat "beeþ unworþy he takeþ wreche of hem þat haveþ[13] i-trespased "and i-gulte.[14] So by God[15] his good wille þe feend[16] by his "evel wille tormenteþ evel men in helle, and is i-tormented "wiþ hem also. Ensample may be ȝif[17] þou art wrooþ and "smytest a man wiþ a staf, of þe brekynge of the staf þow "recchest ful lite."[18] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 4°. Wolstoun was i-bore in Warwykschire, and lernede lettrure[19] and offis of holy chirche in þe abbay of Burgh. At þe laste

TREVISA.

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scholde not occupye his seete longe after that tyme; and so he diede soone after. This seynte Wulstan suffrede not that rynge, with whom he receyvede the benediccion of the bischop, to be taken from his fynger in his dethe, ffor he seide oftetymes in his lyfe that he wolde never leve that rynge. That bischop seide ofte to men of Ynglonde troublede soore, "Hit is þe cor-"reccion of God that ye suffre." Ynglische men ansuerynge that the Normannes were of wurse disposicion then Ynglische men were, the bischop seide "God usethe in correccion to us the "synnes or wickede disposicion of theyme, and dothe exercise "grete correccion into men not gilty by unworthy men." *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro quarto.* This holy bischoppe, borne in the province of Warwicke, was instructe at Petyrborowe with letters and offices ecclesiasticalle; and at the

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *cheyer*, γ.; *chayr*, Cx.
[2] *and . . . dede*] om. γ.
[3] *Robert deyde*, Cx.
[4] *Wulfstan*, β., semper.
[5] From Cx.; *had*, β.
[6] From α.
[7] *worþ*, α.; *wors*, β. and γ.
[8] *more*] om. α., β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *were wors than*, Cx.
[10] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[11] From γ. and Cx.
[12] *wykketnes*, γ.
[13] *habbeþ*, γ.
[14] *agult*, α. and γ.; *agilt*, β.; *agylt*, Cx.
[15] *So God by*, Cx.
[16] *vend*, γ.
[17] *yeven*, Cx.
[18] *lytel*, β.; *rechest but lytel*, Cx.
[19] *lurnde lettour*, γ.

instructus est. Tandem sacerdos effectus[1] missam morose celebrabat,[2] solis fidelium oblationibus contentus; erat virgo ut putabatur existens, superflui potus expers, esui carnium[3] indulsit, quibus tamen spernendis occasio hæc intervenit. Die quadam cum ad placitum[4] exire debuisset, visum est sibi ut prius missa cantata[5] inediæ suæ cibo consuleret. Apponitur auca igni, nidor adustæ carnis nares celebrantis opplevit, odor mentem advocavit; sed cum diu reluctans mentem avertere non posset, juramentum ad sacramenta quæ tractabat fecit, nullo se[6] amplius pacto id[7] genus cibi comesturum; cantataquæ missa impransus ad placitum processit. Tandem crescente devotione exemplo parentum suorum, qui ante obitum castitatem devoverant sæculum reliquit, et in monasterio Wygorniensi, quo pater suus prius servierat, monachus effectus est, ubi per omnia pæne loci officia gradiens conscendit, jejuniis, vigiliis,[8] orationibus

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[1] *effectus*] om. A.
[2] *cantabat*, C.D.
[3] *non*, C.D.
[4] *quendam*, add. A.B.
[5] *cantica*, B.
[6] *se*] om. B.
[7] *illud*, B.
[8] *et*, A.B.

TREVISA.

he was i-made preost, and song alowh[1] masse, and hilde hym apaide wiþ onliche þe offringes of Cristen men, and [he][2] was i-holde a clene maide. He dede[3] non outrage in drinking, flesche[4] he eet somtyme, but he forsook etynge of flesche by cause of þis hap. In a day whan he schulde goo for to plede, hym semede þat he schulde firste synge his masse, [and þanne take som mete to releef wiþ his nede; þanne a goos[5] was y-leyde to þe fyre,[6] and he smelled þe rosted flesche while he was at þe masse,][7] and was lette of his devocioun by þe smel[8] of þe flesche, and so he stroof longe tyme, and myȝte nouȝt torne away his þouȝt at his wille; þerfore he swore on þe holy sacrament þat he hadde on[9] honde þat he wolde not[10] ete suche[11] manere mete after þat tyme, and seide his masse and ete and wente forþ to þe plee as he moste. At þe laste his devocioun encresede, and he avowede chastite and forsook þe worlde,[12] by ensample of his forfadres þat hadde avowed chastite tofore her deeþ[13] tyme; [and][14] in þe abbay of Worcetre, þere his fader hadde i-served toforehonde, he was i-made monk. Þere he wente upward by alle þe offys[15] of þe hous; he was

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MS. HARL. 2261.

laste he made preste, he seide masse with grete devocion, contente oonly with offrenges of peple, and as men supposede he was a virgyn, not usynge superfluous meites or drynkes, eitynge oþer while flesche, whiche thynge he refusede after by this occasion folowynge. This bischop goynge to plete for his ryȝhte in a day, thouȝhte to say masse afore, and after that to breke his fast, and so a goose was putte to the fire for hym. The seide bischop beynge at masse, felynge the savour of the goos, his mynde was trowblede soore, in so moche that he cowthe not avoide that from his mynde; where he made a protestacion to that sacramente that he scholde never after eite of that kynde of flesche in his lyfe. And so masse doen he wente to plete for his ryȝhte, tastenge not eny meyte. Afterwarde, devocion encresynge, he lefte the worlde, and was made monke at Worcestre, where he wente by alle the offices of that monastery, ȝiffynge hym to abstinence, vigilles, and to preyers,

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[1] *long*, α.; *a longe*, β. and Cx.; *a long*, γ.
[2] From β.
[3] *dude*, γ.
[4] *vleysch*, γ., et infra.
[5] *gos*, γ.
[6] *fuyre*, β.; *vure*, γ.
[7] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[8] *smyl*, γ.
[9] *on*] an, γ.
[10] *never*, Cx.
[11] *soche*, γ.
[12] *worl*, γ.
[13] *before his deth*, Cx.
[14] From Cx.
[15] *offices*, β.; *offyces*, Cx.

jugiter indulsit, super aliquod scamnum ecclesiæ loco quo orabat capite superposito dormire consuevit. Ubi nocte quadam dum ante altare oraret, dæmon eum visibiliter ad luctam provocavit, quem [1] ter prosternens ilium [2] passione fatigatus est. Apparuerat autem diabolus in forma cujusdam servientis de curia; quem quotiens postmodum Wulstanus videret, totus expalluit, ad cæteros imperterritus [3] affirmabat [4] sæpius se nescire quid esset timor. Hic quoque pro factura cujusvis pontis nunquam de equo descendit, quin etiam in summitatibus fabricarum angustarum securus incederet. Deinde Aldredo ut præfatum est ad Eboracensem sedem translato, ipse ad Wygorniam electus est, procurante id potissime Aldredo, qui simplicitate Wulstani suas putabat rapinas obumbrare; sed ille magis virtute quam litteris fretus res

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[1] *quamvis ilium passione fatigatus ter complectens prostravit*, C.D.
[2] *ilium*] om. A.
[3] *ad cætera semper timore vacuus*, C.D.
[4] *affirmavit*, B.

evere besy in fastynge, wakynge, and in bedes. He was wont to legge[1] his heed uppon a forme of þe chirche, þere he bad his bedes and sleep[2] ri3t[3] þere. He lay to fore þe au3ter in a ny3t in [his][4] bedes, and þere cam a fend[5] in a manis liknes[6] and wrastled[7] wiþ hym, wheþer he wolde oþer noo, and caste hym þries to þe grounde. Þerfore he hadde afterward greet penaunce in an evel þat hatte ilium[8] and greveþ faste[9] by þe reynes. Þe fende cam in a servauntes liche[10] to hym[11] of þe court; as ofte as Wolston si3 þat servaunt afterward he wax al pale for drede, [and dredde][12] nou3t of oþer men, he wolde oft seie[13] þat he woste[14] nou3t what was fere and drede.[15] He wolde nou3t li3te down of his hors for no brekyng of brigges, but he wolde ride sikerliche inow[16] uppon þe hi3e brynkes of þe brigge, þeigh it were ri3t strei3t.[17] At þe laste, whanne þe forseide Aldredus was translated to þe bisshopriche of 3ork, Wolstone was i-chose bisshop of Worcetre,[18] specialliche by procuringe of Aldredus, þat hopede to blende[19] his [pylyng and hys][20] robborie by þe sympilnesse[21]

Trevisa.

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usynge to slepe on somme benche of that churche where he was wonte to pray. This holy man seynte Wulstan, beynge in contemplacion in a ny3hte afore the hye awter, the develle apperede to hym in a forme visible, provokynge hym to synne, whom this holy man caste downe to the erthe thryes. After that the develle apperede to hym in the similitude of a servaunte of the cowrte, and after that, this holy man seenge that servaunte was trowblede with drede and fere so ofte as he hade si3hte of þat man. This holy bischop wolde not ly3hte from his horse for brekynge of eny brigge. After that Aldredus made archebischop of Yorke, this holy man Wulstan was made bischoppe of Worcestre by laboure of the seide Aldredus, thenkynge to schado his rape by the simplicite of seynte Wulstan. Neverthelesse the seide holy man defendede the

MS. Harl. 2261. f. 345 b.

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[1] *lygge*, γ.; *laye*, Cx.
[2] *slepte*, β.
[3] *ri3t*] om. Cx.
[4] From Cx.
[5] *vend*, γ.
[6] *liche*, β.; *lyche*, γ.
[7] *warstled*, Cx.
[8] *yleos*, β. and Cx.
[9] *vast*, γ.
[10] *lykenesse*, Cx.
[11] β. and Cx. put *to hym* after *cam.*
[12] From α. and γ.
[13] *segge*, γ.
[14] *a wuste*, γ.
[15] *and . . . drede*] om. β. and Cx.
[16] *ynow3*, β., *surely ynough*, Cx.
[17] *strayte*, Cx.
[18] *Wircetre*, α.
[19] *blynde*, Cx.
[20] From γ.
[21] *symplenesse*, β.; *symplenes*, γ.

ecclesiæ defensabat; quamquam non ita hebes in litteris fuerit ut putabatur, quippe qui [1] cætera necessaria sciret præter fabulas poetarum et tortiles syllogismos, quæ forsan nec [2] noscere dignabatur.[3] Sed et ipse cum ad consentiendum electioni de se factæ minime flecti posset, a viro Dei Wulsio, per quadraginta annos incluso, pro sua obstinantia acriter est correptus; sed et divino oraculo admonitus electioni consensit. Cujus consecratione duo legati sedis apostolicæ interfuerunt, et quamvis canonicam professionem Stigando archiepiscopo faceret, consecrationem tamen ab Aldredo Eboracensi recepit; qui tamen Aldredus, ad declinandas subsequentium calumnias, protestatus est se nullum deinceps jus subjectionis in Wulstano vindicare, neque quia eum consecraverat, neque quia [4] ejus monachus prius [5] fuerat. Igitur Wulstanus episcopus factus cibi et potus abstinens fuit, quamvis in aula ejus pro more Anglorum totis post prandium horis biberetur, cum quibus et ipse assidens psalmos ruminabat, ordine tamen suo se bibere simulabat, bibentes ad hilaritatem invitabat, magis in hoc consuetudini patriæ quam animi judicio satisfaciens. Nec etiam pompam Normannorum omittebat, qui stipatus militibus incederet; quotidie

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[1] *in*, B.
[2] *nec*] om. B.
[3] *dedignabatur*, B.
[4] *eum . . . quia*] om. B.
[5] *prius*] om. A.

of Wolston. Bote he hadde more helpe of vertues[1] þan of lettrure, and defended manliche þe riȝt of his chirche. But he was nouȝt so lewed[2] of lettrure as he was i-holde, for he coude what hym nedede for to konne,[3] outake fables and[4] poetes, and wily[5] and sly[6] silogismes, þat he wolde nouȝt on caas vouchesauf[7] forto lerne. Wolston wolde nouȝt assente to his owne ellecciouu. Þanne oon Unsius,[8] an holy man, hadde i-be fourty ȝere i-closed, blamed hym scharply for he wolde nouȝt assente. Also he was i-warned of God þat he schulde assente to þe eleccioun. In his consecracioun were tweie[9] legattes of þe court of Rome. And þey[10] he made professioun to Stigandus þe archebisshop, he feng[11] his consecracioun and his sacrynge of Aldredus archebisshop of ȝork. But forto avoyde chalanges þat myȝte falle afterward, Aldredus made protestacioun þat he fand[12] no riȝt of subieccioun in Wolston after þat tyme, þeiȝ he were his monk to fore þat tyme. Þanne Wolstoun was i-made bisshop, and sparede boþe mete and drynke. Þeyȝ me drank[13] in his halle [alle][14] þe houres after mete, as þe usage was of Englisshe men, he wolde sitte by hem and frote his palmes, and feyne to drynke as his tyme come, and conforted hem þat wolde drynke. But he dede[15] þat more for usage of þe contre þan for eny likynge þat he hadde þerynne. And he lefte nouȝt of þe best[16] of þe Normans, but he hadde knyȝtes aboute hym where so[17] he wolde wende. He seide

Trevisa.

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ryȝhte of his churche rather by vertu then by connynge. This holy man electe to be bischoppe, and not consentynge to the eleccion, was correcte and reprovede moche of an holy man, Wilsius by name, for his obstinaunce or obstinacion, whiche man was inclusede þerby xl^{ti} yere. And so seynte Wulstan monyschede by an oracle of God, consente to the eleccion; at the whiche consecracion ij. legates of the pope were presente. Wherefore seynte Wulstan made bischop keped grete abstinence in meytes and drynkes; neverthelesse he omitte not the pride of Normannes, havynge mony knyȝhtes and gentyllemen

MS Harl. 2261.

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[1] *vertue*, β.; *vertu*, γ.
[2] *lewide*, β.
[3] *kunne*, Cx.
[4] *of*, β.
[5] *whyly*, γ.
[6] *slyȝ*, β. and Cx.
[7] *fouchesaf*, γ.
[8] *Wusius*, α.; *Wulsius*, β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *two*, Cx.
[10] *þouȝ*, β.; *though*, Cx.
[11] *vyng*, γ.
[12] *langede*, α.; *chalengide*, β.; *chalengyd*, Cx.
[13] *þeyȝ me drank*] om. Cx.
[14] From β., γ., and Cx.
[15] *dide*, β.; *dude*, γ.
[16] *bost*, α. and β.; *boost*, Cx.
[17] *so*] om. β.

missam solvens[1] addebat psalterium, famosorum sanctorum memorias septifarie divisas per septem solvebat[2] horas. Quotiens Wygorniæ fuit majorem missam celebravit,[3] a quo quidem officio, ut dixit, pro episcopatu resignando noluit absolvi. Collationi[4] monachorum interfuit, ut sic facta cum cæteris generali confessione dataque benedictione in triclinium suum se reciperet. Equo[5] vectus psalterium frequentabat; benedictiones quas Angli super potum faciunt etiam in mensa regis non omisit; si[6] quando ad placitandum eum necessitas urgebat, omnibus malis arbitris maledictionem imprecabatur, bonis vero benedictionem. Indifferenter vilioribus utebatur[7] pellibus, magis autem agninis quam cæteri generis pellibus.[8] Si quando[9] ei suggeretur ut catinis pellibus amiceretur, jocosa comitate respondebat: "Crede mihi, "nunquam[10] audivi in ecclesia cantari catus Dei,[11] sed

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[1] *cantans*, C.D.
non omittebat, C.D.
[3] *loco ebdomarii*, C.D.
[4] *episcopatu . . . collationi*] om. B.
[5] *Equus*, A.
[6] *sed*, B.
[7] *induebatur*, A.
[8] *animalium*, B.; *frigus depellens*, C.D.
[9] *vero*, C.D.
[10] *nusquam*, B.
[11] *Dei* before *cantari*, B.

his masse every day, and þe psawter[1] also, and memories and myndes[2] of famous seyntes, departed in[3] sevene by þe sevene houres of þe day, as ofte as he was at Worcetre.[4] Þan[5] he wolde synge þe hiȝe masse, and seide þat he wolde nouȝt leve þat office for to resigne þe bisshopriche, he wolde be at þe colacioun of monkes, and made[6] þe general confessioun wiþ oþere, and ȝeve þe benesoun, and goo into his chambre. Whan he rood on his hors he wolde seie[7] his psawter and benesouns þat Englisshe men makeþ over þe coppe.[8] He sparede it nouȝt at þe kynges[9] bord, ȝif nede drof hym to plede in eny manere tyme, he wolde bydde Cristes curse[10] to alle manere arbitroures of men,[11] bote to alle þe goode he wolde bidde Cristes blessynge. He usede forours[12] of symple prys, and rouȝte but litel of what manere skynnes, bote he usede more skynnes of lombe þan of oþere bestes ; and ȝif men seide hym[13] somtyme þat he schulde use skynnes of cattes, he answerde[14] in his game and seide, I[15] herde synge in cherches of Goddes lombe, and nat[16] of Goddes cat, [therfor I love better the heete of the lambe

Trevisa.

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in his servyce ; and saynge masse dayly, seide also the complete sawter and mony other suffrages. Whiche usede to synge hye masse as soe ofte as he was at Worcestre, from whiche office he seide he wolde not be absolved, not for his bischopryche. Also he usede to kepe collacion with þe monkes, and so generalle confession made, and his blissynge ȝiffen to theyme, he wente to his chamber. Whiche bischop travaylynge, seide dayly the sawter, usynge benediccions whom men of Ynglonde usede that tyme, and if he sate at the kynges table. And if necessite caused hym to plete, he preyede God to curse alle fals iugges, and to blisse alle iugges iuggenge trawthe, usynge moche furres of lambe. This bischoppe movede in a tyme to were the furre of cattes, in disporte answerde, "Beleve me, y "herde never songe in the chirche the catte of Godde, but "the lambe of Godde, þerfore y wylle raþer be made warme

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *sauter*, Cx.
[2] *munde*, γ.
[3] *in*, a, β., γ., and Cx.
[4] MS. Addit. breaks off here in the middle of a column, the text being continued on the back of the next folio.
[5] *þan*] om. β. and Cx.
[6] *make*, α. and β.
[7] *sygge*, γ.
[8] *on the cuppe*, Cx. *kyngis*, β.
[9] *cours*, α. ; *curs*, β. and Cx.
[10] *arbitres and manis*, α. ; *arbitrours and menes*, β. ; *alle evel arbyters and menes*, γ. ; *al evyl arbytrours and moyens*, Cx.
[11] *forrours*, γ. ; *furres*, Cx.
[12] *yf one hadde counseyled hym*, Cx.
[13] *answeride*, β.
[14] *y*, α. ; *ich*, β. ; *I*, from Cx. ; *and*, MS.
[15] *not*, α. ; *nouȝt*, β.

" Agnus Dei; idcirco magis volo agno calefieri quam " cato." Dum semel monachi sui migrarent ad majorem ecclesiam quam ipse construxerat, et videret antiquam ecclesiam destrui quam sanctus Oswaldus fundaverat,[1] lacrimas fudit. Super quo modeste redargutus quod potius gaudere deberet quod se superstite tantus honor ecclesiæ suæ[2] accessisset, quod etiam multiplicatis monachis ædificia augerentur, respondit, " Ego longe aliter sentio " quod nos miseri sanctorum opera destruimus ut nobis " laudem comparemus. Non noverat illa ætas[3] pompatica " construere, sed sub qualicumque tecto seipsos Deo " immolare, subjectosque suos ad exemplum attrahere: " nos autem e contra nitimur ut animarum negligentes[5] " cumulemus lapides." Hic dum semel sermonem de pace ad populum faceret multi ad pacem redierunt. Unus autem eorum[6] nullo suasu, nec etiam episcopi rogatu, [7] concordare voluit. Cui in medium adducto ait episcopus, " Scriptum est, *Beati pacifici;* ergo non pacifici sunt

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[1] *et . . . fundaverat*] om. A.
[2] *suæ*] om. B.
[3] *illa ætas*] om. B.
[4] *trahere*, B.
[5] *negligentes*, B.
[6] *illorum*, B.
[7] *fratris necem roganti homocidæ*, add. C.D.

than I doo the heete of a catte].[1] In a tyme his monkes wente to þe newe[2] cherche þat he hadde i-bulde, and he sigh þat þe olde chirche was destroyed þat seynt Oswolde hadde i-bulde, and weep ful[3] sore teres. He was in faire manere wiþseide of þat dede, and men seide hym[4] þat he schulde raþer be glad þat his chirche hadde so grete worschippe in his lyve[5] tyme, [and][6] also as þe hous[7] were more so were þe mo of monkes, he answerde and seide, "I mene al oþer wise þanne "doo ȝe wrecches; we destroye[8] þe werkes of holy seyntes "forto gete oure self[9] a[10] greet name and preysinge of men. "In þat tyme men usede nouȝt to bulde no bostful buldnes,[11] but "þei used[12] to offre hem self to God, under what roof[13] þat it "evere were, and [to drawe][14] here sugettes to here owne en-"samples, bote we doo þe contrarie, and gadreþ stones to hepe,[15] "and reyche[16] nouȝt of soules." In a tyme he made a sermoun of þe pees to þe peple,[17] and meny men tornede[18] to love and to pees. But oon þere was þat wolde nouȝt be accorded in none wise, neyþer for resoun, ne[19] for skile, noþer for prayeng of þe bisshop. He stood bifore þe bisshop, and þe bisshop seide to

TREVISA.

"with the skynnes of lambe then with the skynnes of a catte." This bischoppe seenge the monkes goe to the newe monasterye whiche he hade edifiede, and the olde churche to be destroyede, whom seynte Oswalde hade edifiede, began to weipe. Then diverse men stondynge by seide to the bischop that he scholde raþer be gladde to see suche honoure to his churche in his lyfe, that the edificacions were encreasede after the nowmbre of monkes. Then the bischp seide, "Y attende to an oþer sen-"tence, that we wrecches scholde destroy the werkes of holy "seyntes, for that tyme religious men toke litell attendaunce to "ryalle edificacions." This bischop makynge an exhortacion to peple of pease, mony of theyme were turnede to pease, and oon of theyme wolde not be reconsilede to pease in eny wyse. To whom the bischop seide: "Scripture expressethe that men kepynge

MS. HARL. 2261. f. 346 a.

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[1] From Cx.; *þarevore y lyke better þe hete of a lombe þan y do þe hete of a cat*, γ.
[2] *more*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[3] *wuep vol*, γ.
[4] *it mas sayd unto hym*, Cx.
[5] *lif*, β.
[6] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *houses*, β. and Cx.
[8] *distruyeþ*, β.; *destruyeþ*, γ.; *do. We wreches destroye*, Cx.
[9] *oure self*] us, Cx.
[10] *a*] om. β. and γ.
[11] *buyldyngis*, β.; *buldes*, γ.; *buyldynges*, Cx.
[12] þei used, from β.; they used, Cx.; *þat*. MS.
[13] *rof*, γ.
[14] From Cx.
[15] *heope*, β.; *hepe*, from α. and γ.; *kepe*, MS.
[16] *reche*, α.; *recchiþ*, β.; *recheþ*, γ.; *retche*, Cx.
[17] *pupyl*, γ.
[18] *tourne*, Cx.
[19] *ne*] noþer, β. and Cx.

" miseri et filii [1] diaboli. Illi ergo cujus es te commendo " donec resipiscas ;" et statim ille mancipium hostis effectus cœpit dentibus stridere, spumas jacere, caput rotare. Qui tamen [2] a Wulstano sanatus, cum pacem repudiaret, iterum et tertio arreptus est ab hoste, quousque offensam dimitteret. Cum aliquando Wulstanus a Lanfranco archiepiscopo super [3] litteraturæ insufficientia et ab Aldredo Eboracensi super subjectione canonica impeteretur, ille palatium egressus prius horam nonam quæ aretro erat prædicere censuit et sic animose revertens in causa sua obtinuit.[4] Alwynus quidam apud saltum Malverniæ anachoritice vivens afflatus est aliquando desiderio [5] Jerosolomitani itineris. Quod cum ipse [6] Wulstano panderet, dissuasit episcopus sic inquiens : " Desiste, " sodes [7] Alwyne ; crede mihi quod mirareris si scires " quid [8] per te Deus sit facturus." Ille vero adquiescens discessit, et congregavit triginta [9] monachos in loco illo.

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[1] *servi*, A.
[2] *statim*, B.
[3] *de*, B.
[4] C.D. add : " Sub Willelmo " etiam Rufo cum exercitus Ro- " geri de Monte Gomorico contra " regem insurgens terram a Salopia " usque Wygorniæ vastaret. Ille " jaculato in eas maledictionis ful- " mine omnes reddit hebetes et in- " efficaces."
[5] *desiderio*] om. B.
[6] *ipse*] om. B.
[7] *sedes*, A.
[8] *quæ*, A.
[9] *triccnarium*, C.D.

hym, "It is i-write, 'Men of pees beeþ i-blessed;' þan þey þat "beeþ nouȝt men of pees, beeþ wrecches, and þe develes "children. Þanne but[1] þou amende [þe],[2] I betake þe to hym "þat haþ þe as his owne childe;" and anon he was made þe enemyes his maunciple,[3] he gan[4] to ligge and to fome,[5] to grisbite[6] and to grynde wiþ þe teeþ, and to caste his heed aboute. Wolstoun helede hym aȝen, but he wolde nouȝt of pees; þanne þe fend had[7] hym eft at[8] þe þridde tyme, forto he hadde forȝeven al manere of trespas. [In a tyme Lanfrank putte aȝenst Wolston of lettrure,[9] and [the][10] archebisshop of Ȝork Aldredus chalangede[11] of hym laweful subieccioun, and he wente out of þe paleys, and seide þe houre of none þat [he][12] hadde be[13] byhynde, and com aȝen boldeliche, and answered and hadde þe maystrie. Oon Alwyne, þat lyvede as an anker at Malvern hylles, had greet will to take þe weie to þe Holy Londe, and tolde his counsaille to bisshop Wulston. Þe bisshop answered, "Nay," and seide, "Leve[14] of, Alwyn, wiþ þy good wille, "trowe þou me, þou woldest have greet wonder Ȝif þou wyst[15] "what God þenkeþ to doo by þee." He dede be [his][16] rede,[17] and wente þennes and gadrede þritty monkes in þe same place.][18] TREVISA.

"pease be blissede, where men that kepe not be pease be wrec- MS. HARL.
"ches and childer of the develle; wherefore y commende the 2261.
"to hym to whom þow arte bownde, tylle thow returne to pease."
And anoon a wickede spiritte entrede into hym, trowblynge hym so soore, that peple presente myȝhte perceyve the correccion of God in hym. Whiche man healede by seynte Wulstan, and returnede to synne ageyne, was troublede as he was afore, tylle that he lefte his trespasse. A man callede Alwinus by name, lyvynge an holy lyfe at Malverne, was movede to have goen to Ierusalem. Seynte Wulstan understondynge that by his reporte, seide to Alwinus, "Leve that purpose, for þow "wolde mervayle if thow hade knowlege of those thynges that "God is to do by the;" and so Alwinus disposynge hym after the cownsaile of seynte Wulstan, gedrede xxx^ti monkes to hym

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[1] *but*] til, β.; till, Cx.
[2] From α. and Cx.; *þee*, β.
[3] *mancypel*, γ.
[4] *bigan*, β.
[5] *vome*, γ.
[6] *grysbette*, γ.
[7] *hadde*, Cx.
[8] *at*] and, Cx.
[9] *letture*, γ.
[10] From Cx.
[11] *chalangide*, β.
[12] From β. and Cx.
[13] *be*] om. β. and γ.
[14] *Lef*, γ.
[15] *wistest*, β.; *wustest*, γ.
[16] From β. and Cx.
[17] *dude by his rede*, γ.
[18] From α., β., γ., and Cx.

Alter quidam Sewulfus negotiator dum sæpius quasi eadem peccata Wulstano panderet, dixit, episcopus: "Ut video, opportunitas facit latronem; ideo consulo "ut fias monachus." Cum vero[1] ille pro rigore vitæ hoc renueret,[2] "Vade," inquit,[3] "quia monachus fies, velis nolis;" [4]quod sic contigit. Hic dum quondam[5] alumni sui Nicholai caput palparet, quod etiam in juventute calvescere cœperat, ait ad eum, "Puto, fili, "quod cito calvus eris." At ille:[6] "Quare ergo, pater, non detines crines meos?"[6] Cui episcopus "Crede "mihi, fili, quamdiu vixero residui capilli non deficient." Et factum [est][8] ut illa hebdomada qua obiit episcopus omnes pili illius[9] Nicholai defluerent, nudam cutem relinquentes. Post mortem Wulstani cum tota ecclesia aliquando arderet, mausoleum ejus nec fuit fuligine tinctum nec favilla opertum; simile contigit de matta super quam orare solebat.[10] Fertur de eo quod

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[1] *Cumque ille*, B.
[2] *renuerat*, B.
[3] *Wlstanus*, B.
[4] *Ille tamen senescens apud Malmesburienses est tonsoratus, cui quotiens dictum Wulstani inclitaretur, micius se gessit*, C.D.
[5] *aliquando*, B.
[6] *At ille*] om. B.
[7] *meos*] om. B.
[8] *est*, from A.B.
[9] *ejus*, A.
[10] *servabatur illæsa*, C.D.

A chapman[1] þat heet Sewulphus schroof hym to Wolston ofte of þe same synnes; þanne þe same[2] bisshop seide, "I see wel þat "ese makeþ þe to synne,[3] þerfore I counseille þe þat þou be "a monk." He wolde nouȝt, for it was an harde lyf. "Goo," quod þe bisshop, "for[4] wheþer þou wilt oþer no þow schalt be "a monk;" and so it happede afterward. In a tyme Wolstoun gropede þe heved[5] of oon Nichol, þat was his owne norie,[6] þat gan to wexe balled riȝt in his ȝouþe. Wolston seide to hym, "I trow, sone, þou schalt be balled in schort tyme." "Þanne," quod þe fader,[7] "why kepest þow nouȝt myn here, "and makest[8] it abide." "Sone," quod þe bisshop, "trowe þou "me, þe oþer deel of þyn here schal abide while I am on lyve." And it happede [þe same wyke[9] þat þe bisshop was dede,][10] þe heer of Nichol his heed fil awey, and left not oon of his[11] heed bote þe bare skyn. After Wolston his[12] deeþ, whan al þe chirche was on fuyre, þer fil[13] noþer fliȝ[14] noþer sparcle[15] noþer soot[16] uppon Wolston his grave, and so it ferde[17] of þe matte þat was under hym whan he bad his bedes. Of hym it is

TREVISA.

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into his place. A merchaunte, Sexwulphus by name, usynge to be confessede of the seide bischop, confessynge hym in alle tymes as of the same synnes he was confessede afore. At the laste the bischop seide to hym, "Me thenke that oportunite "makethe a thefe, wherefore y cownsaile the to be made a "monke." But the man refusynge hit for streytenesse of lyfe, the bischop seide, "Go furthe, for thow shalle be a monke, "wheþer þow wille or nay;" and so hit happede. Hit happede on a tyme this bischop to towche the hedde of a man, Nicholas by name, sonne of his norische, and to say, "Sonne, as y perceyve, "thow wylle be ballede soone." To whom Nicholas seide, "Fader, why kepe ye not the heires that they falle not "aweye?" Then the bischop seide, "Beleve me the residu "schalle not falle while that y have lyfe;" and so hit happede; but in the same weke that the bischoppe diede alle the heieres of his hedde felle aweye, levynge noo thynge after theyme but the bare skynne. Also hit is rehersed of seynte

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *chepman*, β. and γ.; *shipman*, Cx.
[2] *same*] om. Cx.
[3] *þe to synne*] a þeef, α., β., and Cx.
[4] *for*] om. Cx.
[5] *hed*, β. and γ.; *heede*, Cx.
[6] *nory*, β. and γ.
[7] *he, Fader*, β.; *he, vader*, γ.
[8] *make*, Cx.
[9] *weke*, β.; *woke*, γ.
[10] From α., β., and γ.
[11] *not on his*, Cx.
[12] *his*] om. α.
[13] *vul*, γ.
[14] *fle*, α.
[15] *sprong*, α.; *neiþer ysel neþer spark*, β.; *neyther ysel nor spark*, Cx.
[16] *sot*, γ.
[17] *vurde*, γ.

cum rex Willelmus conquestor propter litteraturæ insufficientiam et Gallicæ linguæ carentiam eum privare intenderet, ut[1] sic aliquem Normannicum subintroduceret, ille arrepto baculo suo pastorali ad pedes sancti Edwardi regis nuper tumulati accessit, baculum in solida petra ita defixit ut a nullo posset avelli,[2] donec ille ad regis rogatum baculum resumeret. Dixerat autem Willelmo regi dum baculum figeret, "Melior te et "sanctior[3] hunc mihi dedit, cui[4] retrado. Avelle si poteris.[5] Nec[6] poterat alius baculum movere nisi solus Wulstanus.[7]

Cap. IX.

[*Exilium Anselmi. Herebertus Losinga.*]

Gratiæ MXCVI. Willelmi Rufi IX.

Hoc anno facta est profectio Jerosolomitana, in qua affuerunt Boamundus et Robertus dux Normanniæ, qui prætextu illius profectionis invadiavit Normanniam[8] Willelmo regi fratri suo pro decem[9] milibus[10] libris

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[1] *et*, A.

[2] *evelli*, B.

[3] *et sanctior*] om. A.B.

[4] *et*, A.B.

[5] *potes*, B.

[6] *nec . . . Wulstanus*] om. A.B. C.D.

[7] C.D., continuing from page 362: "Videns rex Willelmus Wallenses "tam ex locorum angustiis quam "densis nemoribus fore invinci- "biles, fecit castra construi in locis "Walliæ maritimis. Robertus "Courthose dux Normanniæ Jero- "solimam profectus est cum Boy- "mundo de Apuleia et cæteris "principibus; impignoravit fratri "suo Willelmo," &c.

[8] *Neustriam*, C.D.

[9] *multis milibus marcarum, quæ tota pecunia rapta fuit de feretris Scotorum et crucibus Christi*, C.D.

[10] *x. mille*, A.

seide þat kyng William þe conquerour wolde have depreved [1] hym [2] for unsufficiant of [3] lettrure,[4] and also for he kowþe no Frensche, and cast in þat manere to brynge in som Norman in his stede. Þanne Wolston took [5] his crosse, and piȝt it in þe hard stoon at seynt Edward þe kynges feet, þat lay þere in his grave. He piȝte so þe crosse þat no man myȝte take it out of þe stoon, or [6] he took it hymself at þe kynges heste. While he piȝte þere the crosse, he seide to kyng William, "A better "man þan þou art bytook it [to] [7] me, and [I] [8] take [it to] [9] "hym aȝe; [10] take þou it awey now if þat [11] þou myȝt." TREVISA.

Capitulum nonum.

THIS ȝere was þe goyng to Ierusalem, in þe whiche [12] iorney were Beaumond,[13] and Robert duke of Normandie. By cause of þe [14] iornay Robert leyde Normandie to wedde to his broþer William for ten þowsand pounde of silver. Þere [after] [15]

Wulstan that William Conqueroure intendynge to have deposede hym for insuffience of intellect, and wontynge the langage of Fraunce, that somme men of Normandy myȝhte have hade that seete, seynte Wulstan takynge his pastoralle staffe fixede hit at the feete of seynte Edwarde kynge, beryede not longe afore, in a sadde stonne that noo man cowthe take hit awey untille that he toke that staffe ageyne at the desire of the kynge. Whiche seide to kynge William when he sette þe staffe þer, "A better man then thow arte ȝafe hit to me, take "hit awey if thow can." MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum nonum.

THE goynge to Ierusalem was made in this yere, with whiche peple Boamundus and Robert duke of Normandy were in companye, whiche putte Normandy in plegge to William Rufus, kynge of Ynglonde and broþer to hym, for x^{ti}. m. ℔i. of silvyr.

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[1] *y-preved, α.*; *prived, β.*; *pryved,* Cx.
[2] *hym*] om. Cx.
[3] *of*] om. Cx.
[4] *unsuffysant of letture, γ.*
[5] *touk, γ*
[6] *or*] er, Cx.
[7] From *α.*, *β.*, and Cx.
[8] From Cx.; *Y, γ.*
[9] From Cx.; *hyt, γ.*
[10] *and y take hit hym aȝen, β.*
[11] *þat*] om. *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx.
[12] *woche, γ.*
[13] *was Beamund,* Cx.
[14] þ^{t}, *α.*; *that,* Cx.
[15] From *β.*

Gratiæ MXCVII. Willelmi Rufi X.

argenti. Deinde xiii° kalendis Julii Christiani ceperunt urbem Acon;[1] et stella cometa apparuit mense Octobris per quindecim dies; nonnulli vero viderunt signum crucis ardere in cœlo. Tunc quoque[2] caput beati[3] Stephani per quendam monachum Odonem, multis miraculis comitantibus, Cadomum in Normannia allatum est. *Henricus.*[4] Orta est dissensio inter regem Willelmum et Anselmum archipræsulem, quia[5] non licuit Anselmo synodos facere nec prava corrigere. Quin etiam[6] rex investituram prælatorum exegit, populum tributis erasit, potissime ad impensas circa turrim Londoniæ et circa magnam aulam Westimonasterii; familia[7] regis quocumque[8] transiret[9] populum opprimebat. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro iiii°.*[10] [11] Adhuc[12] accessit fomes cupiditatis[13] Ranulphus, Willelmi primi quondam capellanus, sed hujus regis ubique procurator

Caput sancti Stephani martyris.

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[1] *Niceam*, C.D.

[2] *quoque*] om. A.

[3] *prothomartyris*, C.D.

[4] *libro* 7, A.B.; *lib. v.*, C.D.; the passage is an adaptation of Willelmus de Pontificibus, lib. ii. Script. post Bedam, p. 219.

[5] *a prima creatione sua usque tunc*, C.D.

[6] *jugiter populum suum tributis excoriabat, potissime*, C.D.

[7] *familiaque*, B.; *etiam*, ins. C.D.

[8] *rex*, C.D.

[9] *exiret*, A.

[10] C.D. omit heading. Script. post Bedam, p. 123.

[11] *Adhæc*, A.B.

[12] *Adhuc . . . exquisitis*] om. C.D.

[13] *cupiditatum*, B.

twelve dayes tofore Iul[1] Cristen men toke þe citee Acon; and in þe monþe of Octobre stella comata,[2] þat is a sterre wiþ a briȝt blasynge crest,[3] was i-seie fiftene dayes, and meny men seigh[4] þe signe of þe crosse brennynge in hevene. Þat tyme seint[5] Stevenes heed was i-brouȝt to Cadoni in Normandie, and wiþ meny grete myracles[6] a monk þat hiȝte Odoo[7] brouȝt þider[8] þat holy heed. *Henricus, libro primo.*[9] Þere fil strif betwix kyng William and Ancelm þe archebisshop, for Ancelme moste make no synodes noþer corecte trespas. Also þe kyng chalangede þe investiture of prelates, and pyled and schaved þe peple for[10] tribut, and specially for[11] þe tour of Londoun, and aboute þe grete halle at[12] Westmynstre.[13] Also þe kynges meyny grevede þe peple[14] overal where þey wente. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 4°. And ȝit herto þe roote and to[15] norischynge of covetise, oon Ranulf,[16] þat was somtyme þe firste kyng William his preost[17] and his chapeleyn, was i-made [thus][18] his procuratour. In every place ȝif þis Ranulph schulde gadre

Trevisa.

And after that, in the xiij. kalendes of Iulius, the cite of Acon was taken by Cristen peple; and a blasynge sterre apperede in the monethe of October by xv. daies, and mony men see the signe of the crosse to schyne in hevyn. In whiche tyme the hedde of seynte Steven was brouȝhte to Caan in Normandy by a monke, Odo by name. *Henricus, libro vijo.* A grete dissencion was movede and spronge betwene kynge William and Anselme the archebischop, for the kynge wolde not suffre hym to kepe eny cownesayles, neiþer to correcte thynges inordinate; and also the kynge requirede the investitures of prelates, trowblynge the poore peple with tributes, specially for coste made on the towre of London and on the grete halle of Westemynstere. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.* In whiche tyme Ranulphus reioycede moche, somme tyme chapeleyne of William Conqueroure, noryscher of covetyse, made the proctor of this kynge, the

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Juyl*, β. and Cx.
[2] *cometa*, β., γ., and Cx.
[3] *creest*, Cx.
[4] *sawe*, Cx.
[5] *seyn*, γ.
[6] *myraclis*, β.; *myrakels*, γ.
[7] *het Odo*, β.; *Odo*, γ.
[8] *þuder*, γ.
[9] *septimo*, Cx.
[10] *for*] om. α.; *wiþ*, β.; *with*, Cx.; *schamede þe pupyl wyþ*, γ.
[11] *to spend about*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[12] *at*] of, β. and Cx.
[13] *Westmonaster*, γ.
[14] *pupel*, γ.
[15] *to*] om. Cx.; *þe*, γ.
[16] *Ranulph*, β., et infra; *of Ranulf*, γ.
[17] *prust*, γ.
[18] From Cx.'; *þis*, β.

effectus. Is si quando[1] regium[2] tributum exegit, duplum emunxit, expilator divitum, oppressor pauperum, confiscator hereditatum; proinde[3] rex cachinnans hunc solum pronunciavit esse hominem qui ingenium suum agitare sciret, de nullius odio curaret dummodo dominum suum complaceret; quo auctores acri honores vendebantur.[4] Sed et ipse cito postmodum episcopatum Dunelmiæ mille libris emit. Tunc[5] fluxus crinium, luxus vestium, tunc usus calceorum acutorum,[6] tunc gressum frangere, nudo[5] latere incedere. Ita[7] conatus est Anselmus corrigere, sed auxilio suffraganeorum destitutus Angliæ valefecit; sed abeundo in portu Cantiæ ut prædo publicus regis jussu expilatus est, manticis ejus et bulgis omnibus in medio exquisitis. Inde[8] Anselmus ad papam Urbanum accedens, in magno concilio apud[8] Barrum in Apulia, contra Græcorum opinionem, qui dicunt Spiritum solomodo a Patre procedere, luculenter disseruit.[9] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.*[10]

Exilium Anselmi archiepiscopi.

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[1] *Hic si aliquando*, B.
[2] *Is quando regni*, A.
[3] *providere*, B.
[4] *videbantur*, A.
[5] *Tunc . . . nudo*] om. B.
[6] *acutorum*] om. A.
[7] *Ista*, A.
[8] *Idcirco mari transito, Anselmus pauper demoratus est in Gallia, tandem ad*, C.D.
[9] C.D. insert *de processione Spiritus Sancti.*
[10] Script. post Bedam, p. 257.

þe kynges tribut he wolde take suche[1] two as riȝt and[2] resoun wolde. He pilede þe riche and bare doun þe pore[3] and disperage[4] heritage,[5] and took hem[6] into þe kynges hond; þerfore þe kyng bourdede in a tyme, and seide þat he was a man alone, for he kowþe so torne his witt þat he ne[7] rowȝte of no men[8] wreþþe[9] while he myȝte plese his lord at wille.[10] By his doynge holy dignitees were i-solde, and sone þerafter he bouȝte þe bisshopriche of Durham for a þowsand pounde. Þat tyme men usede[11] stroutynge[12] lokkes, and longe blasynge cloþes, gay spores and scharpe. Þo men ȝede[13] trippynge, schewynge þe sides. Ancelm wolde amende al þis, and hadde no[14] help of his suffraganes, and þerfore [he][15] went out of Engelond. Bote by heste of þe kyng in his goyng in an haven of Kent he was piled and i-robbed, and fare[16] wiþ as it were a þeef, his malys[17] were i-serched [his bouges][18] and his trussynge cofres, and al þat he hadde. Þanne Anselm wente to pope Urban [in grete counseyll][19] at Perrus[20] in Appulia; he declared cleerliche aȝen þe opinioun of þe Grees,[21] þat tellеþ[22] þat þe[23] Holy Goost comeþ of þe Fader and nouȝt of þe Sone. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Þat tyme Raf

TREVISA.

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oppressor of poore men and eschete of inheritaunce, takynge not hede to the hate of eny man, so that he myȝhte gette goodes and please his lorde. Whiche ȝiffynge to the kynge a thowsand pownds, was made bischop off Dirhem; then pikede schons began to be usede, longe lokkes, and mony other abusions. The noble clerke Anselme wolde have correcte these, but he lackede helpe, wherefore he forsakede Ynglonde, but in his departynge his bowȝettes and caskettes were serchede by precepte of the kynge. Whiche goynge to pope Urban, disputede nobly in a cownsaile at Bavarrus in Apulia ageyne the oppinion of the Grekes, whiche seide the Holy Goste to procede oonly from the Fader. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro*

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 347 a.

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[1] *siche*, β.
[2] *riȝt and*] om. Cx.
[3] *poure*, γ.
[4] *disparagide*, β.; *desparage*, γ.; *dysparagid*, Cx.
[5] *heritages*, β.; *herytages*, Cx.
[6] *herytages and touk ham*, γ.
[7] *ne*] om. β.
[8] *mannes*, β.
[9] *he rought of noo mannes wreche*, Cx.
[10] *fulle*, β.; *volle*, γ.
[11] *uside*, β.
[12] *stroutyng*, Cx.
[13] *ȝude*, γ.
[14] *noon*, β.
[15] From β. and Cx.
[16] *yvare*, γ.; *faren*, Cx.
[17] *males*, β. and γ.
[18] From Cx.; *his bulges*, β.; *bulges and hys*, γ.
[19] From Cx.; *in a grete counsail*, β.; *and in a gret consayl*, γ.
[20] *Barrus*, β. and γ.
[21] *Grekis*, β.; *Grekes*, Cx.
[22] *tellyn*, Cx.
[23] Here MS. Addit. begins again.

Eo tempore Radulphus Cicestrensis [1] episcopus regi cum aliis episcopis non cessit, sed in faciem pro Anselmo restit it nihil veritus, anulum et baculum protendit,[2] nec unquam animi rigorem deflexit donec Anselmus suo discessu [3] causam suam [4] enumeraret.[5] Iste etiam ut rex pecuniam a fornicariis sacerdotibus acciperet non consensit, sed per totam [6] diocesim suam divina officia vacabant, januas ecclesiarum spinis obstruxit:[7] atrocitas facti regem inflexit, ita ut ei soli [8] censum presbyterorum suorum indulgeret. Illi etiam [9] alleganti quod ecclesia incendiis absumpta non tributis exspoliari,[10] sed oblationibus deberet sublevari, rex ipse,[11] qui ab omnibus abstulit, ecclesiæ Radulphi plurima libens contulit. Iste Radulphus contra delinquentes ab [12] increpationibus non pepercit. Et si minus increpatio valeret, ingenuo ludo [13] culpam elisit. Diocesim suam ter in anno [14] circuibat, nihil episcopali potestate extorquens, sed quæ ultro offerebantur gratabunde suscipiens. Quod certe ad præsens non commemorassem, nisi quod nostro ævo pro miraculo ducitur si in episcopo reperiatur prædi-

[1] *Cestrensis*, A.
[2] *ut si vellet ea re-acciperet*, C.D.
[3] *dissensu*, B.
[4] *plurimum*, C.D.
[5] *enervaret*, A.B.
[6] *Hanc autem religiosam austeritatem exhibuit iste Radulphus etiam contra mandata regis Henrici qui pecuniam per totam Angliam a presbyteris fornicariis extorsit. Id quidem aliis episcopis concedentibus, aut saltem metu silentium petentibus, in solo Radulpho rigor pontificalis emolliri non potuit, quin et per totam*, C.D.
[7] *monachis duntaxat ingressum ecclesiæ concessit*, add. C.D.
[8] *solum*, A.
[9] *autem*, B.
[10] *expilari*, A.B.
[11] *ipse*] om. B.
[12] *ab*] om. A.
[13] *suo*, B.
[14] *prædicando*, add. C.D.

bisshop of Chichestre spared nouȝt þe kyng noþer þe oþer bisshoppes þat helde aȝenst Anselm, [but he spak for Anselm,][1] and wiþseide þe kyng in[2] his owne face,[3] and dradde riȝt nouȝt; he schewed forþ his crosse and his ryng, and cesede nevere noþer slaked þe greet doing of his witte or[4] Ancelm in his goynge hadde i-brouȝt his cause to a good ende. Also þis wolde nouȝt assente þat þe kyng schulde take tribute of preostes þat usede fornicacioun, but in al his diocise[5] þe service of holy chirche was suspended, and þe cherche dores were i-stopped wiþ þornes. Þe kyng was awelde[6] by grymnes of þat dede, so þat he grauntede to hym alone [þe][7] tribut of his preostes.[8] Also he alleyde þat þe cherche þat is destroyed and i-brend schulde nouȝt ben[9] i-piled and i-robbed wiþ tributes, but it schulde be releved and i-holpe wiþ fre ȝiftes;[10] and þe kynge þat hadde i-take from alle chirches, he ȝaf gladliche to Raaf[11] his chirche meny grete ȝiftes. Þis Raf[12] sparede nouȝt to blame mysdoers for her synnes, and ȝif his blamynge halpe but lite[13] he wolde destroye þe synne wittiliche[14] wiþ myrþe and wiþ game; he wolde goo aboute his dyocise[15] þries in a ȝere, but he piled nouȝt his sugettes by myȝt and by maistrie, but what me wolde freliche ȝeve hym he fenge[16] it wiþ good wille; hereof wolde I nouȝt speke at þis tyme, nere þat it schulde be acounted a myracle now in oure[17] age to

TREVISA.

secundo. Radulphus bischop of Chichestre condescende not in that tyme to the kynge with other bischoppes, but toke grete parte with venerable Anselme. Also he wolde not condescende that the kynge scholde receyve money of prestes havynge concubynes, causynge the servyce of God not to be occupiede thro alle his diocyse, and stoppynge the durres of the churches with thornes. That cruellenes causede the kynge to ȝiffe to hym the correccion of prestes in alle his diocyse. This bischop sparede not men doynge synne and offense, visitynge his diocyse and goynge abowte hit thryes in oon yere, takynge noo thynge but thynges ȝiffen frely. Whiche thynge y wolde not have remembrede nowe in this tyme presente but that hit is hade nowe as for a miracle if diligence of prechynge be founde in a

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[2] *in*] to, Cx.
[3] *fas*, γ.
[4] *er*, β.
[5] *diocesy*, γ.; *dyocesy*, Cx., et infra.
[6] *awelded*, β. and Cx.
[7] From β.
[8] *prustes*, γ.
[9] *be*, β.
[10] *yeftes*, Cx., et infra.
[11] *Raph*, γ.
[12] *Rauf*, Cx.
[13] *litel*, β.
[14] *wytlyche*, γ.
[15] *diocesy*, β.
[16] *vynge*, γ.
[17] *ur*, γ.

candi solentia aut accipiendi temperantia. *Willelmus de Regibus,*[1] *libro quarto.*[2] Dum[3] rex Willelmus venatum aliquando intenderet,[4] adest nuncius qui dicat Cenomanniam fore obsessam; statim rex retorto equo iter ad mare reflexit,[5] admonentibus ducibus exercitum fore congregandum. "Videbo," inquit, "quis me velit "sequi." Hoc modo pæne solus ad mare devenit, aere existente nebuloso,[6] et vento contrario. Cum ergo[7] omnino transfretare vellet, suaserunt nautæ ventum et auram exspectare. Et ille: "Nunquam audivi de rege "submerso, quin potius solute retinacula navium, et vide- "bitis elementa conspirare ad meum obsequium." Sicque ponto transito obsessores Cenomanniæ audita fama adventus ejus dissiliunt. Auctor factionis Helyas capitur, cui ante se adducto rex ludibundus ait, "Habeo te, "magister. At ille: "Fortuito me cepisti; sed si possem "evadere, novi quid facerem."[8] Tunc rex motus, "Abi,"

[1] Script. post Bedam, p. 124.

[2] C.D. add: "Hoc tempore in "Burgundia, Cabilonensi diocesi, "ordo Cisterciensis incepit isto "modo. Robertus quidam abbas "monasterium Molemeni cum duo- "decim monachis suis solitudinem "Cistercii adiit, ut regulam sancti "Benedicti distinctius observaret, "novumque ordinem ex veteri insti- "tuit, sed ipse postmodum ad in- "stanciam fratrum derlcictorum "suorum hoc querelantium ad "pristinum monasterium jussu pa- "pæ reductus est. Ordo tamen "novus quem instituerat permansit "et excrevit. *Henricus, lib. v.*"

[3] *Dum . . . libro vii°.* (p. 390)] om. C.D.

[4] *tenderet,* A.

[5] *reflexit*] om. B.

[6] *nubilo,* A.B.

[7] *ergo*] om. B.

[8] *facere,* B.

fynde in a bisshop besynesse of prechynge and resonable fongynge.[1] *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°.[2] In a tyme whan kyng William wente an hontynge þere com a messanger[3] and seide þat Cenomannya[4] was byseged. Anon þe kyng tornede his hors [heede],[5] and took þe wey streiȝt to þe see; þe lordes counsaillede[6] [hym][7] to gadre an ost. "I schal see," quod he, "who wil folowe[8] me," and wente soo to þe see wel nyh allone. Þe weder was derk, and [þe][9] wynde was aȝenst hym, bote he wolde nede[10] saile over, and þe[11] shipmen counsailled hym forto abide þe wynde and þe weder. "I herde[12] nevere of a "kyng," quod he, "þat was adreynt; but takeþ up[13] ȝoure "ancres[14] and arayeþ ȝow to seille, and ȝe schal se þat þe "elementes makeþ hem redy to my service:"[15] so he passede þe see, and þey þat[16] beseged Cenomannia herde of his comynge and breke þe sege. Helias þe maister of þat tresoun was i-take and i-brouȝt to fore þe kyng, and þe kyng spak gameliche to hym and seide, "Maister, now have I þe." "It is by "hap," quod he, "þat þow hast i-take me; I woot what I wolde "doo myȝte I ones ascape." Þe kyng was wroþ, and seide, TREVISA. ——

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bischop and temperaunce of takynge goodes. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.* William Rufus, kynge of Ynglonde, goynge to hunte in a tyme, and havynge knowlege by a messynger that Cenomannia was segede, returnede his horse and wente to the see, mony noble men movynge hym to tary and to gedre an hoste. To whom the kynge seide, "Y schalle se now "who wylle folowe me;" and soe he come to the see with fewe men, the wynde beynge contrarious to þeim also. Nevertheless he commaundede the maister of the schippe to pulle up the sayles, seyenge that he redde never of kynge that was drownede, and soe the[17] passede. The men that hade put sege to that cite, understondynge the kynge of Ynglonde to be comme, dissolvede the sege; and Helias, the chief causer of that trowble, was taken and brouȝhte to kynge William. To whom the kynge seide, "Maister, I have the nowe." That other man seide, "That is by chaunce; but and if y myȝhte escape, y wote "what y scholde do." Then kynge William movede there with MS. HARL. 2261. ——

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[1] *vongyng*, γ.
[2] 4°, α. and Cx.
[3] *messager*, γ.
[4] *Cenemonia*, Cx.
[5] From Cx.; *hed*, β.
[6] *counseilide*, β.
[7] From Cx.
[8] *volwe*, γ.
[9] From β.
[10] *nedes*, β., γ., and Cx.
[11] þe] om. Cx.
[12] *Y hurde*, γ.
[13] *op*, γ.
[14] *ankers*, β. and Cx.
[15] *servys*, γ.
[16] *þey þat*] from α., β., γ., and Cx.; *þat þey*, MS.
[17] Sic.

inquit, "fuge, concedo ut facias quod poteris, et si me "viceris pro hoc tecum patiar."[1] Pro [his et][2] hujusmodi in hoc rege repertis, si Christiana religio pateretur, sicut quodam putabatur animam Euphorbii in Pythagoram transisse, sic[3] posset dici animum Julii Cæsaris in istum regem transisse. *Henricus, libro vii°.*[4] Hoc[5] anno apud Fynchhamstude[6] in Barkshire[7] fons quidam visus[28] sanguinem ebullire per quindecim dies et cœlum visum est per totam noctem ardere. Hoc etiam anno comites Cestrensis[9] et Salopiæ, Hugo et Hugo, Moniam insulam, quæ Angelseya dicitur, ceperunt, Walenses in eadem occiderunt, nonnullos abscisis testiculis excæcaverunt. Inter quos quendam presbyterum nomine Kenredum de ecclesia extraxerunt, cui unum oculum eruerunt, linguam et testiculos abscideruntsed tertio post hoc die loquela sibi reddita est miraculose. Quo in tempore Magnus Noreganorum rex, Olavi filius, assumpto secum Haraldo quondam

Gratiæ MXCVIII. Willelmi Rufi IX.

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[1] *paciscar*, A. ; *pacificar*, B.
[2] *his et*, from B.
[3] *sic*, from B. ; *sed*, MS.
[4] The quotation is from *Willelmus de Regibus*, lib. iv. Script. post Bedam, p. 125.
[5] *etiam*, B.
[6] *Finchamsted*, A.
[7] *Bracschira*, A. ; *Barokschire*, C.D.
[8] *est*, B.
[9] *Cestriæ*, A.B.

" Goo þy wey and flee,[1] I graunte þe to doo what þou myȝt, " and ȝif þou overcomest me I schal acorde wiþ þe." For þis[2] kyng dede[3] suche dedes, [that][4] ȝif it myȝte stonde with þe feith of holy cherche, me wolde wene þat Iulius Cesar his soule [were y-passed and y-come into þis kyng, as me trowede[5] somtyme þat Euforbius his soule][6] passede into Pictagoras. *Henricus, libro* 4°. Þis ȝere at Fynchamstede in Barrokschire a welle was i-seie welle blood fiftene[7] dayes, and al a nyȝt hevene was i-seie brennynge as[8] fuyre. Also þis ȝere Hewe and Hewe,[9] eorles of Schroysbury and of Chestre, took þe ilond Man,[10] þat hatte Angleseya also, and slouȝ Walsche men þat were þerynne, and of meny þey kutte of þe genetras[11] and put out here eyȝen.[12] Among þe whiche[13] þey took a preost þat heet Kenredus,[14] and drouȝ hym out of þe cherche, and put out his oon eyȝe,[15] and kutte of his genitras and his tonge; but by myracle of God he hadde his speche aftir ward þe þridde day. Þat tyme þe grete kyng of Noreganes, þe sone of Olavus, took wiþ hym Harald þat somtyme kyng Harald his sone, and took

TREVISA.

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seide, " Depart y ȝiffe the licence to the; and if thow have vic- " tory of me, take hit for a maistry." *Henricus, libro septimo.* A welle was seen to flowe and sende furthe bloode at Fincham-studde in Barokshire by xv. daies in this yere, and hevyn was seen as to brenne by alle a nyȝhte. Hewe and Hewe, erles of Chestresschire and of Schrobeschire, toke the yle of Angleseye in Wales in this yere also, and did sle the inhabitatours, and made mony men blynde, kyttenge theire stones from theyme. Amonge whiche men thei drawede from the churche a preste, Kenredus by name, puttynge owte oon of his eien, and after that thei kytte awey bothe his tunge and his stones. But in the thrydde day folowynge his langage was restorede to hym by miracle. In whiche tyme the grete kynge of Norway, son of Olavus, takynge with hym Harold sonne of Harold somme

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 347 b.

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[1] *vle*, γ.
[2] *þe*, β.; *the*, Cx.
[3] *dide*, β.; *dude*, γ.
[4] From Cx.
[5] *I trow*, Cx.
[6] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[7] *vyftene*, γ.
[8] *and*, α.; *afuyre*, β.; *a vure*, γ.; *a fyre*, Cx.
[9] *Hugus and Hugus*, β.; *Huwe and Huwe*, γ.; *Hugh and Hughe*, Cx.
[10] *Mon*, α. and γ.
[11] *genytraces*, β., et infra; *genytras*, γ., et infra; *genetoryes*, Cx., et infra.
[12] *eiȝen*, β.
[13] *woche*, γ.
[14] *Kynredus*, Cx.
[15] *ye*, γ.

regis Haraldi filio, Orcadas et Menavias insulas subjugavit. Inde[1] ad insulam Moniam, ubi erant duo comites prædicti, accessit. Cui dum[2] comes Salopiæ[3] obviam daret, sagitta percussus in oculo, die octavo post[4] perpetratam in sacerdote prædicto sævitiam obiit, et apud Salopiam tumulatur.[5] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro ii°.*[6] Circa hæc tempora Herebertus dictus Losinga,[7] abbas quondam Ramesiæ, sed tunc episcopus Tedfordiæ, magnus in Anglia fomes symoniæ extitit, eo quod sedem suam a rege emerat: hic tamen postquam erroneum juventutis impetum deflevisset, Romam ivit. Inde rediens sedem suam usque Norwycum[8] transtulit, ubi quidem celebre cœnobium fundavit, de rebus[9] utique suis, non episcopalibus. Sed et apud Tedfordiam monachos Cluniacenses instituit,[0] locupletes quidem in sæculo, et splendidæ religionis in domo.[11] Sic igitur correctus[12] est Herbertus duplici prognos-

[1] *unde*, A.
[2] *Hugo*, add. C.D.
[3] *in ipsa ripa vellet obsistere*, C.D.
[4] *hoc*, B.
[5] *cujus corpus Salopia delatum præsentibus episcopis Herefordiensis et Cestrensis in claustro monachorum est sepultum*, add. C.D.
[6] Script. ost Bedam, p. 238 *seqq.*
[7] *Losanga*, A.
[8] *Northwicum*, A.
[9] *redditibus quidem propriis non*, &c., C.D.
[10] *cujus quidem Cluniaci professores ubique canticum pæne dispersi*, C.D.
[11] *Deo*, B.C.D.
[12] *correptus*, B.

þe ilond[1] Orcades and Mevanies, and come þennes into Man,[2] þere þe tweie forseide[3] eorles were; þe eorle of Schroisbury[4] [wente aȝenst hym, and was y-smyte wiþ an arwe ryȝt into þe yȝe, and deide þe eyȝteþe day after þat he hadde y-kyd[5] his woodnesse yn[6] þe forseid[7] preost, and he was y-buryed at Schroysbury].[8] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 2°. Aboute þat tyme Herbert Lesang,[9] þat hadde i-be somtyme abbot of Rameseye, and was þo[10] bisshop of Teddeforde, was a greet norrey[11] of symonye, for he hadde i-bouȝt his[12] bisshopriche of þe kyng. But afterward he was sory and byweep[13] þe unskilfulnes[14] of his ȝouþe,[15] and took þe wey to Rome, and cam home aȝe, and chaunged[16] and tornede his see from Tedford to Norþwiche,[17] and þere[18] he foundede a solempne[19] abbay with his owne catel, and nouȝt wiþ þe catel of þe bisshopriche. But at Tedford he ordeyned monkes of Cluny, þat were riche in þe world,[20] and cleer of religioun to Godward, and so Hereberd[21] was amended by double [sawe of][22] warnynge,[23] þat oon was

TREVISA.

tyme kynge, subduede to hym diverse yles, as the yles of Orcadas and of Meina. After that he come to Angleseye in Wales, where the seide erles were. The erle of Scrobbesbury ȝiffynge metynge to him was hurte in the eie with an arowe a[24] in the viij^{the} day folowynge the cruellenesse to the preste, and so he diede, and was beryede at Shrobbesberye. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro secundo.* Herebertus abbot somme tyme of Ramesye, but then bischop of Tedforde, norischer of symone in that he bouȝhte that seete of the kynge, rememberyng hys wyckyde lyfe in his yowthe, wente to Rome abowte this tyme. Whiche returnede from Rome and commen to Ynglonde, translate his seete to Norwyche, where he foundede a noble monastery, and putte monkes of the ordre Cluniacense at Tedforde, ryche men in the worlde, and of beautuous religion in God.

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *ylondes*, β.; *ylandes*, Cx.
[2] *Mon*, β. and Cx.
[3] *vorsede*, γ.
[4] *Schrowesbury*, γ.
[5] *kidde*, β.; *ykud*, γ.; *kydde*, Cx.
[6] *yn*] of, Cx.
[7] *vorseyde*, γ.
[8] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *Losang*, β., γ., and Cx.
[10] *þanne*, β.
[11] *norry*, β.; *nory*, γ.
[12] *his*] the, Cx.
[13] *bywepte*, α., β., and Cx.; *bywupe*, γ.
[14] *unskilful res*, α. and β.; *unskylfol res*, γ.; *unskylful rest*, Cx.
[15] *yongth*, Cx.
[16] *chaungide*, β.
[17] *Norwyche*, β.; *Norwiche*, Cx.
[18] *þere*] om. Cx.
[19] *solempnel*, Cx.
[20] *worl*, γ.
[21] *Herbert*, β.; *Herbart*, Cx.
[22] From β. and Cx.
[23] *dubel sawe*, γ.
[24] Sic.

tico,[1] uno[2] videlicet prædecessoris sui Herfasti,[3] quod erat, *Non hunc sed Barabbam;* et suo proprio, quod erat, *Amice, ad quid venisti?*[4] Quo audito lacrimabiliter ait,[5] "Male intravi[6] fateor, sed per Dei gratiam "bene egrediar;" unde sæpius postmodum illud[7] Jeronimi recoluit: "Erravimus juvenes, emendemus senes." *Henricus, libro septimo.*[8] Interea[9] rex Willelmus de Normannia rediens cum primo magnam [aulam][10] Westimonasterii aspexisset, dixit eam debitæ magnitudinis dimidia parte carere,[11] qua de causa ipsam aulam proposuerat[12] ordinasse pro camera.

Cap. X.

Qualiter ordo Cisterciensis incepit.[13]

Ordo Cisterciensis.

Circa[14] hos dies in Burgundia, Cabilonensi diocesi, ordo Cisterciensis incepit isto modo. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.*[15] Quidam[16] Hardingus Stephanus nomine, Anglicus natione, a puero Schireburnensis monachus, Scotiam tandem adiit; postmodum Franciam

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[1] *quidem*, B.
[2] *uno*] om. B.
[3] *in Deo*, A.
[4] *vel quomodo intrasti*, B.; *vel quo huc intrasti*, C.D.
[5] *ait*] om. B.
[6] *int'm*, A.; *intravi*, from B.; *interim*, MS.
[7] *dictum*, C.D.
[8] Script. post Bedam, p. 377.
[9] *Interea*] om. B.
[10] From A.B.
[11] C.D. add: "Iterum cum ad "liberationem castrorum in Nor- "manniam mare turbulentum "festinius intraret, ait ad eum "nauta, Cur, rex, mortis et maris "periculum non times? Respondit "rex: De rege fluctibus submerso "nunquam audivi. Prospere itaque "transiens et rediens nunquam "tantam gloriam conquæsivit."
[12] *proposuit*, B.
[13] A.B. omit title.
[14] *Circa . . . cestrum* (page 404)] om. C.D.
[15] Script. post Bedam, p. 126 *seqq.*
[16] *Hardam*, A.

of his predecessour Herfast, and was þis, "Not þis [but][1] "Barabas;" and þe oþer was his owne, and was þis, "Frend, "wherto art þou i-come?" He herde þis and weep,[2] and seide: "I com in [an][3] evel manere, but by Goddes grace I "schal goon[4] out in god manere;" and hadde often in mynde[5] þe word of Ierom þat seide: "We errede in oure ȝowþe,[6] "amende [we][7] us in oure[8] elde." *Henricus, libro* 4°. Þanne kyng William com out of Normandie, and whan he sigh[9] first þe grete halle of Westmynstre[10] he seide þat it was to lite[11] by þe halvendel,[12] and þerfore he hadde i-cast to ordeyne it for þe[13] chambre.[14]

TREVISA

Capitulum decimum.

ABOUTE þis tyme bygan þe ordre of white[15] monkes in Burgoyne, in þe dyocise of Cabilonens;[16] þat ordre is i-cleped ordo[17] Cisterciensis a[18] Latyn, and hit bygan in þis manere. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 2°. Oon Hardynge Stevene,[19] of þe nacioun of Engelond, monk of Shirborne,[20] from his

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Whiche bischop remembrenge[21] moche this texte in his age, "Amice, ad quid venisti?" "Frende, wherefore come you?" and also this texte of seynte Ierom, "We have offended in "yowthe, þerfore lete us amende in age." *Henricus, libro septimo.* Kynge William returnede from Normandy, and beholdynge firste the grete halle of Westemynstre, seide hit myȝhte wonte welle ynowe the halfe parte of hit; wherefore he was in purpose to have made that halle a chamber.

MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum decimum.

THE ordre Cisterciense began abowte this tyme in Burguyn, in this maner folowynge. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro sepuarto.*[21] A man of Ynglonde, Steven by name, and made monke at Shirburne, wente to Scottelonde, and after to Fraunce,

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[1] From α., β., and Cx.; *bote*, γ.
[2] *wepte*, β.; *wuep*, γ.
[3] From Cx.
[4] *go*, β.
[5] *munde*, γ.
[6] *yongth*, Cx.
[7] From β. and Cx.
[8] *ur*, γ., bis.
[9] *sawe*, Cx.
[10] *Westmonstre*, α.
[11] *lytel*, β.
[12] *lytel by the halfe*, Cx.
[13] þe] his, β. and Cx.
[14] *vor hys caumber*, γ.
[15] *whyt*, γ.
[16] *Cabiloneus*, β.
[17] *ordre*, Cx.
[18] *a*] in, Cx.
[19] *Steven Hardyng*, β. and Cx.; *Stevyn*, γ.
[20] *Shyrburn*, Cx.
[21] Sic in MS.

conscendit, ubi liberalibus artibus intendens divini amoris stimulos accepit; Romam denuo[1] cum quodam condiscipulo[2] adiit. Hos duos nulla unquam molestia aut obex impedivit[3] quin psalterium quotidie cantarent. Spirabat ejus animus quod postmodum adorsus est; nam tandem Burgundiam regressus in Molismo magno et novo[4] monasterio crinem dejecit, ubi primo regulæ elementa olim visa facile deprehendit. Cum autem[5] proponerentur observanda quæ nunquam viderat aut audierat in regula Benedicti, rationem illorum efflagitare cœpit, modeste sane ut monachum decet. "Ratione," inquit, "summus Auctor omnia fecit, ratione " regit ea quæ fecit; ratione sistunt elementa, moventur " sidera,[6] et nostra debet subsistere natura, quæ quia " sæpe per desidiam vel[7] ignorantiam a ratione ex- " cidit legibus revocatur. Unde et regula beati Bene- " dicti ad hoc processit, ut fluxum naturæ per ratio-

[1] *denuo*] om. B.
[2] *discipulos tandem*, B.
[3] *impediunt*, A.
[4] *et novo*] om. B.
[5] *alia*, A.B.
[6] *sidera*] from A.B.; *silenta*, MS.
[7] *et*, B.

childhood wente into Scotlonde, and afterward into Fraunce, Trevisa.
þere he lernede liberal sciens,[1] and feng þe prikkes[2] of þe love
of God, and went to Rome at þe laste wiþ oon of his scole
feres.[3] No gref myȝte departe hem [tweyne],[4] no þing hem
lette þat þey nolde every day sey[5] þe sawter:[6] it sprang in his
wit[7] as it com forþ afterward. For he com into Burgoyne, and
in[8] Molys[9] [in][10] þe grete newe abbay he þrew away þe heyre.[11]
Þere he took liȝtly þe poyntes of þe rule[12] þat he hadde i-seie
toforehonde. And whanne he sigh oþere put forþ to byholde[13]
and i-kepte, þat he hadde nevere i-seie noþer i-herd in seynt Benet
his rule, he enquered þe skile and þe resoun þerof soburliche,
as a monk schulde, and seide, "Þe hyest Worchere[14] made al
"þing by resoun and governeþ al þing by resoun þat he made
"[by resoun].[15] By resoun þe elementes haveþ here beynge,
"and þe sterres also moveþ[16] by resoun, and holdeþ[17] here cours
"by resoun also, and so schulde oure kynde stonde by resoun,
"and falleþ ofte from[18] resoun by sleuþe and unkonnynge, and
"is i-cleped aȝen by lawe of[19] resoun. And also by seint
"Benet his rule,[20] in þe whiche rule is somwhat conteyned of

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where he was instructe in the artes liberalle. Whiche movede MS. Harl.
thro the swetenesse of scripture to moore devocion, takynge 2261.
with hym his condisciple with whom he usede to say the sawter
dayly, wente to Rome, and returnede thens entrede into a newe
monastery Molysyne, where he perceyvynge certeyne thynges
commaundede þer to be observede, whiche thynges he herde not f. 348 a.
afore, neiþer see in the rule of seynte Benedicte, he made
reasons and inquisicions þerof mekely and religiously, seyenge:
"God made alle thynges by reason, and governethe thynges
"made by reason; the sterres be movede by reason; and so
"oure naturalle lyfe excedynge from reason by slawthe and
"ignoraunce awe to be reducede by lawes and reasons.
"Wherefore thauȝhe there be somme thynges in the rule of
"seynte Benedicte, the intellect of whom the dullenesse of my

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[1] *sciences*, β.
[2] *vyng the prychkes*, γ.
[3] *veres*, γ.
[4] From β., γ., and Cx.
[5] *sigge*, β.
[6] *sygge þe sauter*, γ.
[7] *witte*, β.; *wyt*, γ.
[8] *into*, Cx.
[9] *Molis in þe*, γ.
[10] From β. and Cx.
[11] *heer*, α. and β.; *here*, Cx.
[12] *reul*, γ., et infra.
[13] *be y-holde*, α.; *be holden*, β.; *be holden*, Cx.
[14] *Worchere*, β.; *Worcher*, γ.; *higher Worcher*, Cx.
[15] From β.
[16] *meoveþ*, β.
[17] *habbeþ*, γ.; *kepyn*, Cx.
[18] *of the*, Cx.
[19] *to*, α., β., and Cx.
[20] *reule*, γ.

" nem revocaret.[1] In qua regula licet quædam con-
" tineantur quorum rationem penetrare non valeo,
" auctoritati tamen adquiescendum puto ; ratio namque
" et auctoritas divinorum scriptorum, quamvis disso-
" nare· videantur, unum idemque[2] sunt. Cum ergo
" Deus nihil præter rationem facit aut reficit, quo-
" modo credam sanctos patres Dei sequaces aliquid
" præter rationem statuere, tamquam soli auctoritati
" debeamus fidem, et non rationemur? Igitur eorum
" quæ procuditis aut rationem afferte aut auctoritatem.
" Et ex regula beati Benedicti quæ rationem et auc-
" toritatem[3] subnixa est date exempla. Quod si non
" potestis, frustra profitemini illius prærogativam cujus
" contemnitis sequi doctrinam." Hujus sententia ab uno in alium transit, multos movit[4] ne forte in vacuum currerent aut in vanum[5] cucurrissent. Decernitur ergo solam medullam regulæ resecatis[6] superfluis[7] sectandam fore ; agit[8] abbas sedulo[9] ut omnes assen-

[1] *ad . . . revocaret*] om. B.
[2] *idem*, B.
[3] *ex ratione et auctoritate*, A.
[4] *movis*, B.
[5] *vacuum*, A.
[6] *recitatis*, A.
[7] *superfluis*] om. B.
[8] *egit*, B.
[9] *sodule*, B.

" þe whiche I am nouȝt of power to conceyve þe resoun. But TREVISA.
" ȝit I holde [þat][1] it be[2] resoun to assente to auctorite, for þe
" auctoritees of holy Scripture beeþ al oon, þey it semed[3]
" somtyme þat þey discordeþ, and God dooþ no þing wiþoute
" resoun, how schal I þan trowe þat holy fadir, þat folwede[4]
" Crist, ordeynede ouȝt wiþ oute resoun; and also by seint
" Benet his rule,[5] as þey[6] we schulde ȝeve fey to al oon
" auctorite, and nouȝt to resoun. Þerfore[7] ȝe[8] myssen[9] of þat ȝe
" dooþ schewe þ som auctorite oþer resoun, and schewe þ en-
" saumple of seint Benet his rule[10] þat ys grounded and stondeþ
" oppon reson and auctoryte.[11] ȝif þe mowe nouȝt, it is an[12]
" idel þat þe[13] makeþ professioun þat it is so noble, and despiseþ
" to folwe þe lore þerof." [Þe sentens of][14] þis speche passeþ
from oon to oþer, and mevede meny oon leste þey hadde
i-ronne in veyn [other shold renne in veyn];[15] þanne it was
ordeyned[16] þat þe superfluyte of þe rule schulde be i-take
away, and onliche þe marouȝ[17] schulde be i-holde. Þe abbot
made hym besy to make al assent, but it is hard to worche[18]

" mynde may not comprehende, y suppose hit be beste to ȝiffe MS. HARL.
" credence to auctorite; for sithe that God made not eny 2261.
" thynge with owte reason, then how scholde y beleve holy
" seyntes and the foloers of God to ordeyne eny thynge with
" owte reason. Wherefore brynge auctorite or reason for those
" thynges that ye reherse, and ȝiffe exemples of the rule of
" seynte Benedict, and if ye do not ye professe in veyne the
" prerogatyf of hym the doctryne of whom ye despise to folowe."
This sentence was open anoon amonge the breþer, and movede
mony to avoide leste thei schulde labore in veyne; wherefore
a decrete was made that the substantiall partes of that rule
scholde be kepede, and oþer thynges as superfluous to be
refusede. The abbot movede that alle men scholde conde-
scende, but hit was harde to take awey the sedes from þeire

[1] From β. and γ.
[2] *be*, from α., β., and Cx.; *by*, MS.
[3] *seme*, α.
[4] *vader þat volwede*, γ.
[5] *and . . . rule*] om. Cx.
[6] *þouȝ*, β.; *though*, Cx.
[7] *þerfore . . . of*] þanne of, β.
[8] *þe . . . myssen*] om. γ.
[9] *þerfore ȝe myssen*] Than, Cx.
[10] *as þey . . . rule*] bis in MS.
[11] From γ.
[12] *an*] al, Cx.
[13] *ȝe*, α.
[14] From β.
[15] From Cx.; *oþer scholde in veyn*, γ.
[16] *demed*, β. and Cx.
[17] *marȝ*, γ.; *marouh*, Cx.
[18] *wreche*, Cx.

tiant. Sed difficile est a mentibus avelli quod ab antiquo inseritur; soli octodecim monachi cum abbate[1] Hardyngo monasterium illud dimittunt, pronuntiantes regulæ puritatem non posse servari[2] in loco ubi opum congeries, ciborum indigeries, reluctantem animum suffocarent. Igitur Cistercium[3] adeunt, locum prius saltuosum, nunc monasterium famosum, quod quidem ope archiepiscopi Vienniensis et postmodum papæ adjutorio multum promotum est.[4] *Ranulphus.*[5] Post hoc, anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo tricesimo quinto, ordo ille per quendam Walterum Espet in Angliam adductus,[6] constructo monasterio Cisterciensis ordinis apud Ryvallem. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.*[7] Ista sunt quæ in eorum collegio asperiora videntur, quod videlicet nihil pelliceum aut lineum aut laneum subtile quale est staminum vestiunt, femoralia nisi in via non ferunt; duas tunicas cum cucullis habentes hieme non augent, sed æstate possunt minuere;[8] vestiti et cincti

Ordo Cisterciensis.

[1] *et*, B.
[2] *non posse servari*] om. B.
[3] *Cestrensium*, A.
[4] *est*] om. B.
[5] *Ranulphus*] om. A.
[6] *est*, B.
[7] Ut supra, p. 127.
[8] *si volunt*, A.B.

uppon[1] þoughtes[2] þat is i-roted in of longe tyme. Onliche ei3tene monkes and abbot Hardyng lefte þat abbay, and seide þat þe clennesse of þe rule my3t nou3t be holde in place þere þat þe[3] riches[4] was gadred, and þere plente of mete and drynke stuffeþ þe soule and þe witt þat schulde wiþstonde. Þanne þey wente to Circetre,[5] a place þat was toforehonde ful[6] of wode and of laundes, but now þere is a famous abbay, [þe whiche abbay is][7] hugeliche[8] avaunced by help of þe bisshop of[9] Vien, and afterward by help of þe pope. [℟.][10] Þerafter, þe 3ere of oure Lord a þowsand an hondred and þritty and fyve, oon Walter Espek[11] brou3t þat ordre of white monkes into Engelond, and made at Ryval[12] an abbay of þe ordre of Cisterciens, þat is þe ordre of white monkes. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 4°. Þese ben þe observaunces þat semeþ[13] hard in þat ordour :[14] þei schal were no manere furres,[15] ne lynnen cloþ, ne wollen þat is smal and softe as stamyn, neiþer breches, but in þe wey ; oon of hem schal have on[16] hym two curtell[17] and a covel,[18] and no more þou3 it be wynter, but 3if þey wil[19] TREVISA.

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myndes whiche hade bene sawen þer of olde tyme. Wherefore xviij. monkes oonly wente with Steven aforeseide, and lefte that monastery, confessynge due religion not to be observede þer where habundaunce of rychesse and delices of meites oppresse the sawle. Wherefore this Stephanus Hardingus bou3te a place callede Cistercium, fulle of hilles, now a famous monastery, whiche place was encreasede moche by the helpe of the archebischop Vienense, and by helpe of the pope. ℟. After that, in the yere of oure Lorde God m°. c. xxxv., that ordre was brou3hte into Ynglonde by a man callede Walterus Espec, a monastery of that ordre made at Rivallis. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.* This is the observaunce of theire religion : thei schalle were noo thynge of skynnes, as pilches, neiþer of lyne ne stamyn, neiþer bere or were breches, but in travayle ; usynge ij. cootes with ij. towles in alle the yere, but thei may were oon in somer, but he schalle not were in eny wise moo then MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *wreche op out*, γ.
[2] *wreche up of þou3tes*, β. ; *thoughtes*, Cx. ; *3oughtes*, MS.
[3] *þat þe*] om. β. and Cx.
[4] *richesses*, β.
[5] *Cisterci*, β. and γ. ; *Cisterus*, Cx.
[6] *vol*, γ.
[7] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[8] *hogelyche*, γ.
[9] *of*] om. γ.
[10] From α., β., and Cx.
[11] *Espec*, γ.
[12] *Ryvalle*, β.
[13] *semyn*, Cx.
[14] *ordre*, β.
[15] *furrours*, β. ; *forrours*, γ.
[16] *of*, α.
[17] *kirtelles*, α. ; *curtles*, β. ; *twy cortels*, γ. ; *curtels*, Cx.
[18] *coule*, Cx.
[19] *wolleþ*, β. and γ.

dormiunt. Nunquam post matutinas ad lectum redeunt, sed ita horam temperant ut ante laudes aurora lucescat; statim post laudes[1] primam cantant, post quam ad opera exeunt; quod faciendum est de die sine lucerna consummant. Nullus ab horis aut[2] completorio abest nisi infirmus; celerarius et hostilarius[3] post completorium exeunt, et cum silentio hospitibus serviunt. Abbas nihil sibi nisi quod aliis licere permittit, ubique cum grege præsens, nisi solum in mensa propter hospites, sed et tunc tantum duo fercula ministrantur; sanguinem[4] et carnem nullus nisi infirmus percipit. Ab idibus Septembris usque ad Pascha tantum semel in die comedunt exceptis diebus Dominicis. Nunquam claustra sua nisi causa[5] operis manualis exeunt, nec[6] ullicubi nisi abbati vel priori colloquentes; horis canonicis nulla[7] appendicia adiciunt præter vigilias pro defunctis; Am-

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[1] *aurora . . . laudes*] om. B.
[2] *et*, A.
[3] *hostiarius*, A.
[4] *sanguinea*, B.
[5] *causa*] om. B.
[6] *nec*] om. B.
[7] *nulla*] om. B.

Þey mowe have lasse[1] in þe somer tyme.[2] Þey slepeþ i-cloþed and i-gerd,[3] and after matyns þey goo nevere to bedde aȝen. Þey disposeþ so þe houre[4] and tyme, þat tofore laudes [þe day lyȝt bygynneþ to springe. Anon after laudes][5] þey singeþ prime. After þat þey gooþ to þe hondwerk þat þey doon by day, þey makeþ an ende þerof wiþoute candel liȝt; noon of hem schal be from houres[6] noþer from complyn,[7] [but ȝif he be sike.[8] After commpelyn][5] þe selerer [and the hosteler][9] goþ stilliche out and serveþ þe gestes,[10] þe abbot dooþ nouȝt hym self, but suche[11] as he grauteþ leve[12] to oþere monkes. He is overal present wiþ his flok,[13] but onliche at mete, and þat by cause of gestes, and[14] þan he is served [but][15] onliche wiþ two messe.[16] Noon of hem eteþ blood, noþer flesche, but [yf][17] he be sike. From þe þrittenþe[18] day of Decembre[19] to þe Estertide day[20] þey eten[21] but ones in[22] þe day, outake þe Sonday, þey goon nevere out of cloystre but by cause of handwerk. Þey speken[23] in no place but to þe priour oþer to þe abbot. Þey putteþ[24] non giblettes[25] to þe houres[6] of Goddes service, outake Placebo and Dirige for þe dede.[26] Þey usen[27]

Trevisa.

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ij.cootes. Also thei slepe in theire clothes, not goynge to bedde after matyns; whiche moderate the servyce that the day begynnethe to be liȝhte afore the lawdes, syngynge prime anoon after the lawdes, and after that thei goo to theire laboures. Noo man schalle absente hym from servyce, neiþer go furthe after complyn, but the infirmarer, celerer, and hostiler, whiche schalle serve the gestes with silence. Noo man of þeim eitethe flesche, but if he be seke. And thei have but oon refeccion in the day from the idus of September untylle Ester, Sonnedayes excepte; not goynge furthe of the claustre but to laboure; not usynge to speke but to the abbotte or prior, usenge the

MS. Harl. 2216. f. 348 b.

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[1] *las*, γ.
[2] *in somme maner tyme*, Cx.
[3] *y-gurde*, β.; *gyrde*, Cx.
[4] *oure*, γ.
[5] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[6] *oures*, γ.
[7] *complyn*, β.; *comply*, γ., bis.
[8] *seke*, β.
[9] From β., γ., and Cx.; *hostiler*, γ.
[10] *ghestes*, Cx., et infra.
[11] *nygh*, Cx.
[12] *leve*] om. β. and Cx.
[13] *vlok*, γ.
[14] *but*, ins. α.; *bote*, γ.
[15] From β.
[16] *messes*, Cx.
[17] From Cx.
[18] *þrittebe*, α.
[19] *September*, Cx.
[20] *day*] om. α., β., and Cx.
[21] *etiþ*, β.
[22] *on*, α.; om. β.
[23] *spekith*, β.
[24] *potteþ no giblotes*, γ.
[25] *gybletes*, Cx.
[26] *deede*, β.
[27] *usiþ*, β.

brosianum officium excercent; hospitum et infirmorum curam habent. Ista abbas ille Molumensis primo impetu acriter fecit, et alios agere compulit; sed procedente tempore pœnituit homo prius delicate nutritus; cujus voluntatem aliqui monachorum cognoscentes procurant litteras [1] provocatorias [2] quibus abbas ille ad monasterium pristinum reducitur. Sequebanturque [3] eum omnes præter octo, qui Albericum abbatem sibi constituunt, et Hardingum priorem. Sed iste Stephanus Hardyngus ibidem postmodum abbas effectus xv. monasteria erexit et vii. incepit. In tantum igitur diebus illis religio illa excrevit ut illi de Cistercio forent omnium monachorum exercitium, studiosorum [4] speculum, desidium [5] œstrum.[6]

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[1] *Papæ*, A.B.
[2] *revocatorias*, A.
[3] *-que*] om. B.
[4] *studiorum*, A.
[5] *desidum*, A.
[6] *vestrum*, B.

Ambrose his service,[1] and haven[2] charge of gestes[3] and [of][4] sike men. First þis abbot of Molys[5] hilde streyȝtliche þese ordenaunces, and compellede oþere to holde hem also. But in tyme þat comeþ[6] afterward þe man þouȝte[7] þat he hadde be[8] likyngly[9] i-norsched, and some of the monkes knew wel his lust and likyng, and procurede[10] lettres of wiþclepinge[11] of þe pope, by þe whiche lettres þis abbot was brouȝt aȝen to his first abbay, and alle þe monkes wiþ hym wente outake eyȝte, and made Alberik here[12] abbot, and Harding here priour; but þere after þis Hardynge Stevene[13] was abbot þere, and bulde þere[14] sixe[15] abbayes and bygan þe sevenþe.[16] Þat ordre encresede so þat tyme þat þe monkes of Cisterciens[17] were spied[18] of alle monkes [þe][4] myrour[19] of hem þat were goodliche besy, and reproof[20] and chastisynge[21] of slewþe. Here abit is[22] i-cleped oestrum of þe slowe; oestrum hatte tawny[23] a[24] Frensche.[25] TREVISA.

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office of seynte Ambrose, and havynge grete charge of hospitalite. Thabbot Molimense began to kepe this observaunce streytely in the begynnynge, and causede oþer men to do so also, but he repente þer of soone after. For diverse of those monkes, knowynge the wille of thabbot, purchasede letters revocatory of the pope; and so alle monkes, viij. excepte, returnede to theire monastery, where thei were afore. Neverthelesse, those viij. monkes made Albericus abbot, and Hardingus prior, whiche Stephanus Hardyngus made abbot afterwarde, edifiede xv. monasterys, and began to edify an other. That religion encreasede so moche in that tyme that the monkes of the ordre Cisterciense were as a lawnterne to alle oþer monkes. MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Ambroses office*, α.; *Ambros hys offys*, γ.
[2] *haveþ*, β.
[3] *habbeþ charche of gystes*, γ.
[4] From β.
[5] *Molyce*, Cx.
[6] *come*, α.; *com*, β. and γ.
[7] *aþoȝte*, γ.
[8] *ben*, α.
[9] *lykynglyche*, γ.
[10] *procrede*, α.
[11] *revokyng*, Cx.
[12] *here*, from α.; *her*, β. and Cx., his MS.
[13] *Steven Hardyng*, β. and Cx.; *Stevyn*, γ.
[14] *þere*] om. Cx.
[15] *þere sixe*] sixtene, α., β., and Cx.
[16] *sevententh*, Cx.
[17] *Cisterci*, β.; *Cistercy*, γ.
[18] *aspied*, β.; *spyde*, γ.; *espyed*, Cx.
[19] *merour*, γ.
[20] *repref*, β.; *repreve*, γ.
[21] *repreef and chastyng*, Cx.
[22] *abit is*] þei beþ, β.; they be, Cx.
[23] *tanu*, α., β., and Cx.
[24] *a*] in, Cx.
[25] *taun a Freyns*, γ.

Cap. XI.

[*De rebus pontificalibus. Mors Willelmi secundi.*]

Gratiæ MXCVIII. Willelmi Rufi XII.

Paschalis secundus post Urbanum sedit papa annis octodecim mensibus quinque. Qui xiii. episcopatus[1] sui anno una cum cardinalibus incarceratus est per imperatorem Henricum quartum Romam invadentem; [2]nec liberari potuit donec jurasset Henrico fidelitatem, permittendo ei investituras prælatorum cum anulo et baculo, et quod nunquam excommunicaret imperatorem, super quibus[3] privilegium ei scripsit.[2] Sed anno sequenti celebrato Romæ concilio, papa damnavit dictum privilegium in hunc modum: "Amplector omnem sacram " scripturam, vetus et novum testamentum, legem et " prophetas, evangelia et canones apostolorum, omnia " concilia universalia et decreta Romanorum pontificum.

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[1] *pontificatus*, C.D.

[2] *sed antequam liberari potuit juravit imperatori fidelitatem, et quod liceret imperatori suisque successoribus faeere investituras prælatorum cum annulo et baculo, et quod, sic investitus impune posset consecrari, alioquin a nemine consecraretur; juravit etiam quod nunquam excommunicaret imperatorem, sed eum et regnum ejus juvaret. Super quibus omnibus privilegium scripsit et imperatori dedit*, C.D.

[3] *quibus*] om. A.

Capitulum undecimum.

TREVISA.

AFFTER Urban, þe secounde Paschal [1] was pope eyȝtene ȝere and fyve monþes; þritty ȝere [2] he was i-prisoned, and his cardynalles also, by þe fourþe [3] Henry þe emperour, þat assaillede Rome. And þe pope myȝte nouȝt [4] be delyvered, or [5] he hadde i-swore feawte to Henry þe emperour [6] [and byhight hym the investiture of prelates with the cros and with the ryng, and also that he sholde never curse themperour]; [7] and here of he wroot hym a privelege [in þis maner]. [8] [But þe next ȝere after þe pope made a counsail at Rome, and dampned þe same privelege] [9] in þis manere: "I beclippe [10] and fonge al holy writt, þe "elde [11] testament and þe newe, lawe and þe prophetes, þe gos- "pelles, and þe [holy] [12] pistles of þe apostles, [13] al þe general "counsailles and decrees of bisshoppes of Rome; what þey hilde [14]

Capitulum undecimum.

MS. HARL. 2261.

PASCHALIS the secunde succedid pope Urban xviij. yere, whiche was imprisonede, and his cardinalles also, in the xiij. yere off his office by the emperoure Henre the iiij^the^, and myȝhte not be delyverede untille that he hade promisede fidelite to themperour, suffrenge hym to have the investitures of prelates with a rynge and a staffe, promysynge also that he scholde not excommunicate themperoure, of whiche thynges the pope did wryte to hym a privelege. But in the yere folowynge, a cownsaile hade at Rome, the pope dampnede the seide privilege in this maner: "I covette and holde alle holy scripture, the olde "and newe testament, lawes, prophetes, gospelles, canons of "apostles, alle cownsailes universalle, the decretts of bischopps "of Rome, and that thei did holde, and that thei condempnede

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[1] *Paschalis*, β.; *Pascalis*, γ. and Cx.

[2] *In his þrittenþe ȝere*, β.

[3] *ferþe*, β.

[4] *nouȝt*] om. α.

[5] *er*, β. and Cx.; *ar*, γ.

[6] *þat . . . emperour*] bis in MS.

[7] From Cx.; *and byhote hym þe investiture of prelates wiþ þe cros and wiþ þe ryng. And also þat he schuld never curse þemperour*, β.; *and byhote hym þe investiture of prelates wyþ þe croos and wyþ þe ryng, and also þat he scholde nevere corse þe emperour*, γ.

[8] From β.

[9] From α. (not Cx.).

[10] *embrace*, Cx.

[11] *olde*, β. and γ.

[12] From β., γ., and Cx.

[13] *of þe apostles*] om. Cx.

[14] *helde*, Cx.; *hulde*, γ.

" Quod tenuerunt teneo, quod damnaverunt damno, potis-
" sime illud privilegium quod potius vocandum est pra-
" vilegium,[1] nuper Henrico[2] concessum damnamus in
" æternum." *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.*[3]
Mortuo Willelmo Dunelmensi episcopo, rex contulit epi-
scopatum Waltero,[4] senioris Willelmi quondam capel-
lano,[5] mediantibus mille libris. Hic reos ad ecclesiam
Sancti Cuthberti fugientes abstraxit, monachos loci
etiam invitos secum in aula sua prandere fecit, cibos
vetitos publice[6] apposuit, mulieres vultu et veste pro-
caces, spersis post tergum crinibus, ministrare consti-
tuit;[7] ubi vix quisquam irreprehensus abscessit, quin si
oculos averteret hypocrita, si jocis alluderet irreverens[8]
diceretur. Hic tamen gloriam nonnullam promeruit[9] quod
ipso procurante corpus Cuthberti e mausoleo levatum

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[1] *pⁱvilīū*, B.

[2] *hæretico*, A.

[3] C.D. omit reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 277.

[4] *Ranulpho*, C.D., which is also the name given by Willelmus.

[5] *qui regis hujus procurator utique effectus, signum ederetur, tributum exegit duplum, expilator diuum, oppressor pauperum, confiscator hæreditatum, perpium rex cachinnans hunc solum pronunciavi hominem esse qui ingenium agitare sciret, de nullius odio curaret, dummodo dominum suum complacaret. Isto auctore sacri honores vendebantur, sed et ipse inter ceteros episcopatum Dunelmensem millia libris emit. Hic etiam aliquando reos*, C.D. Vide retro.

[6] *publice*] om. B.

[7] *coram eis*, C.D.

[8] *irruens*, B.

[9] *eo*, B.

" I holde, and what þey dampne [1] I dampne also ; and, nameliche, TREVISA.
" þat privelege þat is more verrayliche and priveleged,[2] þat is, ——
" an evel lawe þat was somtyme granted to Henry, we dampne [3]
" it with outen ende." *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Whanne William bisshop of Durham was dede, þe kyng ȝaf þe bisshopriche to oon Walter, þat hadde i-be þat oþer [4] William his preost [5] and his chapeleyn ;[6] þe kyng ȝaf hym þe bisshopriche for a þowsand pounde. Evel doers þat fleyȝ to seint Cuthberdes chirche, þis drowȝ hem out [7] of þe chirche, and made monkes sitte wiþ hym specheles [8] in his halle at mete, and served hem wiþ mete þat was forboden,[9] and ordeyned wommen to serven hem wiþ heer i-sprad behynde, þat semede wowynge gigelottes [10] in cloþing, face, and semblant ; þere unneþe scapede eny þat he was [11] undertake. For ȝif he torned awey his face [12] he was i-cleped an ipocrite ; and [ȝif] [13] he were assentynge and accordynge wiþ þe merþe, þan he was i-cleped a nyce [14] man and a fool.[15] But þis is worþy to be greetliche i-preysed, for by his procurynge seint [16] Cuthbert his body was doo [17] out [18] of þe grave, and i-cloþed in newe cloþes,[19]

" y condempne and specially y dampne for ever, that privilege MS. HARL.
" grawntede late to themperoure, whiche may be called rather 2261.
" a pravilege then a privilege." *Willelmus de Pontificibus,* ——
tertio libro. William bischop of Dirhem dedde, the kynge ȝafe that seete to oon Walter, chapeleyne somme tyme to his fader, f. 349 a.
a m^{l} l$\bar{\imath}$ receyvide afore ; whiche compellede the monkes to eite in his halle, settynge afore theyme, olde meytes, and causynge feire women to ministre to theyme. In so moche that fewe did aryse from the table withowte a mocke ; for and if a monke avertede his siȝhte from theym, he was callede an ypocrite, and if eny thynge myȝhte be perceyvede of myrthe in his countenaunce he was callede dissolute. Neverthelesse this bischop hade grete lawde in that he causede the body of seynt Cuthbert to be taken from the grave, and to be onornede with

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[1] *dampneþ*, β. ; *dampnede*, γ.
[2] *a privilege* α. ; *a pravilege*, β. ; *a pravylege*, γ. ; *a pryvelege*, Cx.
[3] *dampneþ*, β. and γ.
[4] *elder*, β. ; *the elder*, Cx.
[5] *prust*, γ.
[6] *chapelen*, γ.
[7] *out*] om. α
[8] *specially*, Cx.
[9] *vorbode*, γ.
[10] *giglotes*, β. ; *gyglotes*, γ.
[11] *nas*, β.
[12] *eiȝe*, β.
[13] From β.
[14] *nyse*, β.
[15] *fowl*, γ.
[16] *seyn*, γ.
[17] *take*, Cx.
[18] *take up*, β.
[19] *clothynge*, Cx.

sit, recentibus vestibus circumdatum, caputque regis Oswaldi inter brachia ejus [1] est repertum.[2] Osmundus episcopus Sarisburiensis obiit. Hoc quoque anno fluctus marinus per Thamisiam ascendens villam [3] submersit.[4]

Gratiæ MC. Willelmi Rufi XIII.

Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.[5] Diabolus [6] visibiliter loquebatur cum hominibus de regis malitia et morte festina. De quo rex præmunitus [7] omnia parvipendit. Hoc etiam anno Hugo Cluniacensis abbas [8] vidit per somnium regem Willelmum coram Deo adductum et damnatum, quod et Hugo retulit Anselmo exulanti. Vidit etiam rex ipse per somnum se phlebotomi ictu sanguinem emittere qui solem obnubilavit; unde et sæpius inclamitavit, "Sancta Maria, sancta Maria;" somno [9] excussus lumen afferri et cubicularios [10] non discedere jussit. Igitur tertio nonas Augusti, anno gratiæ millesimo centesimo, regni sui tertio decimo, ætatis suæ quadragesimo quarto, in Nova Foresta sagittatus a Waltero Tyrel sibi familiari, dum cervum

Visio de Willelmo.

De miserrima morte Willelmi regis.

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[1] *Cuthberti*, C.D.

[2] *completum, ossa quoque venerabilis Bedæ et Colwilfi regis sub eo reperta sunt. Sanctus Osmundus episcopus Saresburiensis obiit. Henricus, lib. v.*, C.D.

[3] *villas*, A.

[4] C.D. add: "Rex Willelmus "tertio nonis Augusti in nova fo- "resta juxta Sarum a Waltero "Tirel sagittarius dum venationi in- "dulgeret occubuit, et Wyntoniæ "sepelitur. In cujus diebus multa "signa apparuerunt. Nam mare "littus suum egrediebatur, fons "quidam in Barokschire tribus "ebdomadis sangine bullivit. In "nemoribus diabolus visibiliter "hominibus apparuit, multa lo- "quens de rege qui prælaturas "vacantes in manu sua tenuit. "Nam eo die quo obiit archiepi- "scopatum Cantuariensis, episco- "patus Wyntoniæ et Saresburiensis, "ac undecim abbatias in manu "sua habuit aut ad firmam tra- "didit, hæres enim omnium esse "cupiebat; sed quamvis operibus "levis, verbis tamen stabilis fuerat, "adeo ut si cui bonum vel malum "promitteret, securus este posset. "At cum esset pecuniæ cupidis- "simus, quiddam tamen semel "gessit memoriæ dignum," &c.

[5] A.B. place the reference before the next sentence. Script. post Bedam, p. 125.

[6] *Diabolus . . . septimo* (p. 414)] om. C.D.

[7] *præmunitus*, from A.B.; *primitus*, MS.

[8] *abbas*] om. B.

[9] *somnus*, A.

[10] *suos*, B.

and kyng Oswald his heed was i-founde by twene his armes. Osmunde bisshop of Salisbury is dede; also þis ȝere þe see flood sprang up [by][1] Tempse[2] and drenshede[3] meny townes; þe devel was seyn, and spak wiþ [many][4] men of þe kynges paleys,[5] and of his hasty deeþ. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 4°. Þe kyng was warned þerof, and sette litel þerby. Also þis ȝere How[6] þe abbot of Cluny sigh in his swevene kyng William i-brouȝt to fore God Almyȝty and i-dampned; How þe abbot tolde þat [to][1] Anselme, þat was þo[7] exciled; also þis mette þat he was i-late blood [and bledde blode][8] þat dymmede þe sonne; þerfore he cride ofte, "Seynt Marie, [seynt Mary,"][9] and wook of his sleep, and heet[10] brynge liȝt, and comaunded þe chamberleyns þat þey schulde abide wiþ hym.[11] Þan þe þridde day of August, þe ȝere of oure[12] Lord xi. hondred, of[13] his kyngdom þrittene,[13] of his age foure and fifty, in þe newe forest, he was i-schote[14] of oon Walter Tirel þat was his owne

TREVISA.

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fresche clothes and newe, and the hedde of seynte Oswald was founde betwene his armes. Osmonde bischop of Salisbrey diede in this tyme; also the water of the see arysynge thro Thamys in this yere drownede mony townes. The develle apperede visibly and expressede to men of the sodeyne dethe of kynge William. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.* Kynge William monyschede þerof sette not thereby. In whiche yere Hewe abbot Cluniacense see in a dreame kynge William brouȝhte afore God and condempnede, whiche thynge he schewede to Anselme. Also that kynge dreamed that he was lete bloode, and þat the bloode of hym obscurede and hidde the sonne, insomoche that he cryede, "Seynte Marye, seinte Mary!" and causede his chamberleynes to brynge lyȝhte, and not suffrenge theyme to departe aftirwarde from hym. And after that, the thrydde nones of Auguste, and in the yere of oure Lorde a M[l] and a c., the xiij. yere of his reigne, and the xliiij[the] of his age, William Rufus was woundede soore by Walterus Tyrrelle,

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] From β. and Cx.
[2] *Temyse*, α.; *Temse*, β.
[3] *dreynt*, β.; *drowned*, Cx.
[4] From Cx.
[5] *malys*, β.; *malyce*, Cx.
[6] *Hugus*, β., et infra; *Hugh*, Cx., et infra.
[7] *þo*] so, Cx.
[8] From Cx.; *and bled blode*, β.; *and bledde blod*, γ.
[9] From α., β., and Cx.
[10] *hyte*, γ.
[11] *þat þe chamberleynes schulde wiþ hym abyde*, α., β. and Cx.
[12] *ur*, γ.
[13] *of*] and, Cx., bis.
[14] *yscote*, γ.

intenderet, occubuit paucis plorantibus. Evasit Walterus[1] nemine insequente; sicque in rheda caballaria rex impositus sensim sanguinem distillans usque[2] Wyntoniam deducitur.[3] Infra turrim episcopatus[4] sepelitur, quæ et[5] infra annum cecidit. Vir iste ingentia præsumens et ingentiora proponens si fatum vitæ suppetisset; denique ante proximum diem mortis suæ interrogatus ubi festum Natalis tenere vellet, respondit Pictavis, eo quod comes loci illius Jerusalem ire gestiens ei[6] terram suam pro pecunia esset invadiaturus. Nullum concilium episcoporum celebrari permisit, honores ecclesiasticos passim[7] vendidit; nam et[8] die obitus sui tres episcopatus, scilicet Cantuariensis, Wyntoniensis, Salisburiensis, et xii. monasteria in manu sua tenuit aut ad firmam tradidit. Hæres enim omnium esse cupiebat; propter discidium quod tunc in Romana ecclesia erat inter Urbanum papam et Wybertum[9] antipapam,

Tres episcopatus et xii. monasteria tenuit rex in manu sua.

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[1] *occisor*, B.
[2] *ad*, B.
[3] *ducitur*, B.
[4] *episcopatus*, from A.B.; *spatiatus*, MS.
[5] *et*] om. B.
[6] *eidem*, B.
[7] *passim*] from A.; om. B.
[8] *in*, A.
[9] *Wilbertum*, B.

meynel,[1] þat wolde schete[2] to an hert; and so þe kyng deide, and fewe[3] men wepte[4] for sorwe. Walter Tirel scapede, and no man he[5] pursewed; and so þe kyng was i-leide on[6] an horsbere and i-lad to Wynchestre, and his blood dropped[7] doun in þe way as he was i-ladde; and he was i-buried wiþ ynne þe tour [of þe bisshopriche. Þat tour][8] [9] fil[10] doun wiþ ynne a ȝere after. [Þis man took uppon[11] hym greet dedes, and caste to do wel gretter ȝif þe destenye of his lyf were y-schapede[12] to make þerof [a][13] good ende. To fore þe next day of his deþ me axed[14] hym where he wolde holde his mydwynter tide; "At Payters,"[15] quod he. For þe eorle of þat place arayed hym forto wende to Ierusalem, and wolde borwe[16] money of hym, and legge[17] hym[18] his lond to wedde. He wolde suffre no counseil of bisshops to be y-made. He solde dignitees of holy cherche in dyverse manere wyse, and helde[19] som in his owne lond.[20] For in[21] þe day of his deþ he helde[19] þre bisshopriches in his hond,[22] Caunterbury, Wynchestre, and Salisbury, and twelve abbayes also, and som [he][23] sette[24] to ferme also. He desirede to be ȝit[25] hyȝer.][8] He warnede þe tribute to Rome for strif þat was in þe chirche of Rome by- TREVISA.

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schotynge at a herte and sleenge þe kynge, and whiche man avoidede with owte eny persecucion. And so the kynge brouȝhte in a charyette to Wynchestre was beryede with in the bischoppes towre, whiche did falle in the yere folowynge. This kynge wolde not suffre eny cownsaile of bischoppes to be kepede in his realme, sellynge the honoures of the churche; whiche hade thre seetes of bischoppes in his hondes, or putte to ferme by hym, in the day of his dethe, as Cawnterbery, Wynchestre, and Salisbery, and xij. monasterys, for he thouȝhte to be the heire of alle men. Which denyede the tribute to Rome for cause þer was that tyme contencion betwene Urban pope MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *meyneal*, β. and Cx.
[2] *have schott*, β.; *have shotte*, Cx.
[3] *veaw*, γ.
[4] *weped*, α.; *wuep*, γ.
[5] *hym*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[6] *on*] in, β.
[7] *dropp*, α.
[8] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[9] *and it*, wrongly inserted here in MS.
[10] *vul*, γ.
[11] *oppon*, γ.
[12] *had be scaped*, Cx.
[13] From Cx,
[14] *axide*, β.
[15] *Peyters*, β., γ., and Cx.
[16] *borowe*, β.
[17] *laye*, Cx.
[18] *hym*] om. Cx.
[19] *heelde*, β., bis.; *huld*, γ.
[20] *honde*, Cx.
[21] *in*] on, Cx.
[22] *handes*, Cx.
[23] From β. and Cx.
[24] *lete*, Cx.
[25] *ȝit hyȝer*] evereche mannes heyr, β.; everyche man hys heir, γ.; every mannes heyre, Cx.

Romanum tributum denegabat. *Henricus, libro septimo.*[1] At quamvis operibus fuisset levis, in verbis tamen stabilis fuerat,[2] adeo ut si cui bonum vel malum promitteret, inde securus esse posset. Et cum esset pecuniæ avidissimus, quiddam tamen semel gessit memoria dignum. Defuncto nempe quodam abbate semel in Anglia, duo monachi collecta magna pecuniæ summa regem adeunt, ut abbatis officium alter alterum supplantando obtinerent. Cum quibus quidam tertius ea intentione perrexit ut abbatem constitutum humiliter domi reduceret. Cumque coram rege illi duo starent, et unus altero plura promitteret, rex a tertio monacho tunc tacente quid dare vellet inquisivit; at ille se nihil promittere aut dare velle respondit. "Accede," inquit "rex; tu solus dignus es tam sacrum onus subire." *Ranulphus.*[3] Reliqua vitam hujus regis Willelmi concernentia vide inferius in vita Anselmi capitulo quarto-decimo.[4]

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[1] Script. post Bedam, p. 378.
[2] *erat*, B.
[3] *Ranulphus*] om. A.
[4] *Ranulphus . . . decimo*] om. C.D.

twene pope Urban and Wyberd[1] þe antypope.[2] *Henricus, libro* 7°. And þouȝ he were liȝt of dedes, he was stabil and stedefast[3] of wordes; so [that][4] if he behiȝt eny man good oþer evel, he myȝte be wel[5] siker of þat he hadde byhote;[6] and þouȝ he were [most][7] coveitous of money, ȝif[8] he dede oon dede þat is worþy to be kepte in mynde.[9] For in a tyme an abbot was dede [in Englond],[4] and two[10] monkes gadrede[11] a grete some of money, and wente to þe kyng, eiþer to supplaunte[12] oþer to gete þe abbottes office; and þe þridde wente wiþ hem mekeliche[13] in þat entent, to bringe hym hoom mekeliche[14] þat schulde be abbot; þese tweyne stood byfore[15] þe kyng, and þat oon by het more þan þat oþer, and þe þridde stood stille, and spak nevere a word, and þe kyng askede of hym what he wolde ȝeve: "Noþing," quod he; "for I wil noþer ȝeve nor hote."[16] "Come nere," quoþ the kyng, "for "þou art worþy, and non oþer, to fonge so holy a charge."[17] Þe oþer dedes þat longeþ to kyng William his lyf, loke hem with ynne [in][18] Anselmes lyf, capitulo 14°. TREVISA.

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and Wibertus pope afore. *Henricus, libro septimo.* Thauȝhe this kynge was lyȝhte in his dedes, he was stable in his worde, insomoche that and if he hade promisede to a man goode or ylle, he scholde have be sure þerof. Neverthelesse, thauȝhe he was a covetous man, ȝitte he didde oon thynge in his lyfe worthy to be hade in remembraunce; for an abbot in Ynglonde dedde, ij. monkes gedrenge a grete summe of goodes wente to the kynge for to be made abbot, takynge with theyme an oþer to brynge home thabbot electe. The monkes stondynge afore the kynge and promysynge grete ȝiftes, the kynge callede the thrydde monke to hym, inquirynge of hym what goodes he wolde ȝiffe to be abbot; the monke seide that he wolde not ȝiffe oon þeny to be made abbot. Then the kynge seide, "Truly "thow arte worthy to take on the that holy charge;" and so that monke was made abbotte. MS. HARL. 2261. f. 349 b.

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[1] *Wibert*, β.
[2] *antepote*, α.
[3] *studefast*, γ.; *stydefast*, Cx.
[4] From Cx.
[5] *ful*, α., β., and Cx.
[6] *byhyght*, Cx.
[7] From β. and Cx.
[8] *ȝit*, α. and β.; *yet*, Cx.
[9] *munde*, γ.
[10] *twey*, β.; *twy*, γ.
[11] *gadderde*, γ.
[12] *subplaunte*, γ.
[13] *mekeliche*] om. α., β., γ., and Cx.
[14] *myklyche*, γ.
[15] *stode tofore*, β.
[16] *byhote*, α.; *bihote*, β.; *promysse*, Cx.
[17] *charche*, γ.
[18] From β. and γ.

Cap. XII.

[*Henricus primus rex Angliæ. Robertus dux Normanniæ.*]

Willelmus, libro v^to.[1]

Mortuo sine liberis rege Willelmo Rufo, qui concubinis jugiter usus fuerat, successit in regnum junior Henricus frater suus nonas Augusti, apud Wyntoniam electus, et[2] a Mauricio Londoniensi episcopo apud Westmonasterium consecratus, nam[3] tunc Anselmus aberat. Hic[4] tertio paterni[5] regni sui[6] anno in toro regio genitus, in liberalibus artibus suum populum[7] protrivit tirocinium, quod[8] aliquando a fratre suo Willelmo[9] læsum pater consolatus est in hunc modum: "Ne fleveris, "fili, nam et tu rex eris." Hic ergo ultimo paterni regni anno, ætatisque suæ xix., a patre suo factus est miles. Ivit cum patre[10] Normanniam, et cito post paterno funeri astitit, ut supradictum est, cæteris fratribus quo sors quemque tulerat dilapsis. Quapropter paterna benedictione maternaque[11] hæreditate thesaurisque subnixus fratrum supercilium parum exhorruit. Inclinatior tamen semper Roberto fratri suo fuit propter animi mansuetudinem. Econtra ille Robertus noxia semper facilitate delatoribus credulus fratrem vexabat. Insuper et tria millia marcarum in testamento paterno Henrico relicta Robertus in stipendiarios suos milites assumpsit.

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[1] B. omits reference. Script. post Bedam, p. 155.

[2] *apud . . . et*] om. C.D.

[3] *Qui mox ecclesiam liberam fecit, forestas tamen in manu sua tenuit leges Edwardi cum suis emendationibus observavit. Ranulphum*, &c., C.D.

[4] *Hic . . . curia sua* (p. 418)] om. C.D.

[5] *patris*, B.

[6] *sui*] om. A.

[7] *primum*, A.

[8] *quem*, A.

[9] *Willelmo*] om. B.

[10] *suo*, B.

[11] *-que*] om. B.

Capitulum duodecimum. TREVISA.

KYNG William þe Rede[1] usede lemmans alwey, and deide wiþ oute children; and his ȝong[2] broþer Henry was i-made[3] kyng after hym, and was i-chose at Wynchestre þe fifte day of August and i-crowned at Westmynstre of Morys bisshop of Londoun, for Anselm was nouȝt þere. Þis was i-gete in wedlok þe þridde ȝere of his fadir kyngdom. He spended[4] his first ȝowþe[5] in liberal artes and sciens;[6] his broþer William hadde i-greved him in[7] a tyme, and his fadir conforted hym in þis manere: "Sone, wepe[8] þou nouȝt, for þou schalt be a kyng." Þanne in þe laste ȝere of his fadir kyngdom, and in þe nyntene[9] ȝere of his age, he was i-made knyȝt of his [owne][10] fadir, and wente wiþ his fadir into Normandie, and was at his fadir[11] deienge[12] sone þerafter, as it is i-seide toforehonde; and his oþer breþeren were i-sent[13] everich in his side, as it happed hem at þat tyme; þerfore he hadde his fadres blessynge and his moder heritage and tresour, and dradde þe privete[14] of his breþeren ful[15] litel;[16] he bowede[17] hym alway to his broþer Robert for myldenesse of herte. But Robert greved[18] alwey, and trowed liȝtly tale tellers; and also Robert spende on his knyȝtes soudeours[19] þre þowsand pounde þat was byqueþe Henry in his fadres testament. Þan Henry was i-made kyng,

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Capitulum duodecimum. MS. HARL. 2261.

WILLIAM Rufus kynge dedde withowte childer, usynge moche concubynes, Henricus, the yonger broþer to hym, suceedid to the realme of Ynglonde, electe at Wynchestre the nones of Auguste, and consecrate at Westmynstre of Mauricius bischop of London, for Anselme was in that tyme in exile. This Henricus erecte so into kynge, made the churche of Criste

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[1] *Rede*, from β. and Cx.; *þridde*, MS.
[2] *ȝonger*, β.
[3] *i-made*] om. β. and Cx.
[4] *spende*, β. and γ.
[5] *yougthe*, Cx.
[6] *sciencis*, β.
[7] *on*, α.
[8] *wuep*, γ.
[9] *xix.*, β. and Cx.; *nyntene*, from γ.; *nynþe*, MS.
[10] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[11] *fadres*, α.
[12] *dyyng*, β. and γ.
[13] *awent*, β. and γ.; *goon*, Cx.
[14] *pride*, β.; *prute*, γ.; *pryde*, Cx.
[15] *but*, Cx.
[16] *vol lyte*, γ.
[17] *bowide*, β.
[18] *groned*, Cx.
[19] *soudiours*, β.; *saudyours*, γ.

Erectus itaque Henricus in regem, annuente maxime Henrico Warewycensi comite sibi prius familiari, ecclesiam liberam fecit, forestas tamen in manu sua tenuit, leges Edwardi cum suis emendationibus observavit, pensiones noxias remisit, effeminatos de curia sua propulit; lucernarum usum, tempore patris[1] sui intermissum, restituit de nocte in curia sua. Ranulphum Dunelmensem episcopum ad[2] turrim Londoniæ reclusit,[3] Anselmum Cantuariensem tunc exulem revocavit; mercatorum[4] falsam ulnam castigavit adhibita brachii sui mensura. Libentius bellabat consilio quam gladio. In cibando magis temperans esuriem quam urgens ingluviem, potationi præter sitim nunquam indulgens, crapulam in se et in suis semper exsecrans. Post multas controversias inter ipsum et Anselmum ventilatas,[5] investituras prælatorum per[6] sæcularem manum faciendas[7] Deo et beato Petro resignavit. Tandem celebrato Londoniæ

Revocatio Anselmi ab exilio.

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[1] *fratris*, B.
[2] *apud*, A.
[3] *mancipavit*, C.D.
[4] *mercatorum . . . pellicibus* (p. 420)] om. C.D.
[5] *et* wrongly inserted here in MS.
[6] *per*] om. A.
[7] *faciendum*, MSS.

most deel[1] by help of Henry eorle of Warwyk, þat was toforehonde his meynel,[2] he made holy cherche free, but he hilde[3] þe forest[4] in his owne hond; he hilde Edwardes lawe wiþ þe amendynge þerof; he forȝaf[5] þe grevous penciouns. He putte out of his court þe men þat usede wommen[6] manere; and restored aȝen in his court candel liȝt be[7] nyȝt, þat was i-lefte of in his fadir tyme; and closede Ranulph bischop of Durham in þe tour of Londoun; and reconciled Ancelm archebisshop of Caunterbury, þat þo[8] was exciled; he chastede þe false[9] mesures of marchaundise,[10] and brouȝt forþ þe lengþe of his owne arme. He wolde fiȝte more gladly wiþ counsaille þan wiþ swerde; he wolde ete to staunche his honger, and nouȝt for gloteneye; he wolde nevere drinke but ȝif he were aþurst.[11] In hym self and al[12] his [meyne][13] alway he hatede outrage of mete and [of][14] drynke. After greet stryf þat was bytwene hym and Anselm þe archebisshop, he resigned to God and to seint[15] Peter þe vestiture[16] of prelates þat was i-doo by seculer hondes. At þe laste was made a counsaille of bisshops at Londoun, and strompettes were i-putte awey and remevede,[17] TREVISA.

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free, by laboure of Henricus erle of Warwyke; retenynge his forestes in his awne hondes; commaundynge lawnters[18] to be usede in his cowrte in nyȝhtes. Whiche reclusede Ranulphus bischop of Dirham in the towre of London, and restorede Anselme archebischop of Cawnterbery to his seete; amendynge the elnes and measures of marchauntes; usynge to fiȝhte moore by cownsaile then by swerde. This kynge was moore temperate in meite then William Rufus his broþer, abhorrynge surfettes bothe of his awne person and of his awne men; resignenge at the laste þe investitures of prelates to God and to seynt Petyr, after grete controversies hade betwene hym and Anselme þerof afore. At the laste, a cownsaille hade at London, harlottes and hoores avoidede, he maryede to his wife MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *deel*] om. Cx.
[2] *meyneal*, β. and Cx.; *meynal*, γ.
[3] *huld*, γ.
[4] *forestes*, Cx.
[5] *yave*, Cx.
[6] *wymmenes*, β.
[7] *by*, α., β., and Cx.
[8] *þo*] so, Cx.
[9] *vals*, γ.
[10] *marchauntes*, β. and Cx.; *marchaundes*, γ.
[11] *a first*, α.; *a furst*, γ.
[12] *in*, α., β., and Cx.
[13] From Cx.
[14] From β.
[15] *seyn*, γ.
[16] *investiture*, β. and Cx.
[17] *remeoved*, β.
[18] Sic in MS.

pontificum concilio, amotis pellicibus, Matildam, Malcolini regis Scotorum filiam, duxit in uxorem, quam venerabilis Anselmus die sancti Martini in reginam coronavit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro iii°.*[1] Mortuo[2] hoc anno Thoma Eboracensi[3] episcopo, successit Gyraldus, vir quidem, ut fert rumor, licentiæ, libidini et maleficiis

Pulvillo. obnoxius. Sub ejus nempe[4] pulvillo cum in viridario quodam decederet inventus est codex curiosarum artium videlicet, Julius Firmicus, quem secreto et meridianis horis lectitabat; quamobrem clerici ecclesiæ suæ eum sub cœli cespite extra ecclesiam vix sepeliri permiserunt. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto.*[5] Interea comes Robertus, frater hujus regis,[6] audita morte fratris sui Willelmi Rufi, de Terra Sancta rediit in[7] Apuliam, et inde in Normanniam, parans[8] se in Angliam. Quo audito multi de proceribus clam vel palam a rege Henrico se subtraxerunt, fictis quibusdam occasiunculis vocantes eum godrich, godfader, et pro Roberto comite

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[1] C. omits reference; Script. post Bedam, p. 273.

[2] *Mortuo . . . quinto*] om. C.D. but insert: "cum uxore sua quam "in Sicilia desponsaverat prima- "tum Jerosolimæ respuit, malens "si posset regnum Anglorum habere "quam principatum in terra sancta "gerere, unde contigit quod nun- "quam postmodum in bello fieret "fortunatus." *See* for continuation, page 428.

[3] *Eboracensi*, from A.; *Eborum*, MS.

[4] *namque*, A.

[5] Script. post Bedam, p. 156.

[6] *frater . . . regis*] om. B.

[7] *in . . . libro v.* (page 428)] om. C.D.

[8] *parens*, A.

and he weddede Mold, þe douȝter of Malcolyn [1] kyng of Scotland ; Anselme crownede here [2] queene on seynt Martynes day. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Þis ȝere deyde Thomas archebisshop of ȝork, and Giralde was archebisshop after hym, a lecherous man, a wicche,[3] an[4] evel doer, as þe fame telleþ; for under his pelewe,[5] whan he diede in an herber,[6] was i-founde a book of curious craftes; the book hiȝte Iulius Firmicus;[7] in þat book he radde priveliche in þe underne tymes,[8] þerfore unneþe [the][9] clerkes of his chirche wolde suffre hym be i-buryed under hevene wiþ oute holy chirche. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 5°. In þe mene tyme eorle Robert, þis kynges broþer, herde[10] of þis[11] kyng William þe Rede,[12] and come aȝen out of þe Holy Lond into Apulia, and from þennes into Normandie, and arrayed hym to wende into Engelond. Þanne me herde þerof,[13] and meny of þe lordes feynede som smale occasiouns, and wiþ drowȝ hem priveliche and openleche from kyng Henry, and cleped hym godriche, godfader, and sente priveliche for eorle Robert. And

Trevisa.

Matilda, doȝhter of Malcolinus kynge of Scottes, whom venerable Anselme crownede into qwene in the day of seynte Martyne. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.* Thomas archebischop of Yorke dedde in this tyme, a man Giraldus by name was successour to hym, ȝiffyn to ylle artes and lecchery, as peple did reporte. For a booke of subtile artes, Iulius Firmicus, whom he usede to rede in secrete tymes, was founde under a pelowe in a charyette in whom he diede, after his dethe. Wherefore the canons of Yorke wolde not suffre hym to be beryede in the churche, and unnethe in seyntuary. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto.* Robert duke of Normandy, understondynge William Rufus, kynge of Ynglonde and broþer to hym, to be dedde, returnede from the Holy Londe to Apulia, and so to Normandy, and from Normandy to Ynglonde. That knowen in Ynglonde, mony gentillemen of the londe drawede from kynge Henricus, feynynge little occasions, and callynge hym godryche, godfadir, and sende prively for Robert, broþer to the kynge. Radulphus bischop

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *Malyncolyn*, α.
[2] *hir*, β.
[3] *wycche*, γ. ; *wytche*, Cx.
[4] *and*, Cx.
[5] *pile*, β. ; *pule*, γ. ; *pyle*, Cx.
[6] *erber*, Cx.
[7] *Frumeus*, Cx.
[8] *undertydes*, β., γ., and Cx.
[9] From Cx.; þe, β. and γ.
[10] *hurde*, γ.
[11] *þis*] þe deþ of, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[12] *Rede* from β. and γ.; *Reede*, Cx. *þridde*, MS.
[13] *Than it was knowen*, Cx.

clam misere. Ad hæc Radulphus Dunelmensis episcopus nuper incarceratus, fune nacta de turri Londoniæ evasit, Normanniam adiit, Robertum ducem contra regem Henricum instigavit. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro iiii°.*[1] Erat nempe iste Robertus, primogenitus regis Willelmi Conquestoris, exilis corporis pinguis aqualiculi, qui primo tirocinio suo parenti morem gessit. Sed postmodum juvenili calore et fatuorum consilio impulsus Normanniam superstite patre temptabat habere. Quod cum pater negasset, iratus abscessit, assultus[2] in patriam faciens, primo quidem patre hoc cachinnante, sed postmodum dicente, "Per resurrexionem Christi pro-" bus erit[3] Robinus[4] curta ocrea filius meus." Cæterum nihil habens Robertus quod succenseret,[5] quia lepidæ[6] formæ, faceti eloquii, virtutis ingentis, solidi consilii. Postremo tamen tempore pater contra eum adeo est incensus[7] quod[8] eum hæreditate Angliæ privavit[9] comitatu Normanniæ vix ei relicto. In Terra Sancta multa egregie[10] gessit, ita[11] ubique mirabilis ut nunquam per Christianum aut paganum de equo deici

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[1] 3°, B.; Script. post Bedam, p. 153.
[2] *assultus*] om. B.
[3] *erat*, A.
[4] *Robelinus* in Willelmus.
[5] *succenserit*, A.
[6] *lapide*, A.
[7] *offensus*] om. B.
[8] *ut*, B.
[9] *privaret*, B.
[10] *egregia*, B.
[11] *Itaque*, B.

herto Raph[1] bisshop of Durham, þat was[2] toforehonde prisoned, gat a rope[3] and scapede out of þe tour of Londoun, and wente into Normandye in[4] spiȝt of[5] duke[6] Robert aȝenst kyng Henry. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 4°. Þis Robert was kyng William þe Conquerour his eldest sone, a litel man of body, with a fat[7] wombe. In his firste knyȝthode he usede his fader maneres, but afterward þe[8] hete[9] of his ȝong blood and counseille of fooles priked hym, and he fondede to have Normandie while his fader was onlyve;[10] and whanne his fader warnede[11] hit hym, he wente away for wreþþe,[12] and made oft reses[13] uppon þe contray. First his fader scornede hym, bot afterward he swore by þe resurrexioun of Crist, and seide, "Robert short boot,[14] my sone, schal be a noble man." [For ellis had Roberd nouȝt þat myȝt be blamed, for he was curteise,[15] and faire of face,[16] of schap, and of speche, myȝti of strengþe, and sad of counsaile. But at þe laste his fader was so wroop wiþ him þat he deprivede hym of his heritage of Engelond, and lefte hym unneþe þe eorldom of Normandye.][17] He dede meny grete dedes in þe Holy Land, and was so wonderful in every place þat he myȝte nevere be unhorsed by

TREVISA.

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of Dirham, herynge this rumor, brake owte from the towre of London, and wente to Normandy, and movede Robert ageyne kynge Henricus his broþer. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quarto.* This Roberte was eldeste son of William Conqueroure, to whom he promisede Normandy, whiche laborynge to have hit in the life of his fader, and not reioysynge hit, ȝaffe mony soore sawtes and conflictes to his ffader. But his fader, skornynge hym in the begynne,[18] seide afterwarde, "By the "resurreccion of Criste, Robyn Curthose, my sonne, wylle be "a noble man." But at the laste his fader was trowblede with hym, that he expellede hym from the inheritaunce of Ynglonde, levynge unnethe to hym Normandye. The seide Robert did mony noble thynges in the Holy Londe, that he was not unhorsed in alle the batelles þer, neiþer by Cristen man neiþer by

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Raaf, β.*; *Rauf,* Cx.
[2] *had ben,* Cx.
[3] *roop, β.* and *γ.*
[4] *and, α., β.,* and *γ.*
[5] *of*] om. *α., β.,* and *γ.*
[6] *Normandy and encouraged duc,* Cx.
[7] *vat, γ.*
[8] þe] by, Cx.
[9] *heete, β.*
[10] *alyve, β.*
[11] *wurnde, γ.*
[12] *wreche,* Cx.
[13] *restes,* Cx.
[14] *body*] boot, from *β.* and Cx.; *Robyn schort boot, γ*; body, MS.
[15] *curteys, β.*; *corteys, γ.*; *curtoys,* Cx.
[16] *veyr of fas, γ.*
[17] From *α., β., γ.,* and Cx.
[18] Sic in MS.

potuit. Denique in[1] Sabbato Paschali apud Jerosolimam inter ceteros astaret expectans ignem more solito de supernis in cereum alicujus descendere, cereus ejus divinitus accensus est; unde et ab omnibus in regem Jerosolimorum electus est; sed audita morte fratris sui[2] regis Angliæ, regnum Jerosolitanum recusavit, non reverentiæ contuitu, sed aut laborum metu aut regni Anglicani cupiditate.[3] Qua de causa nunquam postmodum in bello fortunatus fuit. Hic quoque in redeundo[4] [de] Jerosolima duxit in uxorem filiam Willelmi de Conversana[5] in Apulia, mulierem spectatissimæ formæ, quam post paucos annos morbo amisit deceptam ut dicunt obstetricis consilio, quæ ligavit mammas ejus post partum effluentas lacte abundantissime;[6] filium tamen habuit egregiæ indolis Willelmum; pro feminæ connubio infinitam pecuniam nomine dotis receptam Robertus cito dilapidavit. Inde Angliam veniens ut fratri suo Henrico Angliam præriperet, collecto undecumque[7] grandi exercitu, apud Portesmudam applicuit;

Ignis cœlitus in cereum Roberti comitis Normanniæ descendit, unde in regem Jerosolitanum electus est.

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[1] *in*, from A.B.; *cum* MS.
[2] *ejus Willelmi*, B.
[3] *cupidine*, A.B.
[4] *de*, from A.B.
[5] *Aversana*, A.B.
[6] *abundantissima*, A.
[7] *undique*, B.

Cristen men[1] ne by paynym. Also at Ierusalem in an Ester eve he stood among oþere men, and abood þe fyre[2] þat was wont[3] to come fro hevene and liȝt[4] som manis tapir,[5] þanne his taper was i-tend ; by doynge and vertu þer[6] of God, þerfore alle men chese hym kyng of Ierusalem. But whanne he herde of þe deeþ of his broþer William kyng of Engelond, he refusede[7] þe kyngdom of Ierusalem, nouȝt by cause of reverence, but for drede of travaille, or for[8] covetise of þe kyngdom of Engelond ; þerfore hym happede nevere wel afterward in bataille. Also in þe comynge aȝen from Ierusalem þis[9] wedded þe douȝter of William de Aversana in Apulia, a wel[10] faire womman of schap, and lost hir by an evel after fewe[11] ȝeres : one[12] seiþ þat sche[13] was begiled by þe counsaile of a childe wyf,[14] þat kutte[15] hire breestes [for greet plente of melk þat ran of here bresstes][16] whan sche[17] hadde childe. But he[18] hadde a sone,[19] a noble man of wit, William was his name.[20] Robert feng[21] grete money for þat mariage, and wasted it sone þerafte. Whanne he hadde i-gadred[22] a greet oost in every side and com into Engelond forto reve his broþer Henry þe kyngdom, and londede at Portes-

TREVISA.

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pagan. After that the seide Robert beynge in the temple of Ierusalem in the holy eve of Ester, and abidynge lyȝhte to descende from hevyn after consuetude, his taper was liȝhte, wherefore he was electe of alle peple to be kynge of Ierusalem. But the seide Roberte refusynge hit, in truste of the realme of Ynglonde, in that his broþer was dedde, was not fortunate in batelle after that tyme. Whiche returnynge from Ierusalem mariede þe doȝhter of William de Aversana in Apulia, with whom he receyvede grete goodes ; whiche woman was pereschede soone by disseyte of hire mydewife, whiche did bynde hire brestes habundant in mylke after that sche was delyverede, and so sche diedde. This Robert gedrenge a grete hoste ageyne kynge Henricus his broþer, londede at Portesmowthe ; but pease

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *man*, α. and Cx.
[2] *fuyre*, β.
[3] *vure þat was ywond*, γ.
[4] *tende*, β., γ., and Cx.
[5] *taper*, β. ; *tapur*, γ., bis.
[6] *þer*] om. Cx.
[7] *recused*, β.
[8] *for*] om. Cx.
[9] *he*, Cx.
[10] *wel*] om. Cx.
[11] *vew*, γ.
[12] *me*, β.
[13] *hue*, γ.
[14] *mydwyf*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[15] *kitte*, β. ; *kuytte*, γ.
[16] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[17] *heo*, β., bis.
[18] *hue*, γ. ; *she*, Cx.
[19] *William* transposed to here, β.
[20] *was his name*] om. α.
[21] *fonge*, α.
[22] *Than he gadryd*, Cx.

sed [1] mediantibus regni prudentioribus ea conditione pax reformata est, ut singulis annis Robertus tria millia marcarum perciperet,[2] et qui alteri [3] superviveret hæres alterius foret, si [4] tamen sine masculo hærede decederet. Sed anno sequenti Robertus Angliam veniens, ad petitionem Matildæ reginæ illam pensionem remisit. Inde Robertus rediens apud Normannos parvipensus est, in tantum quod [5] Normanni advocarent regem Henricum contra Robertum, qui pluries adventans totam Normanniam præripuit paulatim exceptis Rothomago, Cadomo et Phalesio,[6] in quibus urbibus Robertus passim vagabatur. Qua de re Cadomenses offensi regem [7] Henricum invitaverunt, et [8] portas suas contra Robertum clauserunt. Inde Robertus cum solo armigero Rothomagum fugiens, auxilium regis Francorum et comitis Flandrensis [9] imploravit, quo tamen totaliter destitutus, publicum bellum contra fratrem attemptans,

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[1] *sed*] $\mathfrak{q}_3$, A.
[2] *reciperet*, A.
[3] *alteri*, from B.; *altero* MS.
[4] *sive*, A.
[5] *ut*, A.
[6] *Phelesio*, A.
[7] *regem*] om. B.
[8] *et*] om. A.
[9] *Flandriæ*, A.B.

mouthe ; but by [mene of][1] þe wisest men of þe kyngdom pees was i-made uppon suche condicioun, þat Robert schulde feng every[2] ȝere iii. mꝯ marc,[3] and wheþer of hem lyvede lengest[4] schulde be oþere[5] heyre ȝif þey deie[6] wiþ oute heyre male.[7] But þe next ȝere[8] after Robert come into Engelond, and at þe prayere of Molde þe quene he forȝaf þe[9] pensioun of þre þowsand marcȝ.[10] [Thenne Robert wente ageyne and was lytel ytold of amonge the Normans, soo that the Normans prayed kynge Henry to come ageynst Robert. The kyng cam and bynam hym al Normandy lytel and lytel, Rone, Cane and Faleys, in the whiche cytees Robert wente burethely up and doun. Therfor they of Cane were wroth, and prayd king Henry for to come to them, and closed theyr yates ayenst Robert.][11] Þan Robert fliȝ[12] to Rothomage[13] with oon squyere alone, and prayde help of þe kyng of Fraunce and of þe eorle

Trevisa.

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was reformede by mediators in this condicion, that Robert scholde receyve yerely by the tyme of his lyfe iij.mꝯ marke, and he that lyvede longer of theyme scholde be heire to that other, if thei diede with owte eny heire male. And so Robert departynge, and commynge to Ynglonde in the yere nexte folowynge, forȝafe that pension at the peticion of the qwene. After whiche tyme the seide Roberte was not luffed in Normandy, insomoche that the Normannes sende for kynge Henricus, and were with the seide kynge ageyne Robert theire lorde. Whiche commynge into those costes occupiede alle Normandy, Roone, Caane and Phalesia excepte, whiche cites the seide Robert kepede. Men of Caan grevonde thereof desirede kynge Henricus to comme to that cite, and expulsede Robert theire lorde ; where Robert fleynge to Roone with oon esqwyer desirede helpe of the kynge of Fraunce and of the erle of Flawndres.

MS. Harl. 2261.

f. 350 b.

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[1] From α. β., γ., and Cx.
[2] *evereche*, β.
[3] *marcȝ*, α,
[4] *lynguste*, γ.
[5] *oþeres*, α. and β.
[6] *deide*, α. ; *he deyde*, β. ; *oþer hys heyr ef a dyede*, γ.
[7] *maul*, β. and γ.
[8] *ȝere*, from β, and γ. ; *yere*, Cx. ; heire, MS.
[9] *þat*, α., β., and Cx.
[10] *mark*, β. ; *marc*, γ. and Cx.
[11] From Cx. ; *þanne Robart went aȝen and was litel ytolde of among þe Normans, so þat þe Normans prayede kyng Henry to come agenus Robert. Þe kyng cam and bynam hym al Normandy litel and lytel, outtake Rothomage, Cadony, and Phales. In þe whiche citees Robart went unrediliche up and doun ; þerfore þe Cadoniens were wroþe, and prayed king Henry for to come to hem, and closide her ȝates aȝenus Robart.* β. and γ.
[12] *fleyȝ*, α. ; *fledde*, Cx.
[13] *Rone*, Cx.

victus est et captus, ac quoad vixit, scilicet per septem annos postmodum, in custodia detentus per fratrem suum Henricum regem Angliæ.[1]

Captus est Robertus, incarceratus per fratrem suum Henricum.

Cap. XIII.

[*Insurrectio contra regem Henricum. Concilium Londoniense.*]

Willelmus de Regibus, libro v.[2]

Gratiæ MCIII. Henrici I. III.

Hoc anno insurrexit[3] contra regem Henricum Robertus de Belismo, major filiorum Rogeri de Monte Gomerico comitis Salopiæ,[4] obfirmans castella sua Salopiæ, Brugge, Arundel, Tykhul,[5] et[6] Walenses etiam[7] plures contra regem excitavit;[8] sed rex infra xl[a] dies omnes illas munitiones cepit, Wallanos donis et promissis corrupit, ipsum comitem Robertum Angliam abjurare[9] coegit. Navigat ille Normanniam. Cui cito postmodum Willelmus, qui fuit comes Mortonii in Normannia, ac etiam comes Cornubiæ in Anglia, quia rex sibi negaverat comitatum Cantiæ,

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[1] *per . . . Angliæ*] apud castrum de Kerdif obiit, B.; om. A.

[2] Script. post Bedam, p. 156. C.D. insert: "Ranulphus episcopus Dunelmensis callide de custodia Londonia evasit, mare transiit, Roberto duci Normanniæ ut Angliam hostiliter invaderet persuasit. Quod et plures de Anglia proceres litteris et nunciis rogaverunt. Qui statim collecto grandi exercitu apud Portesmundam applicuit, mediantibus tamen regni prudentioribus pax ea conditione inter fratres reformata est ut singulis annis duo millia librarum argenti Roberto solverentur et fautoribus ejus terræ ablatæ restituerentur. Defuncto Hugone primo comite Cestriæ, filius ejus Richardus puer septem annorum suscepit comitatum, quem non diu tenuit. Robertus de Belismo, filius magni Rogeri." &c.

[3] *insurrexerunt*, A.

[4] *Sapiæ*, A.

[5] *Tikelhull*, A.

[6] *et*] om. A.B.

[7] *et*, A.

[8] *incitavit*, B.

[9] *exlegavit. Willelmus, lib. vii.*, C.D., omitting to *libro septimo* (page 432).

of Flaundres, but Robert was helples for hem; he[1] fondede[2] to ȝeve his broþer bataile, and was overcomen, and i-take and kepte in warde seven ȝere to his lyfes ende, and deide in þe castel of Cardyf,[3] and was i-buried at Gloucestre.[4] TREVISA.

Capitulum decimum tertium.

THIS ȝere Roberd de[5] Bolysm[6] rose[7] aȝenst kyng Henry; þis Robert was þe gretteste of þe sones of Roger de Moun Gemerok,[8] erle of Schroisbury. Robert strengþede his castelles of Schroisbury, of Brugge,[9] of Arundel, and of Tykenhulle,[10] and made[11] meny Walsche men to rise[12] aȝenst þe kyng; bot wiþ ynne xl.[13] dayes þe kyng wan [and toke][14] al þis strengþis, and overcom the Walsche[15] men wiþ ȝiftes and faire[16] byhestes, and compellede þis eorle Robert to forswere[17] Engelond, and he saillede into Normandie. And sone þerafter William eorle of Mortony in Normandie [and of Cornwayle in Engelond saillede to Robert into Normandye],[18] for þe kyng hadde warnede[19]

Neverthelesse the seide Roberte attemptynge the kynge by bataile, was devicte and taken, and kepede at Caerdeif by the tyme of his lyfe, where he died. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum decimum tertium.

ROBERT erle of Schrobbesbery, sonne of Roger Mownt Gomerike, made insurreccion in this yere ageyne kynge Henricus, storynge the castells of Schrobbesbery, of Bruggys, of Arundell, and of Tikhull, drawynge to hym mony men of Wales. But the kynge toke alle those castells with yn xl^{ti} daies, thro ȝiftes and promisses to men of Wales, and compellede the seide erle to abiure Ynglonde; whiche saylynge into Normandy, drawede to William whiche was erle of Morton in Normandy, and also the erle of Cornewayle, whiche trowblede

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[1] *he*] and, β.
[2] *and founded*, Cx.
[3] *Cardef*, β. and Cx.; *Kerdyf*, γ.
[4] *Glocetershire*, γ.
[5] *þe*] Roberd de, from α.; Robart de, β.; *þe*, MS.
[6] *Bolisme*, β.; *Robert Denbolism*, γ.; *Robert de Bolysme*, Cx.
[7] *ros*, β.
[8] *Mont Gemeric*, α.; *Mount Gomerik*, β.; *Mont Gomeric*, γ.; *Mount Gomeryk*, Cx.
[9] *Brugges*, β. and Cx.
[10] *Tykehull*, γ.; *Tykenhyl*, Cx.
[11] *spiȝte*, β.; *encouraged*, Cx.
[12] *to rise*] om. Cx.
[13] *vourty*, γ.
[14] From β. and Cx.
[15] *Walysch*, γ.
[16] *veyr*, γ.
[17] *vorswerye*, γ.
[18] From α., β., and Cx.
[19] *ywurnd*, γ.

transnavigans se adjunxit. Hi duo cum suis complicibus in Normannia multum[1] grassabantur. Quo audito rex Henricus omnia quæ erant comitis Mortonii in Anglia sibi arripuit, et post hoc in Normanniam transfretavit, quam sibi non sine sanguine subjugavit; duos comites prædictos perpetuo carceri mancipavit, viros quidem simulationis et argutiæ plenos. Post hoc rex Henricus summam pacem in Normannia relinquens Angliam rediit, contra fures et falsarios acerbas leges edidit, privationem scilicet oculorum, testiculorum, pugni continentes. Deinde subegit Scottos, Walenses, et[2] Britones transmarinos, ac etiam[3] regem Franciæ[4] Lodowycum. Deinde perendinante rege Henrico in Normannia, accessit Calixtus papa prope Normanniam ut inter cætera regem Henricum super incarceratione fratris sui Roberti Jerosolimam[5] peregrini asperius conveniret, sed verisimilibus[6] responsis receptis[7] conquievit; possunt enim communes loci ad quamlibet partem inflecti pro facundia oratoris, quam præsertim exornant[8] exennia. Et ut nihil pompæ deesset fecit rex juvenculos quosdam filios comitis de Mellento[9] illaqueare cardinales tunc præsentes suis tortilibus so-

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[1] *multa*, B.
[2] *et*] om. B.
[3] *etiam*] om. B.
[4] *Franciæ*] om. A.
[5] *Jerosolimitani*, A.
[6] *verisimilibus*, from A.B.; *versibilibus*, MS.
[7] *acceptis*, B.
[8] *quandoque exornavit*, B.
[9] *Mellonto*, B.

hym[1] þe eorldom of Kent. Þese two[2] and here faitoures werrede[3] and dede moche[4] harm in Normandye; kyng Henry herde þerof, and bynam þe eorle of Mortoun al þat he hadde in Engelond, and saillede þerafter into Normandie, and made it suget, nouȝt with oute schedynge of blood, and prisoned þe two forseide eorles to hire lyves ende, þat were men ful[5] of gile and[6] stryf and of wiles. Þan kyng Henry leefte[7] greet pees in Normandie, and come aȝen into Engelond, and made[8] scharpe lawes aȝenst false men and þeoves,[9] in þe whiche lawes is i-conteyned lost and lesing of eyȝen, of prive stone,[10] of fistes[11] and[12] handes. Þanne he made þe Scottes sogette,[13] þe Walsche men, þe Britouns by ȝonde þe see, and Lowys þe kyng of Fraunce. Þan kyng Henry lay in Normandye, and pope Calixte[14] com nyh[15] to Normandie, among alle oþere causes to have kyng Henry scharpliche at answere for þe prisonynge[16] of his broþer Robert, pilgrim of Ierusalem; but he hadde semeliche answers, and cesede of þat cause: al manere of arguynge may be i-bend[17] toward every[18] side by the facunde of þe pledere, þe whiche facunde is [wiþ][19] presantes[20] specialliche i-hiȝt.[21] And for no pompe and boste schulde faille, þe kyng maked[22] þe ȝonge sones of þe eorle of Mollent[23] appose þe cardinales þat were þo presente, and upbroyde[24] hem and snarlede[25] hem[26] wiþ sotil sophyms. Þerfore

Trevisa.

soore the cuntre of Normandy. Kynge Henry herynge that, and takynge an hoste with hym, wente to Normandy and ȝafe batelle to theyme; and so he obteynynge the victory, putte the erles in perpetuall prison. After that kynge Henricus, levynge Normandy, returnede to Ynglonde, where he made scharpe lawes ageyne theves and oþer trespassours, that is to say, the losynge of theire eien and of theire stones. After that he subduede to hym men of Wales, Scottes, and also the Britons

MS. Harl. 2261.

[1] þues *tweyne*, γ.
[2] *fautours*, β.; *fautors*, γ.
[3] *werryd*, Cx.
[4] *grete*, β.
[5] *vol*, γ.
[6] *and*] of, β.
[7] *lefte*, Cx.
[8] *made*, from Cx.; *maden*, MS.
[9] þeeves, β.; þueves, γ.
[10] *stones*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[11] *fustes*, β.; *vustes*, γ.
[12] *fustes and of*, Cx.
[13] *to*, wrongly added here in MS.
[14] *Kalixtus*, α. and β.; *Calyxtus*, Cx.
[15] *neiȝ*, β.
[16] *prisonment*, β. and γ.; *prysonnement*, Cx.
[17] *bonde*, Cx.
[18] *eyþer*, γ.
[19] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[20] *presauntes*, β.
[21] *lyghted*, Cx.
[22] *made*, Cx.
[23] *Mellent*, β., γ., and Cx.
[24] *upbreide*, α.; *enbryge*, β.; *enbrugge*, γ.; *embryge*, Cx.
[25] *snarle*, β.
[26] *snarle ham*, γ., *smarle hym*, Cx.

phismatibus. Unde non puduit cardinales [1] fateri occiduas plagas majore florere peritia litterarum [2] quam ipsi audissent. Hugo comes Cestrensis,[3] nepos regis Willelmi Conquestoris ex parte sororis, obiit; cui successit filius suus Ricardus puer septem annorum. *Henricus, libro septimo.*[4] Anselmus celebrato concilio Londoniensi [5] plures abbates deposuit,[6] traditiones dignitatum ad firmam prohibuit. Sodomitas quolibet die Dominico excommunicandos censuit: sed et hoc postmodum retractavit, nam publicatio hujus vitii pravis mentibus fomes fuit majoris audaciæ similia perpetrandi. Uxores quoque [7] sacerdotum [8] inhibuit. [9] Orta est discordia inter regem et Anselmum, eo quod nollet [10] consecrare prælatos qui recipiebant investituras de [11] manibus laicorum,[12] præsertim cum nuper dominus papa hoc interdixit [13] sub anathemate. Giraldus tamen [14] Eboracensis archiepiscopus tales consecravit, unde commotus Anselmus [15] papam adiit. Gens Flandriæ propter desolationem patriæ suæ per jactationem æquoreæ arenæ

Consilium Anselmi archiepiscopi.

Sententia super Sodomitas.

Gratiæ MCIIII. Henrici I. IIII.

Gratiæ MCV. Henrici I. V.

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[1] *cardinales*] om. A.

[2] *litterarum*] om. B.

[3] *Cestriæ*, B.

[4] B. omits reference; Script. post Bedam, p. 378.

[5] *celebravit consilium Londoniæ, in quo*, B.

[6] *Francigenas et Anglos*, add. C.D.

[7] *quoque*] om. B.

[8] *sacerdotibus sunt prohibitæ, sed hoc quibusdam visum est invidissimum, quibusdam periculosum, ne dum mundicias viribus majores appeterent, in majores immundicias inciderent*, C.D.

[9] C.D. add: "Robertus dux "Normanniæ Angliam venit cum "fratre suo locuturus. Sed ante- "quam recessit, censum annuum "trium millium librarum condona- "vit. Magna discordia exorta "est."

[10] *noluit*, B; *comitare nec*, ins. C. D.

[11] *a*, B.

[12] *regis*, C.D.

[13] *interdixit*, from A.B.; *interdixisset*, C.D.; *indixit*, MS.

[14] *tamen*] om. A.

[15] *mare transiit et Romam*, C.D.

Trevisa.

þe cardinales schamede nouȝt to knowleche þat þere was more wit and konnynge of clergie in þe west londes þan þey had herde[1] of speke. How[2] the eorle of Chestre, kyng William þe Conquerours nevew on his suster side [deyde],[3] and his sone Richard, a childe of vii. ȝere olde, was eorle after hym. Anselme made a counsaile at Londoun, and sette adoun[4] meny abbottes, and forbeed settynge of dignetes to ferme, and demede þat Sodomytes schulde be accorsed every Sonday. But afterward he undede[5] þat doynge, for publicacioun[6] of vice,[7] þat was norschynge of more hardynes to wikked hertes to doo suche dedes. Also he forbeed preostes[8] wyfes. Stryf fel[9] bytwene þe kyng and Anselm forto he wolde nouȝt sacre þe prelates þat hadde i-fonge vestiture[10] of lewed[11] men hondes, and[12] nameliche for þe pope hadde forbode it uppon peyne of cursynge.[13] But Giralde archebisshop of ȝork sacrede suche[14] prelates; þerfore Anselme was i-meoved, and wente to þe pope. The contray of Flaundres was destroyed[15] wiþ a[16] castynge of[17] gravel of þe see; þerfore þe Flemynges ȝede

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MS. Harl. 2261.

that were behynde see. Hewe erle of Chestreschire diede in this yere, whom Richarde his sonne, a childe havynge vij. yere in age, did succede. Venerable Anselme, kepynge a cownesayle at London, deposed mony abbottes, and putte þeire places to ferme; cursynge every Sonneday alle men usynge the synne Sodomye, whiche sentence he retracte soone; for the publicacion of that vice inducede peple that hade not knowlege of that synne afore to use hit. Also he prohibite prestes to have wyfes or concubynes. A grete discorde was spronge betwene the kynge and Anselme, in that he wolde not consecrate prelates whiche hade taken investitures of seculer men, for this cause specially, in that the pope hade prohibite but late afore that thynge on his curse. Neverthelesse Giraldus the archebischop of Yorke consecrate suche men when that Anselme was goen to the pope. The peple of Flaundres come into Ynglonde in this tyme, for the desolacion of a cuntre to in- f. 351 a.

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[1] *yhurde*, γ.
[2] *Hugus*, β.; *Huwe*, γ., et infra; *Hugh*, Cx.
[3] From β.
[4] *put doune*, Cx.
[5] *undude*, γ.
[6] *pupplycacion*, Cx.
[7] *vys*, β. and γ.
[8] *prestene*, β. and γ.
[9] *fil*, β.
[10] *investiture*, α., β., and Cx.
[11] *lewide*, β.
[12] *and*] om. Cx.
[13] *corsyng*, γ.
[14] *siche*, β.
[15] *destried*, β.
[16] *a*] om. β.
[17] *of*] the, Cx.

diu vagabunda, locum habitationis a rege Henrico expetiit et obtinuit apud orientalem plagam [Angliæ][1] juxta Twedam.[2] Qui tamen postmodum sub anno regni xi. translati sunt in Westwalliam.[3] Corpus sancti Cuthberti[4] quadringentesimo xiiii. post sepulturam ejus anno ob quorundam prælatorum incredulitatem cum capite sancti Oswaldi repertum est incorruptum. Septimo idus Junii quatuor[5] albi circuli visi sunt circa solem.[6] Hoc[7] anno prima hebdomada Quadragesimæ, feria sexta, circa vesperam stella insolita visa est lucere inter austrum et occidentem, et sic lucebat quotidie eadem hora per xxv. dies. Cui ingens trabes visa est de orientali parte occurrere. Postmodum in Cœna Domini visæ sunt duæ lunæ plenæ parum ante diem, una in oriente,[8] altera in occidente. Quo quidem anno factum est exsecrabile discidium inter Henricum imperatorem patrem et Henricum filium suum, adeo ut filius patrem incarceraret. Quo etiam anno Anselmus concordatus est cum rege Henrico Beccum veniente, et inde[9] transmissus est in Angliam.[10].

Gratiæ MCVII. Henrici I. VII.

Prodigia in cœlo visa sunt.

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[1] *Angliæ* from A.

[2] *eis concessit*, C.D.

[3] *apud Roos et Haverford*, add. C.D.

[4] *sancti Cuthberti*] om. A.

[5] *quatuor*] apparuerunt, B.

[6] C.D. add: "Rex Henricus "mare transiit, plures urbes fratri "suo Roberto abstulit, homines "ejus pecunia corrupit, et Angliam "rediit. Robertus dux Normanniæ "Angliam venit, sed impacatus "recessit. *Henricus, lib. v.* Unde "rex Henricus cito post mari transito Normanniam venit, patriam "subegit, Robertum fratrem suum "cepit et incarceravit; sicque reddit "Deus vicem Roberto, quem splendidum reddiderat in actibus Jerosolimitanis, sed magis eligens "ducatum Normanniæ sub desiderio regni Angliæ dampnatus "est desidia et carcere perenni."

[7] *etiam*, B.

[8] *et*, A.

[9] *honorifice*, add. C.D.

[10] *Giraldus in Itinerario*, add. A.C.D.

aboute þat tyme, and hadde no place[1] to[2] wone ynne. Þerfore þey prayde and hadde i-graunted of kyng Henry a place to wone[3] ynne faste[4] by Twede in þe est side of Engelond, but in þe enlevenþe ȝere þey were i-torned into West Wales. For þe mysbyleve of som prelates seynt Cuthbert his body was i-founde[5] hool and sound, þe ȝere after his burienge[6] foure hondred and fourtene, and bytwene his armes seint Oswoldes heed was i-founde also hool and sound. Þe sevenþe day of Iuyn[7] were i-seyn foure white cercles aboute þe sonne. Þis[8] ȝere þe first wike[9] of Lentyn,[10] on þe Friday at eve, was an unkowþe sterre i-seyn schyne bytwene þe soaþ and þe west, and schoon so every[11] day in þat[12] houre fiftene[13] dayes; also a grete beeme[14] was i-seie come aȝenst þat sterre out of þe estside. Þerafter in Cene Þorsday, þat som men clepeþ Schireþorsday,[15] were i-seie two ful mones a litel to fore day, oon in þe est [and][16] anoþer in þe west. Þat ȝere was a grisliche stryf bytwene þe fader Henry þe emperour and his owne sone Henry, so þat þe sone prisoned þe fader. Þat ȝere kyng Henry come to Becco, and was accorded wiþ hym, and sente þis[17] into Engelond.

Trevisa.

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habite, in þat the cuntre of Flandres was oppressede with gravelle of the see. To whom kynge Henricus ȝafe licence to inhabite a cuntre nye to þe water of Twede; whiche peple wente after into Weste Wales in the xiij. yere of the reigne of this kynge. The body of seynte Cuthebert was founde incorrupte in the iiij^{c} yere after his sepulture, with the hedde of seynte Oswalde, for the incredulite of diverse prelates. iiij. whyte cercles apperede abowte the sonne in the vij^{the} idus of Iunius; and on Scherethursday nexte folowynge ij. moones were seen afore day, oon in the este, an other in the weste. In whiche yere a grete discorde was movede betwene Henricus themperoure and Henricus his son, insomoche þat the sonne imprisonede the fader. In whiche yere also seynte Anselme was accorde with the kynge commyn to Bectum, and sende after þat to Ynglonde.

MS. Harl 2261.

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[1] *plas*, γ.
[2] *to*] forto, β.
[3] *wonye*, β.
[4] *vast*, γ.
[5] *yvounde*, γ.
[6] *berieng*, Cx.
[7] *June*, β.
[8] *That*, Cx.
[9] *woke*, γ.
[10] *weke of Leynte*, β.; *weke of Lenten*, Cx.
[11] *everech*, β.
[12] *þat*] the same, Cx.
[13] *fyve and twenty*, Cx.
[14] *beme*, β.; *beame*, Cx.
[15] *Scherepursday*, β.; *clepyn chere Thoursday*, Cx.
[16] From β.
[17] *ysend þennes*, β. and γ.; *thennes*. Cx.

Cap. XV.

[Henricus quartus imperator. Mors Anselmi archiepiscopi. Quædam de vita Anselmi.]

Hoc anno Henricus quartus, filius Henrici tertii,[1] cœpit imperare apud Teutonicos, et regnavit xix. annis. Hic patrem proprium in vinculis conjecit, quibus et obiit. Papam Paschalem cum cardinalibus cepit et incarceravit, prout supradictum est.[2] Qua de causa ut putatur carnali progenie caruit, quamvis Matildam filiam regis Angliæ Henrici vix quinquennem[3] in uxorem duxisset. Tandem ad cor rediens jura ecclesiæ[4] Calixto papæ libere resignavit, sicque secundum veriorem opinionem exul sponte factus clam uxore[5] apud Cestriam obiit. Gratiæ MCVIII. Henrici I. VIII. [6] Celebratum est Londoniæ concilium sub[7] Anselmo, ubi[8] annuente rege statutum est ut nunquam deinceps rex aut aliqua laica persona investituram faceret cum annulo et baculo. Obedientia Eboracensis episcopi. Quo in tempore Giraldus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, impositis manibus suis inter manus[9] Cantuariensis[10] Anselmi, subjectionem et obedientiam illi fecit. Deinde iiii° idus Augusti[11] Anselmus uno die consecravit apud Londoniam quinque episcopos, scilicet Wyntoniensem, Sarisburiensem, Exoniensem, Herforden-

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[1] *quartus . . . tertii*] tertius, A.

[2] *prout . . . est*] om. C.D.

[3] *vix quinquennem*] om. A.C.D.

[4] *super quibus contra papam Paschalem contenderat*, add C.D.

[5] *clam uxore*] cum uxore sua, B.

[6] *Hoc anno*, ins. B.

[7] *coram*, B.

[8] *ubi*] om. B.

[9] *archiepiscopi*, B.

[10] *beati*, add. C.D.

[11] *beatus*, add. C.D.

Capitulum decimum quartum. TREVISA.

THIS ȝere þe fourþe[1] Henry, þe sone of þe þridde Henry, bygan to be emperour among Duches[2] men, and regned nyntene ȝere; he caste his owne fader in bondes,[3] in þe whiche he[4] deide. Also he took and prisoned pope Paschal and þe cardynales, as it is i-seide toforehonde; þerfore me troweþ[5] þat he deide wiþ oute children, þouȝ he hadde i-wedded Molde whan sche[6] was but fyve ȝere olde, Henries douȝter kyng of Engelond. At þe laste he repented,[7] and resigned up þe riȝt of holy cherche frely[8] to pope Kalixte,[9] and so, as þe soþe opynioun telleþ,[10] he exciled hym self by his owne fre wille, unwetynge his wif, and deide at Chestre. Anselme made a counsaile at Londoun, and þere it was i-ordeyned by assent of þe kyng, þat nevere after þat tyme, þat[11] þe kyng, schulde not, noþer oþer lewed person, make investiture wiþ croys[12] and wiþ ryng. Þat tyme Girald archebisshop of ȝork putte[13] his hondes bytwene þe hondes of Anselme archebisshop of Caunterbury, and dede hym obedience. Þan þe tenþe day of August at Londoun Ancelme sacred fyve bisshoppes [in oon day,[14] the bisshops][15] of Wynchestre, of Salisbury, of Excetre, of Herford,

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Capitulum decimum quartum. MS. HARL. 2261.

HENRICUS the iiij[the], sonne of Henricus the thrydde, began to be emperoure, whiche reignede ix. yere. This emperour put his fader in prison, where he diede; imprisonynge also Paschalis the pope, with his cardinalls; wherefore, as men suppose he diede withowte eny childer, thauȝhe he maryede to his wife Matilda, doȝhter of Henricus kynge of Ynglonde, unnethe of v. yere in age. A cownsaile was hade in[16] yere at London by Anselme, where a statute was made by grawnte of the kynge that noo seculer person scholde have investitures of prelates with a staffe and with a rynge. In whiche tyme Giraldus, archebischop of Yorke, made obedience to venerable Anselme, and after þat, the iiij[the] idus of August, Anselme consecrate in oon day v. bischoppes at London, of Wynchestre,

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[1] *ferþe*, β.; *vurde*, γ.
[2] *Duchys*, β. and γ.; *Duche*, Cx.
[3] *boundes*, Cx.
[4] *he*] his fader, Cx.
[5] *men trowyd*, Cx.
[6] *heo*, β.
[7] *reputed*, Cx.
[8] *frelich*, β.; *vreliche*, γ.
[9] *Calixt*, α.
[10] *telliþ*, β.
[11] *þat*] om. β. and Cx.
[12] *croos*, γ. and Cx.
[13] *pot*, γ.
[14] *vyf byshops in o day*, γ.
[15] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[16] Sic in MS.

sem, et Glamorganensem, quod[1] a diebus Plegmund
Gratiæ MCIX. Henrici I. IX. [2]non contigit. Hoc[3] anno rex Henricus statuit ut fures suspenderentur, falsarii oculos et genitalia amitterent, [4]et ut denarii et oboli essent rotundi. Philippus rex Francorum obiit; Lodowycus filius suus[5] successit. Giraldus[6] Eboracensis archiepiscopus obiit; cui successit Thomas nepos Thomæ senioris, et præsedit ibi vii.
Gratiæ MCX. Henrici I. X. annis. Rex Henricus[7] fecit sedem episcopalem apud Hely, instituens ibi Herveum nuper Bangorensem præsulem, at quia in hoc partem Lincolniæ diœcesis detruncaverat, conferendo pagum Cantebrugge[8] sedi Helyensi, ideo contulit episcopo Lincolniensi villam suam regiam[9] de Spaldyng.[10] Hoc anno in hebdomada [Paschæ] sanctus [Hugo][11] Cluniacensis abbas, postquam sibi apparuisset beata[12] Virgo, sanctus Petrus, sanctus[13] Hilarius, obiit. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.*[14] Hoc etiam [anno][15] venerabilis Anselmus obiit Cantuariensis[16] xi. kalendas Maii, et die sequenti, quæ contigit in
Obitus Anselmi. Cœna Domini, balsamo divinitus misso perunctus sepelitur, et vacavit sedes Cantuariæ pleno[17] quinquennio,

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[1] *nunquam in Anglia*, C.D.
[2] *visum autem fuerat*, C.D.
[3] *etiam*, add B.
[4] *verum quod sæpe dum denarii eligebantur flectebantur et rumpebantur, idcirco statuit ut denarii et oboli essent rotundi, et quod ex hiis nullus foret integer*, C.D.
[5] *ejus*, B.
[6] *Gerardus*, D.
[7] *Henricum*, C.D.
[8] *Cantebriggis*, C.; *Cantebrigge*, D.
[9] *regiam*] om. A.
[10] *Spaldewyk*, C.D.
[11] *Paschæ . . . Hugo*] from A.B.C.D.
[12] *Maria*, C.D.
[13] *beatus*, A.; *et beatus*, B.
[14] Script. post Bedam, p. 229.
[15] *anno*] from A.B.C.D.
[16] *Anselmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit*, B.
[17] *plene*, A.

and of Glamorgan, þat happede nou3t after Pelegius[1] tyme. Þis 3ere ordeyned kyng Henry þat þeoves[2] schulde be an[3] honged, and þat false money and [false][4] sele[5] makers schulde lese here ey3en[6] and here prive stones; and þat penyes and half penyes schulde be rounde. Philip kyng of Fraunce deide, and his sone Lewys was kyng after hym. Giralde archebisshop of 3ork deide, and Thomas þe nevew of the elder Thomas was archebisshop after hym sevene 3ere. Kyng Henry made a bisshoppes see at Hely, and ordeyned þere Hervy,[7] þat hadde be bisshop of Bangor; and for in þat doynge he bynam[8] a grete deel of þe bisshopriche of Lyncolne, and 3if[9] Cantebrigge[10] to þe see of Hely; þerfore he 3af þe bisshop of Lyncolne his owne real[11] towne of Spaldynge. Þis 3ere deyde Hughe[12] abbot of Cluny, in þe Ester wyke,[13] after þat oure Lady, seynt Peter, and seint Hillary hadde appered to hym. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 1°. Þis 3ere deide Ancelme archebisshop of Caunterbury, and þe next day after þat fel[14] þe Cene Þorsday: he was anoynted[15] wiþ baume[16] [þat God sente doun fro hevene],[17] and so he was i-buried; and þanne þe see of

TREVISA.

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of Salysbery, Oxenford, Herdford, and of Glamorgan. Kynge Henricus ordeynede in this yere that thefes scholde be hongede, and that halpenys and penys scholde be made rownde. Giraldus the archebischop of Yorke diede in this yere, whom Thomas did succede þer vij. yere. Kynge Henricus made a bischoppes seete at Hely, makynge Hereneus bischop of Bangor president þer; whiche 3afe the towne of Spaldynge to the bischop of Lyncolne, in that he hade 3iffen Cantebrigge to the bischoppe of Hely. Hewe abbot Cluniancese diede in this yere in Ester weke, after that blissede Mary, seynte Petyr and seynte Hillarius had apperede to hym. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Venerable Anselme diede at Cawnterbery in this yere, and anoyntede with bawme sende from hevyn was beryede on Scherethursday; and so the seete of Cawnter- f. 351.

MS HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Plegnidus*, α.; *Plegyndus*, Cx.
[2] *þeeves*, β.
[3] *an*] om. Cx.
[4] From α. and Cx.
[5] *seel*, β. and Cx.
[6] *yen*, γ.
[7] *Henry*, Cx.
[8] *toke*, Cx.
[9] *gaf*, Cx.
[10] *Cambriggeschyre*, β.; *Cambryggeshire*, Cx.
[11] *ryal*, β. and Cx.
[12] *Huwe*, β.
[13] *woke*, β. and γ.; *weke*, Cx.
[14] *vul*, γ.; *fyll*, Cx.
[15] *enoynt*, Cx.
[16] *baum*, γ.
[17] From α., β., γ., and Cx.

interimque res ecclesiæ expendebantur in usus regios. Et cum rex sæpe moneretur ut ecclesiæ viduatæ consuleret miti hoc differebat responso, sic inquiens, optimos viros per patrem et fratrem suum institutos fuisse archiepiscopos; se quoque nolle in hoc degenerare, sed optimum virum pro posse ad hoc captare.

Sedes Cantuariensis vacavit per quinquennium.

Talia responsa juris et æqui [1] videbantur plena, sed agger pecuniæ de archiepiscopatu levatæ regis animam blandiebatur.[2] *Ranulphus.*[3] Sed quamvis Edmerus Cantuariensis monachus [vitam Anselmi] [4] ad plenum descripserit,[5] nonnulla tamen de tanto [viro] [6] juvante Willelmo Malmesburiensi [7] succinctius sunt dicenda. Anselmus igitur in Augusta [8] civitate Alpium oriundus, a pueritia litteratus et castus, dum iram patris sui, quem [9] nullo obsequio lenire potuit, longius fugeret, Beccum in Normannia sub Lanfranco confovendus accessit, ubi vicesimum septimum [10] agens annum monachus effectus est. Post triennium vero translato ad Cadomense monasterium Lanfranco Becci priore, ipse Anselmus sub

[1] *æquitatis*, A.
[2] B.C. omit reference.
[3] *licet*, B.; *Anselmi vitam præfati*, ins. C.D.
[4] *vitam Anselmi*] from B.
[5] *descripsit*, B.
[6] *viro*, from A.B.
[7] *de . . . Malmesburiensi*] om. C.D.
[8] *Augustia*, B.
[9] *quam*, B.
[10] *sextum*, A.B.

Canturbury was voyde [1] ful fyve ȝere, and in þe mene tyme holy chirche [2] good [3] was spend in þe kynges court.[4] And was [5] whan þe kyng was i-meved [6] to helpe þe chirche þat so was hevedles and wedwe,[7] and [8] wolde putte it of wiþ a meke [9] answere, and seie þat his fader and his broþer hadde i-made archebisshops þe beste men þat þey myȝte [10] fynde, and þat he wolde nouȝt goo out of kynde,[11] but he wolde make archebisshop þe beste man þat he myȝte fynde. Soche [12] answers semede ful of lawe and of riȝt, bote þe greet somme of money þat was arered of þe archebisshop [13] plesede þe kynges herte. Þeyȝ [14] Emerus monk of Canturbury had i-wreten and descryved Anselms lyf at þe fulle, ȝit by helpe [of William] [15] of Malmesbury somwhat mote be i-seide of þe noble [16] man. Whanne [17] Anselme was i-bore in þe citee of August, faste besides þe hilles [18] of [19] Alpes, and was lettred and chast of his childhode, and hadde his fader wreþþe, and myȝte plese hym in no manere wise, þerfore he fliȝ awey fer from his fader, and come to Becco in Normandie, and was i-favored under Lanfrank, and was i-made a [20] monk þere in his sixtene [21] ȝere. After Lanfrank, þre ȝere [22] priour of Becco, was translated [23] to þe abbay of Cadony, and Anselm

TREVISA.

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bery was vacante by v. yere. For the kynge made this excuse, seyenge that excellente clerkes reioycede that seete afore in the tyme of his predecessours, where hyt scholde not go owte of kynde in his tyme. This Anselme and [24] famose clerke, borne in the cuntre of Alpes, gretely instructe, and not fyndynge eny occasion how he myȝhte please his fader, fledde to Bectum in Normandy unto Lanfrancus. Whiche havynge xxvj. yere in age, was made monke under Herlewinus, abbot of þat monastery, and after thre yere y-paste, Lanfrancus made abbotte of Caane, Anselme was made prior Bectense under Herlewinus

MS. HARL 2261.

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[1] *foyde*, α.
[2] *cherches*, α.
[3] *gode*, β.
[4] *use*, α., β., and Cx.
[5] *was*] om. α., β., and Cx.
[6] *were meoved*, β.
[7] *hedles as it were a widewe*, β.; *hedles as hyt were a wedewe*, γ.; *hedles as it were a wydowe he wold*, Cx.
[8] *he*, α. and β.
[9] *myke*, γ.
[10] *coude*, Cx.
[11] *kunde*, γ.
[12] *Siche*, β.
[13] *archbischoprich*, β.; *archebisshopryche*, Cx.
[14] þouȝ, β.
[15] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[16] *so noble a*, β.; *so nobel a*, γ.; *of so noble a*, Cx.
[17] þanne, β.; *Than*, Cx.
[18] *hulles*, γ.
[19] *of*] þat hatte, α.; that hight, Cx.
[20] *a*] om. α., β., and Cx.
[21] *six and twenty*, Cx.
[22] Transposed in α., β., and Cx.
[23] *translate*, α.
[24] Sic in MS.

Herlewyno abbate prior est institutus; parsimoniæ, jejunio, instructionique juvenum, per xv. annos potissime[1] intendens, frequenter dicere solebat[2] se malle esse sine peccato in inferno quam in cœlo cum peccato. Opuscula litterata[3] et[4] multa composuit, in quibus nostram credulitatem, quam alii auctoritatibus[5] extorquere satagunt, ille rationibus et invincibilibus argumentis roboravit, adeo ut præcedentium cogitata non solum vinceret, immo in[6] unum acervum cogeret. Discretione quoque et patientia omnium suorum devicit animos æmulorum. Post quintumdecimum autem prioratus sui annum, defuncto Herlewyno primo Beccensi abbate, ipse Anselmus in abbatem Beccensem promotus est[7] et quinque [annis][8] tunc ab Anglia abstinuit, quamvis plurimæ ad veniendum causæ eum[9] urgerent, ne forsan archiepiscopatum Cantuariensem, per mortem Lanfranci tunc vacantem, ambire videretur. Sed tandem tribus de causis Angliam venire coactus est, prout supra dictum est.[10] Fiebant tunc in Anglia sub rege Willelmo Rufo deprædationes, proscriptiones[11] et confiscationes; nam tolerabilius fuisset unius hominis imperium ingemiscere quam novis et recenter[12] succedentibus dominis subjacere; inter hæc apud episcopos grande silentium, latrare non valentium aut non audentium. Intra conscientiam strangulabatur judicium propter unius hominis metum, nam quid attinet loqui ubi loquendo irrites odium, nec ullum

[1] *potissime*] om. C.D.
[2] *solebat*, from B.; *solet*, MS.
[3] *litteratura*, B.
[4] *et*] om. B.
[5] *a mentibus*, A.
[6] *in*] om. B.
[7] *sibi successit*, B.
[8] *annis*] from B.C.D.
[9] *ipsum*, B.
[10] *prout . . . est*] om. C.D., which add: "primo videlicet ut "monasterium apud Cestriam, pe- "tentem id Hugone comite, firma- "ret; secundo, ut eundem Hugo- "nem jam diu languescentem et "alium plane confessorem reniten- "tem visitaret; et tertio ut mona- "steriorum et prædiorum suorum "vectigalia intolerabilia apud Wil- "lelmum regem temperaret. Duo "prima cito expedivit, propter "tertium ad curiam regis accessit."
[11] *descriptiones*, B.
[12] *recentibus*, B.

was i-made priour under þe abbot Herlewyn. Þan Ancelme ȝaf hym to penaunce and to fastynge,[1] and to techynge of children nameliche fiftene ȝere, and wolde seie ful ofte þat hym were levere to be in helle wiþoute synne þan in hevene wiþ synne. He made meny bookes of clergie, in þe whiche oure byleve, þat oþer men makeþ hem besy [to wynne][2] by[3] auctorite, he strengþede wiþ resouns and argumentis [that][4] may nouȝt be assoilled, so þat he passeþ[5] nouȝt onliche here werkes þat were to fore hym, but also he gadrede here werkes al into oon hepe. Also by good witte and paciens he overcom al þe malys of his enemyes. After þe fiftenþe ȝere of his priourie Herlewyn abbot of Becco deide, and Anselme was i-made abbot in his stede, and helde[6] hym fyve ȝere out of Engelond, þowȝ his comynge were nedeful[7] for meny manere causes, leste me wolde wene þat[8] he coveytede[9] þe archebisshopriche of Canturbury,[10] þat voidede so[11] by Lanfrank his deeþ. But at þe laste for þre maneres causes he was i-compelled to come into Engelond, as it is i-seide toforehonde, for in[12] þat tyme [in][13] Engelond was robberie under kyng William þe Rede, and proscripciouns and excilinges and takynge into [the][13] kynges hond, for it was[14] esiere to bygrone þe emper[15] [of][16] a man[17] alone þan to be under newe lordes þat comeþ oon after oþer. Among al þis was grete scilence[18] among þe bisshoppes, þe riȝtful doom was i-choked wiþ ynne þe conscience of hem þat myȝt nouȝt nor dorste nouȝt berke[19] for drede of oon[20] man: for what profit is it to speke þere þou schal arere wreþþe and wynne no profit? Þo

TREVISA.

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abbot. Whiche ȝafe hym to grete abstinence by xv. yere, and to the informacion of yonge peple, seyenge oftetymes that he hade lever be in helle withowte synne then in hevyn with synne. This noble clerke Anselme, after that he hade bene prior xv. yere, Herelewinus dedde, he was electe to be abbot.

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *vastynge*, γ.
[2] From β., and Cx.; *to wynne wyþ auctoryte*, γ.
[3] *by*] wiþ, β.
[4] From Cx.; MS. has *and passeþ*.
[5] *passyd*, Cx.
[6] *huld*, γ.
[7] *nedfol*, γ.
[8] *lest that it shold be demed that*, Cx.
[9] *converted*, Cx.
[10] *Kaunterbury*, α.
[11] *so*] þo, β.; tho, Cx.
[12] *for in*] om. Cx.
[13] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[14] *were*, β.
[15] From α. and γ.; *empire*, β.; *bywaill the empyre*, Cx.; *emperour*, MS.
[16] From β., γ., and Cx.
[17] *oon man*, β.; *o man*, γ.
[18] *silence*, β.
[19] *berke*, from β.; *speke*, Cx.; *breke*, MS.
[20] *oon*] from α. and β.; *one*, Cx.; *no*, MS.

nanciscaris emolumentum? Erat tunc spes evadendi hæc mala si Anselmus, signifer primus, umbo publicus, fieret archiepiscopus. Rex siquidem Willelmus cuncta[1] sibi benigne dicta aut turbida ira aut facetis salibus[2] eludebat. Quippe non permisit ut orationes fierent aut pro eo aut pro statu ecclesiæ, "Orate," inquit, "quod "vultis; ego faciam quod placebit." Sed ipse tandem gravi infirmitate depressus Anselmum vocavit, et consensu episcoporum ipsum archiepiscopum fore designavit. At ille renitens[3] in hunc modum allegabat, "Si tauro "indomito, id est[4] Willelmo,[5] ovis vitula, id est An- "selmus, copuletur, pro disparitate trahentium aratrum "ecclesiæ non recte incedet;" verumtamen investitur Anselmus et consecratur. Sed rex convalescens pejor quam ante effectus, hortantibus eum ad bonum amicis suis respondere solebat,[6] "Per vultum de Luca, nun- "quam Deus me habebit bonum pro malo quod mihi "irrogat." Denique rex ipse ad congregandum rapax, ad effundendum prodigus, quemcumque[7] quicquam offerentem turbide exterruit nisi quantitas dati suæ conve-

[1] *cuncta*] om. A.
[2] *suasibus*, B.
[3] *remittens*, A.
scilicet, B.
[5] *Rufo*, add. A.; *Ruffo*, add. B.
[6] *uramento magno*, add. C.D.
[7] *quemcumque*] om. B.

was hope to scape [al][1] þis meschеef þere[2] þe bannyour[3] Ancelm, þat was þe first comyn schild,[4] was[5] i-made archebisshop. [Kyng William put of al þat was good y-seide to hym wiþ swellynge wreþþe, oþer wiþ merþe and curtesye of speche He suffrede doo no bedes for hym ne for þe state of holy cherche, but he saide: "Praye ȝe what ȝe willeþ,[6] I schal do "what me likeþ." At þe laste he was y-take wiþ a greet siknesse, and sent for Anselyn,[7] and by assent of bisshops he ordeynede þat he schulde be archebisshop. And he wiþsaide hit, and alleyde for hym þis manere: "ȝif a ȝong sheep, þat is "Anselyn, schal be y-coupled and y-ȝoked[8] to a wylde bole,[9] "þat is William þe rede, ffor þeyȝ[10] drawe nouȝt alle aliche[11] "þe solouȝ[12] of holy cherche schal nouȝt goo aryȝt." But Anselyn fonge[13] þe investiture, and was y-sacrede. But he recoverede of his siknesse, and was worse after þan to forhond: his frendes counsailled hym to god,[14] and [he][15] usede to answere and seie:[16] "Per vultum de Luca, God schal nevere "have me good for þe harm þat he doþ [me]."[17] Also þe kyng was a ravener[18] in gaderynge and a greet wastour in spendynge. He ferede dispitousliche eche man þat profrede hym ouȝt, but þe ȝifte were greet and accordynge to his owne herte. So][19] TREVISA.

And after that kynge William Rufus laborynge in grete infirmite callede venerable Anselme to hym, and ȝafe to hym the seete of Cawnterbery by consente of bischoppes. The seide Anselme refusynge hyt seide in this wyse: If Anselme as a meke schepe be cowplede to William Rufus as a wilde bulle, the plowe of the churche scholde not go ryȝhte for the inequalite of the bestes in hit. Neverthelesse this holy bischop Anselme consecrate, and the kynge recurede of infirmite was worse then ever he was afore; his cownsellours movenge hym to vertu, he was wonte to say, "By the chere of Luke, my "God schalle never have goode thynge of me for ylle;" not pleasede with eny ȝifte with owte hit were to his pleasure. Hit happede in a tyme this Anselme to have taken to hym for MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] From α., β., and γ.
[2] *þere*] yf, Cx.
[3] *ȝif þe banyour*, β.
[4] *comyn schild*, from γ.; *comynge child*, MS.
[5] *were*, α.
[6] *wolleþ*, β.
[7] *Ancelm*, Cx., et infra.
[8] *yocked*, Cx.
[9] *boole*, Cx.
[10] *þei*, β.
[11] *vor hy draweþ noȝt al yleche*, γ.
[12] *solouh*, Cx.
[13] *vyng*, γ.
[14] *goode*, β.; *gode*, γ.; *good*, Cx.
[15] From β. and Cx.
[16] *sygge*, γ.
[17] From Cx.
[18] *ravenour*, β.
[19] From α. β. γ. and Cx.

niret menti; unde cum beatus Anselmus quingentas [1] libras regi offerret, nec ipse reciperet, Anselmus eas pauperibus distribuit. Signa diversa per Angliam visa sunt; nam terræ motus maximus [2] apud Salopiam, et flumen Trente apud Snotyngham [3] a mane usque ad horam tertiam ita desiccatum est ut homines sicco pede transirent, et stella cometa apparuit mense Junii per tres hebdomadas; tunc quoque extitit hyems asperrima, fames valida, mortalitas [4] hominum, lues animalium, stragesque avium mutuo concertantium.[5] Henricus rex construit monasterium de Hyda extra muros Wyntoniæ, quod prius infra urbem [6] fuerat. Hoc [7] anno Henricus quartus Alemanniæ imperator duxit in uxorem Matildam Henrici regis Angliæ [8] filiam apud Mogonciam [viij. idus Januarii].[9]

Gratiæ MCXI. Henrici I XI.

Cap. XV.

[*De rebus Angliæ ecclesiasticis. Bellum inter Anglos et Gallos.*]

Idibus [10] Octobris magnus aquæ defectus per Angliam contigit, ita ut inter turrim Londoniæ et pontem

Gratiæ MCXIIII. Henrici I. XIIII.

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[1] 5000, C.; 50,000, D.
[2] *maxime*, A.
[3] *Notynham*, B.
[4] *mortalium*, A.
[5] *extitit permaxima*, C.D.
[6] *muros*, B.
[7] *quo*, A.
[8] *Angliæ*] om. A.
[9] *viij. idus Januarii*, from B.
[10] *Idus*, A.

seint Anselme in a tyme[1] profred þe kyng fyve hondred pound, and he wolde nouȝt ‚fonge hit;[2] þanne Ancelme deled it to pore men. Dyvers wondres were i-seie into al Engelond, for at Schroisbury was a grete erþe schakynge; and at Snotyngham, þat is[3] Notyngham, from þe erliche morwe[4] tide to þe underne[5] of þe day þe ryver of Trente was so fordryed[6] þat men myȝte goo þerover drye foot. And stella comata,[7] þat is a sterre wiþ a briȝt lemynge[8] creest, was i-seie hool þre wykes[9] in þe monþe of Iuyn. Þo was an hard wynter, strong honger, deeþ of men, pestilence of beestes, and fiȝtinge of foules, þat fauȝt to gidres. Kyng Henry bulde[10] þe abbay of Hyde wiþ oute þe walles of Wynchestre, þat was toforehonde wiþ ynne þe citee. Þis ȝere þe fourþe[11] emperour Henry[12] of Almayne wedded Mold, kyng Henries douȝter, at Magons, þe vi. day of Ianyver.[13] TREVISA.

Capitulum decimum quintum.

THE fiftenþe day of Octobre felle[14] a grete defaute of water in Engelonde, so þat hors and men myȝte wade bytwene Temse-

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a ȝifte v. c. li.; and that ȝifte refusede of the kynge, he distribute hit amonge poore peple. Diverse mervayles were seen in Ynglonde in this tyme, for þer was a grete movynge of erthe at Schrobbesbery, and the water of Trente at Notyngham was so dryede up that men myȝhte goe over hit with owte eny moisture. Also a blassynge sterre apperede in the monethe of Iunius by thre weekes contynually, and after that a scharpe wynter did folowe, grete hungre, dethe of men, moreyne of bestes, and fiȝhtynge of briddes. Kynge Henricus made the monastery of Hyde, with owte the walles of Wynchestre somme tyme, with ynne the walles. Henricus the iiij[the] emperour of Alemayne, mariede Matilda, suster[15] of kynge Henricus, at Magoncia, the viij. idus of Ianuary. MS. HARL. 2269.

Capitulum decimum quintum.

A GRETE wontynge of water happede thro Yyglonde in the idus of October, insomoche that men and bestes myȝhte have f. 352. a.

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[1] *in a tyme* put before *seint Anselme, in.* α., β., γ., and Cx.
[2] *hem*, α.
[3] *Snotyngham þat is*] om. Cx.
[4] *morn*, α.
[5] *to under*, Cx.
[6] *vordruyed*, γ.
[7] *cometa*, β., γ., and Cx.
[8] *bemyng*, Cx.
[9] *thre hoole wekes*, Cx.
[10] *buylded*, Cx.
[11] *ferþe*, β.
[12] *Henry emperour*, Cx.
[13] *Januar*, Cx.
[14] *fil*, β.; *vul*, γ.
[15] Sic.

Thamisiæ fuit aqua vadabilis hominibus et equis per diem naturalem.[1] *Willelmus,*[2] *libro tertio.*[3] Hoc[4] anno coacto consilio apud Wyndesoram, destinavit rex abbatem Abendoniæ Farisium ad sedem Cantuariensem, sed pondere negotii ad examen episcoporum devoluto, ipsi prætulerunt Radulphum Roffensem tunc episcopum.[5] Eo quoque anno Thurstinus[6] quidam in archiepiscopum Eboracensem est electus, qui licet a rege sæpius esset admonitus ut subjectionem canonicam faceret Radulpho Cantuariensi, potius præelegit dignitati cedere quam Cantuariensi obedire ; at dum privatus sederet, solitis obsequiis destitutus æger ipse ambitione facti pœnituit, regem ultra mare secutus est, ubi papa Paschalis, procurantibus id clericis Thurstini, epistolam regi direxit pro restitutione Thurstini. Qui cum ad sedem Eboracensem redisset, et obedientiam canonicam Cantuariensi[7] facere adhuc detrectasset, renovatur antiquum discidium. Quamobrem statuunt Remis ad concilium generale concurrere[8] pro decisione[9] causæ suæ ubi papa primo promisit regi[10] Angliæ[11] et Cantuariensi Radulpho nihil contra dignitatem Can-

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[1] *et noctem,* add. C.D., and omit reference.

[2] *de Pontificibus,* add. A.B.

[3] Script. post Bedam, p. 274.

[4] *Postquam sedes Cantuariensis jam quinque annis vacasset post mortem Anselmi, coacto tandem,* &c., C.D.

[5] *Will., lib. iii., de Pont.,* C.D

[6] *Turstanus* apud Willelmum semper.

[7] *archiepiscopo,* add. B.

[8] *occurrere,* B.

[9] *defensione,* B.

[10] *regi*] om. A. ; *regi Henrico,* C.D.

[11] *Anglorum,* A.B.

[12] *et*] ; wrongly added here in MS. ; om. A.B.

brugge [1] and þe toure of Londoun, and [2] þat durede a day and a nyȝt. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Þis ȝere was a counsaile at Wyndesore, and þe kyng ordeyned Faricius abbot of Abyndon to þe see of Canturbury; but þe charge of þat dede come to examynacioun of bisshops, and þey putte tofore hym Rauf [3] bisshop of Rochestre. Also þat ȝere one Thurstan [4] was i-chose archebisshop of ȝork; þe kyng chargede hym ofte þat he schulde do lawful subjectioun to Rauf archebisshop of Caunterbury. [But hym was lever leve the dignyte than be obedyente to the archebisshop of Caunterbury].[5] But when he was i-prived, and had no service, as he was i-wont, he was agreved, and [he] [6] forþouȝt [7] þat dede ful sore, and folwede þe kyng over þe see; þere by þe procurynge of Thurstynes clerkes pope Paschal sente a lettre to þe kyng forto restore Thurstan aȝen. Whanne he was efte i-comen to þe see of ȝork, ȝit he hadde scorne to doo laweful obedience to þe archebisshop of Canturbury; þanne þe olde strif was renewed aȝen: þere [8] þey ordeyned for to come to Rome [9] to þe general counsail to defende here cause.[8] First þere þe pope byheet to þe kyng of Engelond and to Rauf archebisshop of Caunterbury [that he wold nothyng ordeyne ageynst the dygnyte of hooly chirche

Trevisa.

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go by water from the toure of London unto the brigge by a naturalle day. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.* A cownsaile hade in this yere at London, the kynge intendede to have made Faricius, abbot of Abendon, metropolitan of Ynglonde; but the bischoppes electe Radulphus bischoppe of Rawchestre. In whiche tyme a man callede Thurstinus was electe into the bischop of Yorke; and the seide man monyschede ofte tymes by the kynge to make profession and obedience to þe metropolitan of Ynglonde, chosede raþer to leve his seete. But after that he repent, and wente to the kynge in Normandy, where Paschalis the pope sende a bulle to the kynge for the restitucion of the seide Thurstyn. Whiche reioycnge that seete and refusynge to make obedience, a newe discorde began to sprynge amonge the bischoppes. *Willelmus de Pontifi-*

MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *brydge*, Cx.
[2] *and*] om. Cx.
[3] *Raaf*, β. and Cx., et β. infra.
[4] *One Thurstan*, from Cx.; *Athelston*, MS.
[5] Added in Cx.; *But hym was lever leve þe dignite þan be obedient to þe archbischop of Caunterbury*, β.; *bote hym was levere leve þe dignyte þan be obedient to þe archebisshop of Caunturbury*, γ.
[6] From α.
[7] *forþouȝt*, from β.; *and forthought*, Cx.; *þouȝt*, MS.
[8] *þere . . . cause*] om. Cx.
[9] *Remne*, β.

tuariensis ecclesiæ statuere. *Willelmus, libro primo de Pontificibus.*[1] Immo tale videbatur privilegium concedere, "Quæcumque authentica et a prædecessoribus nostris concessa habet ecclesia vestra, ea nullatenus imminuimus, sed inconcussa volumus observari." Hic si dominus papa expresse dixisset, has et has[2] dignitates habet[3] ecclesia vestra, absolvisset litigium, sed nunc reliquitur indeterminatum. Sic callidus lepos Romanorum novit se ad oratorum convertere versutias, ut quæ vult cassa suspendat ambage, non parcens alienis laboribus, dummodo suis consulat profectibus. Unde et dominus papa[4] recedentibus nunciis regiis, inflexus favoribus aut muneribus callidius quam tantum virum decuit, Thurstinum spreta antiquitatis regula consecravit, pallium tradens. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.*[5] Et licet rex Henricus ex hoc plurimum indignatus terram suam Thurstino prohiberet, apostolicis tamen litteris perterritus est, quibus comprehensum fuerat ut aut Thurstinum admitteret[6] aut ipse rex anathemati subjaceret et Cantuariensis officii

[1] Script. post Bedam, p. 231.
[2] *et has*] om. B
[3] *habuit*, C.D.
[4] *papa*] om. B.
[5] Script. post Bedam, p. 275.
[6] *amitteret*, A.B.

of Caunterbury].[1] *Willelmus, libro 2°.* But it semeth þat he grauntede a privelege in þis manere: "Of alle þe autentike "grauntes þat ȝoure cherche haþ, i-graunted of oure[2] predeces- "sours, we wil noþing wiþdraw, but wil þat it stonde and be "i-keped[3] wiþouten[4] wemme." Here ȝif þe pope hadde i-seie[5] "ȝoure cherche haþ þis[6] dignitees and þis"[6] hadde he[7] assoyllede þe plee and þe stryf. But now he leveþ þe stryf al unassoilled; so þe gileful spekere of Romayns can torne hym-self to þe wille[8] of plederes so þat hym likeþ: he wil suspende in veyn and leve it in doute, and spareþ nouȝt þe cost and travaille of oþer men, while he casteþ for his owne profit and avauntage. Þerfore whanne þe kynges messangers were i-goo, þe pope was aboute for to favere[9] oþere for ȝiftes more gilfulliche þan so grete a man schulde, and forsook þe reule[10] of þe[11] olde tyme, and sacrede Thurstyn and ȝaf hym the pal. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 3°. Kyng Henry had greet indignacioun þerof, and forbeed[12] Thurstyn his londe; but he was aferde by þe popes lettres, in þe whiche it was conteyned þe king schulde fonge Thurstyn or be accorsed and suspended by

TREVISA.

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cibus, libro primo. The pope grawntede this privelege to the bischopps, beynge there for this mater to be discussede, whiche privilege was grawnted afore by his predecessors, willynge that suche privilege scholde remayne stable and inconcussede for ever. But and if the pope hade expressede these and these dignites be hade in youre churches, he scholde have finischede that contencion; but he lefte that untowchede. And messyngers of the kynge departede, the pope consecrate the seide Thurstyn, and toke to hym a palle, a grete summe of goode ȝiffen to hym afore. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro tertio.* And thauȝhe kynge Henricus hade grete indignacion þerof, and prohibite that seete to the seide Thurstyn, he dredde soore the wrytynge of the pope, where hit was contenede that other he scholde admitte the seide Thurstyne, or he scholde be excommunicate, and the bischop of Cawnterbery suspended. Wherefore the kynge

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] From Cx.; *þat he wolde noþinge ordeyne aȝenes þe dignite of þe chirche of Caunterbury, β.*; *þat he wolde no þynge ordeyne aȝenes þe dignyte of þe cherche of Canterbury, γ.*

[2] *ur, γ.*

[3] *kepte, γ.*

[4] *withoute ony wemme*, Cx.

[5] *seid, α.*; *seide, β.*

[6] *þese, β.* bis; *þues, γ.* bis.

[7] *he hadde, α., β.*

[8] *wiles, β.*; *wyles, γ.*

[9] *was ybowed for favour, β.*; *was ybowed vor favour, γ.*; *was bowyd other for favour*, Cx.

[10] *reule*, from *γ.*; *rule, β.*; *realme*, MS.

[11] *þe*] om. *β.*

[12] *vorbud, γ.*

dignitate suspenderetur.[1] *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.*[2] Radulphus Cantuariensis[3] ad iracundiam et paralysim plurimum inclinatus die quo rex Henricus, mortua prima uxore, filiam ducis Lotharingiæ duxerat, episcopum Salisburiensem ad id peragendum sacris[4] indutum eximiis[5] cedere[6] coegit, et Wentano episcopo[7] hoc officium delegavit. Postera autem die cum regem Henricum videret præter sui conscientiam coronatum, accessit ad eum dicens, "Injuste "es coronatus; tu ergo aut abstinebis corona aut ego "missa." Cui rex ait "Pater, quod perperam actum "est corrigere." Vix igitur Radulphus procerum precibus est inflexus quin regiam coronam de capite regio excussisset. Vir quidem religione,[9] litteratura, et affabilitate præstans, nullius delicti suspicione facile notabilis, nisi quod ad jocos et risus inclinatior erat quam gradum et ætatem suam decebat, dicebaturque[10] nugax.

Gratiæ MCXVI. Henrici I. XVI. Hyems asperrima extitit, ita ut multi[11] pontes per Angliam resolutione glaciei frangerentur. Mense Maii[12]

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[1] *dignitas suspenderetur. Quamobrem rex ipsum Thurstinum tandem coactus admisit,* C.D.

[2] *primo,* from A.B.; *septimo,* MS. Script. post Bedam, p. 232.

[3] *ex hoc,* C.D.

[4] *vestibus,* C.D.

[5] *idque officium tanquam infra diocesim suam facere volentem, &c.,* add. C.D.

[6] *excedere,* A.

[7] *in hoc successoribus præcavens,* C.D.

[8] *Pater*] om. B.

[9] *et,* B.

[10] *enim pene,* C.D.

[11] *omnes pene Angliæ glacie,* C.D.

[12] *Maio,* A.

þe dignyte of þe office of Canturbury. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* Kyng Henries firste wyf was dede; þanne he weddede þe dukes douȝter of Lotharingia. In þe day of þe weddynge Raph[1] archebisshop of Canturbury, þat was wreþful[2] and acombred wiþ the palsy, and sigh[3] þe bisshop of Salisbury[4] y-revested to doo þe solempnite of þat weddynge, and made hym leve of þat dede, and ordeyned þe bisshop of Wynchestre to doo þat office. Þanne þe next day þerafter he sigh kyng Henry i-crowned aȝenst his concience, and wente to hym and seide, "Þow art unriȝtfulliche i-crowned; þerfore þou schalt "leve þy crowne, or I schal leve þe masse." "Fader," quod þe kyng, "amende þou þat is mysdoo." Þanne Rauf sparede unneþe for prayere of lordes þat he ne hadde i-smete[5] doun þe crowne of the kynges heed. He was a stedefast man of good levynge, of lettrure, and of faire[6] speche, wiþouten suspeccioun of eny trespas þat was i-knowe, but þat he usede more lawhynge[7] and playenge þan it semede his staate and his age, and he was nyh i-cleped a iapere. Þe wynter was hard, so þat many brugges[8] in Engelond were i-broke[9] of þe þowynge[10] of þe yse.[11] In þe monþe of May come so meny flyȝes and fleyȝ[12] aboute in

TREVISA.

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admitte the seide Thurstyne at the laste as compellede. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro primo.* The seide Radulphus laborynge as in a peralisy thro huge vexacion, and the firste wife of this kynge dede, and mariede[13] to the duke of Lotharingia, was crownede by an other bischop with owte licence of the metropolitan. After that the bischop recured, and seenge the kynge y-crownede, seide to hym, "Thow arte not crownede "ryȝhteousely." Then the kynge seide to hym, "Fader, cor-"recte that is wronge:" for the metropolitan hade seide to hym that either the kynge scholde abstene from his crowne, or he from masse. Whiche metropolitan wolde have a taken violentely the crowne from the kynges hedde, but that he was entretede into the contrary by the preyers of noble astates presente. f. 352 b. This metropolitan was a man of noble intellecte, not prompte to synne, neverthelesse he hade oon grete vice of moche laȝhynge, insomoche that he was callede as a japer of moche peple R. In this yere was a scharpe wynter, insomoche þat mony brygges were broken in Ynglonde by the dissolvynge of þat forste.

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *Raaf*, β. and Cx., et infra.
[2] *wraþful*, α.
[3] *syȝ*, β.
[4] *y*] om. α. and Cx.
[5] *but he had smyten*, Cx.
[6] *veyr*, γ.
[7] *lauȝinge*, β.; *lauȝyng*, γ.
[8] *brydges*, Cx.
[9] *to broke*, α., β., and γ.
[10] *þewinge of þe iise*, β.
[11] *ys*, γ.
[12] *vlye*, γ.
[13] Sic in MS.

advolaverunt in terra Jerosolimorum tam multæ locustæ, devorantes vineas, arbores et sata, quod facta tali expeditione diurna aliæ pedites aliæ volantes ad sua [1] hospitia vespere recesserunt. Apud Italiam terræ motus duravit [2] xl[a] dies, ita ut domibus plurimis eversis villa una pergrandis mota sit totaliter de loco suo ad alium locum [3] transposita.[4] Paschalis papa obiit; successit Johannes Gaytanus, qui et Gelasius ii[us] dictus est.[5] Hic [6] prioris papæ cancellarius sedit anno et dimidio. Audiens autem Henricus imperator privilegium suum de investitura prælatorum revocatum, ascendit Romam ut de Paschali papa gravius se vindicaret, sed audita morte Paschalis papæ, intrusit in papatum quendam a papa nuper excommunicatum, Mauricium, cognomento Burdinum, Bacharensem [7] episcopum, quem Gregorium septimum nominavit.[8] Gelasius [9] vero papa cum cardinalibus præ timore imperatoris relicta Roma navigavit Januam, et inde pedestri itinere venit Cluniacum, ubi et [10] obiit. Ibi tunc cardinales erexerunt in papam Guydonem Viennensem episcopum,[11] quem Calixtum secundum vocaverunt *Marianus*.[12] Hoc [13] anno obiit dominus Florentius [14] Wygorniensis monachus, cujus litterato labore pluri-

Gratiæ MCXVII. Henrici I. XVII.

Gratiæ MCXVIII. Henrici I. XVIII.

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[1] *comiter*, add. C.D.

[2] *per*, B.

[3] *longe*, A.B.

[4] *transposita*] from C.D.; *positum*, MS.

[5] *est*] om. A.

[6] *Hic ab infantia in monasterio Montis Cassini tonsoratus fuit, apud Cluniacum obiit. In quo loco cardinales, qui propter metum imperatoris ibidem fugerant, Gelasium elegerant, qui tunc fuerat episcopsu Viennæ. Henricus namque imperator audita*, &c., C.D.

[7] *Bacarensem*, B.

[8] *commotus enim erat quod electioni non interfuit*, C.D.

[9] *Gelasius . . . quinto*] om. C.D.

[10] *et*] om. A.

[11] *archiepiscopum*, B.

[12] *Ranulphus*, A.B.

[13] *Isto*, A.

[14] *Florentius*] from A.B.; *Floriacensis*, MS.

TREVISA.

þe lond of Ierusalem þat þey ete and destroyed vines, treen, and corn, [and whan þey hadde y-do a[1] iourney a day some flauȝ[2] and some ȝede on here feet to here herborwe[3] at eve. In Ytale was an erþe schakyng, and[4] durede fourty dayes, so þat meny house were y-þrowe doun, and greet townes[5] were y-meoved and y-hove[6] fer out of oon place into anoþer. Pope Paschal deide; Iohn Gaytanus was pope after hym; þis was þe raþer popes chaunseler, and was y-cleped þe secounde Gelasius, and was pope a ȝer and an half].[7] Henry þe emperour herde þat his privelege of þe investiture of prelates was wiþcleped, and wente to Rome, and took[8] more grevous wreche of pope Paschal; and herde of pope Paschallis deeþ, and putte oon Morys Burdyn[9] into þe poperiche. Þis Moris was bisshop of Bachar,[10] and þe emperour cleped þis Morys þe vii. Gregorie. For drede of þe emperour pope Gelasius lefte Rome, and saillede to Gien,[11] and wente þennes on his feet to Cluny, and deide þere. Þe cardynales þo þere took Gye archebisshop of Vyen, and made hym pope, and clepid hym þe secounde Calixte. ℟. Also þis ȝere deide Florence[12] monk of Wircestre: by his studie and travaille þis storie is greetliche i-hiȝt.[13] Greet stryf

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MS. HARL. 2261.

Also a grete movynge of the erthe indurede at Italy by xl^ta^ dayes, destroyenge mony edificacions; in whiche tyme oon grete cite was movede from oon place to an other by a grete space asundre. Paschalis the pope diede in this yere, whom Gelasius, chawnceler to hym afore, did succede oon yere and a halfe. Themperour herynge the privilege of the investiture of prelates to be revocate, come to Rome that he myȝhte be vengede of Paschalis the pope. Neverthelesse the emperour, knowynge that he was dedde, made Mauricius bischop Bacharense pope excommunicate of the pope but a litelle afore, whom he callede Gregory the vij^the^. Gelasius the pope dredynge the emperoure, fledde to Cluniacum with the cardinalls, where he diede, and then the cardinalls electe into the pope Guido the archebischop Viennense, whom thei callede Calixte the secunde. ℟. Florencius, a monke of Worcestre, diede in this yere, thro labour of whom this presente storye ys

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[1] *a*] her, *β.* and Cx.
[2] *flyȝ*, *β.*; *flye*, Cx.
[3] *harbrugh*, *γ.*
[4] *and*] that, Cx.
[5] *a grete toun*, *β.*; *a grete towne was*, Cx.
[6] *heve*, Cx.
[7] From *α.*, *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx.
[8] *to take*, *β.* and Cx.
[9] *Burdin*, *γ.*
[10] *Bacher*, Cx.
[11] *Gene*, *α.*, *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx.
[12] *Florencius*, *β.*; *Florentius*, Cx.
[13] *y-yȝt*, *γ.*

mum[1] adaucta est præsens historia. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro quinto.*[2] Orta discordia inter reges Angliæ et Franciæ,[3] rex Angliæ Henricus[4] gloriose devicit regem Franciæ in bello. Post hoc[5] Henricus rex copulavit Willelmum filium suum primogenitum filiæ Fulconis comitis Andegaviæ, et tunc facta est pax[6] inter reges, quia Willelmus predictus tenuit Normanniam de rege Franciæ, et fecit ei homagium pro illa, concedente patre suo rege Henrico, qui pro culmine majestatis suæ fastidivit facere hominium[7] regi Franciæ pro Normannia. Tunc quoque rex Henricus fecit liberos homines suos de Anglia et Normannia facere hominium Willelmo filio suo. Unde sperabatur quod vaticinium regis Edwardi in isto Willelmo foret implendum, quo dicebatur, quando arbor præcisa ad truncum rediens pubesceret, remedium foret sperandum: sed hoc obnubilavit sortis humanæ varietas; nam post triennalem moram regis in Normannia Willelmus iste submersus est, ut infra dicetur. Hoc quoque tempore Fulco comes prædictus Jerosolimam pergens commendavit comitatum suum Andegaviæ regi Angliæ, ad opus generi sui servandum si ipse non rediret.

Gratiæ MCXIX. Henrici } XIX.

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[1] *multum*, B.

[2] A.B. put the reference before the next passage. The reference should be *de Gestis Reg. Angl. lib. v.* See Script. post Bedam, p. 165.

[3] *Franciæ et Hiberniæ, Henricus gloriose*, &c., A.

[4] *Henricus . . . hoc*] om. C.D.

[5] *hæc*, B.

[6] *pacem fecit cum rege Francorum*, C.D., which omit the rest of the chapter.

[7] *hominium*] from A.; *hominum*, MS.

was bytwene þe kynges of Engelond and of Fraunce, and Henry kyng of Engelond overcome þe kyng of Fraunce realliche[1] in bataille. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro* 5°. Hereafter kyng Henry maried his eldest sone William to Fulcos his douȝter, duke of Angeo.[2] Þoo was pees i-made bytwene þe kynges, for þis William hilde Normandie of þe kyng of Fraunce, and dede hym homage for þat lond, by graunt of his fader kyng Henry; for þe kyng was so grete þat he wolde nouȝt do homage to þe kyng of Fraunce for Normandie. Þo also kyng Henry made of[3] his free men of Engelond and of Normandie doo homage to his sone William. And me hopede þerby þat kyng Edwardes prophecie scholde be fulfilled[4] in þis William. In þat prophecie it was i-seide þat whanne þe tree þat is i-kutte[5] comeþ to þe stok aȝen and springeþ, þan schal be hope and[6] remedie. But þat was i-blend wiþ[7] þe[8] chaungynge of hap of mankynde; þerfore[9] after þe kyng hadde i-dwelled þre ȝere in Normandie þis William was drenched.[10] Also þat [tyme][11] þis eorle Folco wente to Ierusalem, and bytook þe eorldom of Angeo[12] to þe kyng of Engelond to kepe to þe profit of his sone in lawe ȝif he come nouȝt aȝen. TREVISA.

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gretely suppliede. A grete discorde spronge betwene kynges of Ynglonde and of Fraunce, kynge of Ynglonde hade a glorious victory ageyne the kynge off Fraunce. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, libro quinto.* After that kynge Henricus mariede William his sonne the senior to the doȝhter of Fulco erle of Gascoigne, and then pease was made betwene the kynges, for the seide William helde Normandy of the kynge of Fraunce, and made to hym homage þerfore by consente of his fader. For kynge Henricus thouȝhte that hit were schame beynge kynge to have made homage to hym. Then kynge Henricus made men of Normandy and of Ynglonde to do homage to his sonne William. Fulco the seide erle goynge to Ierusalem toke the cuntre of Gascoyne to the kynge of Ynglonde to the utilite of William his sonne in lawe, if that he come not ageyne. MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *rialich*, β.; *ryally*, Cx.
[2] *Avioe*, β.; *Anioe*, γ.; *Angeo*, from Cx.; *Avynoun*, MS.
[3] *of*] om. Cx.
[4] *volfuld*, γ.
[5] *tre þat is kitt*, β.
[6] *of*, α., β., and Cx.
[7] *by*, β.; *yblend be þe*, γ.
[8] *wiþ þe*] by, Cx.
[9] *þerfore*] for, β. and Cx.
[10] *adreynt*, β., γ., and Cx.
[11] From β. and Cx.
[12] *Angeo*, from Cx.; *Avioun*, MS.

Cap. XVI.

De pontificibus Romanorum.[1]

Calixtus secundus sedit papa annis quinque, mensibus decem; qui viribus undecumque collectis cepit et incarceravit Mauricium antipapam supradictum, quem primo in camelo poni fecit, versa facie sua ad caudam cameli, caudamque[2] pro freno tenuit papam præcedendo. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto.*[3] Circa[4] hos dies ordo Præmonstrensis incepit in Laudunensi diocesi sub patre Northberto, qui fuit natione[5] Coloniensis. Circa[6] hæc tempora obiit Matilda regina Angliæ, quæ in primis annis inter sanctimoniales Wyntoniæ educata fuit, et litteris instructa. Unde et ut ignobiles nuptias respueret, quas pater ejus sæpius obtulit, peplum sacri voti gestavit. Quamobrem cum rex Henricus eam thalamo susciperet, res in disputationem venit, resistente Anselmo, donec legitimis testibus probaretur eam sine professione, et non nisi causa procorum[7] recusandorum velum gestasse. Hæc itaque duplicem partum enixa, masculum et fœminam, parere desiit. Inde apud Westimonasterium commorans regaliter est exhibita, volente id rege; cæterum cilicio sub regio cultu convoluta, nudipes in xl.ª adibat ecclesiam;

Præmonstrensis.

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[1] A.B. omit title.

[2] *eandemque*, B.

[3] A. puts the reference before the next passage, rightly, *see* Script. post Bedam, p. 164.

[4] C.D. place this passage first.

[5] *natione*] om. B.

[6] *Circa . . . quinto* (page 460)] om. C.D.

[7] *procerum*, A.

Capitulum decimum sextum.

TREVISA.

THE secounde Kalixte was pope fyve ȝere and fyve monþes; he gadrede strengþe on every side, and took and prisoned Morys þe [forsayd][1] antipope, and made first sette hym uppon a camel, and torned his face toward þe camelis tayle, and so he rood, and hilde[2] þe tayle in his hond in stede[3] of a bridel, and rode tofore the pope. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 5°. Aboute þis tyme bygan þe ordre Premonstracensis, þat is þe ordre of white chanouns, and bygan in þe diocise Landymensi,[4] under þe fader Norþbert of the nacioun of Coleyne.[5] Aboute þat tyme deide Molde queene of Engelond: ferst sche lernede[6] lettrure and was i-norsched among mynchouns[7] at Wynchestre; for to putte of unworþy mariage þat here fadre profred here ofte tyme, sche[8] bare þe vayle of holy avow; þerfore whan kyng Henry wolde have hire to wyve þat doynge [fel][9] in greet desputesoun,[10] and Anselme wiþstood þat mariage, for [to][11] it was i-proved by lawe of ful[12] witnesse þat sche took þe vayle for to putte of[13] wowers, and for noon oþer cause. Þis hadde two children [at oon burden, a sone and a douȝter, and cessede of children][14] berynge; þan sche dwelled at[15] Westmynstre, and was i-founde as a queen by þe [kyng and by][16] kynges wil; but sche werede þe heyre under þe real[17] array,[18] and ȝede bare-

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Capitulum decimum sextum.

CALIXTUS the secunde was pope v. yere and v. monethes; whiche gedrenge a grete hoste come to Rome and toke Mauricius the pope, causynge hym to be putte on a camel goynge or rydynge afore Calixte, his face turnede to the tayle of the camelle and holdynge hit in his hondes for a bridele. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto.* MS. HARL. 2261. f. 345 b.

The ordre Premonstracense began abowte this tyme in þe province Landunense under fader Norbertus. Matilda, qwene of Ynglonde, a woman nobly instructe in connynge and vertu. f. 353. a.

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[1] From Cx.
[2] *a rod and huld*, γ.
[3] *stude*, β.
[4] *Landunensi*, α.; *Landunensy*, β.; *Laudunensy*, Cx.
[5] *Coleye*, α.; *Coloyn*, β.
[6] *vurste hue lurnde*, γ.
[7] *monchouns*, β.
[8] *heo*, β.
[9] From α.; *vul*, γ.; *fylle*, Cx.
[10] *desputyson*, Cx.
[11] *for*] til, β.; vorto, γ.; till, Cx.
[12] *by lawful*, Cx.
[13] *of*, from α. and β.; *þe*, MS.
[14] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[15] *and*, α.
[16] From α.; not in β. and Cx.
[17] *ryal*, β.
[18] *were the heer under the ryal araye*, Cx.

nec horrebat lavare pedes[1] morbidorum, ulcera tractans manibus, basia infigens, et mensam apponens; atque officii divini multum fuit æmula, idcirco in clericos bene[2] melodos inconsiderate prodiga. Unde et scholastici canticis et versibus famosi ad eam quasi de toto orbe confluebant; sed et in alios adventantes profuse expendebat. Ita nempe innata est mentibus hominum cupiditas gloriæ, ut vix aliquis etiam bonæ conscientiæ contentus sit boni operis fructibus quin dulce ducat efferri in vulgus. Unde quod illa de causa colonos suos expilaverit[3] consiliis[4] ministrorum imputari poterit.[5]

Gratiæ MCXX. Henrici I. XX.

Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto.[6] Septimo kalendas Septembris[7] solutis navibus apud Barleflete[8] in Normannia rex prospere Angliam venit; quem primogenitus suus Willelmus sequi gestiens, submersus est cum multis nobilibus non longe a terra. Inter quos fuerunt, Ricardus[9] nothus filius regis,[10] filia regis notha, comitissa Perciæ,[11] Ricardus comes[12] Cestriæ cum uxore sua regis nepte,[13] archidiaconus Herefordiæ, cum aliis numero centum[14] quadraginta; de quibus omnibus nullus[15] [evasit] nisi unus ignobilis rusticus macillarius, qui[16] tota nocte malo supernatans ad litus mane vectus est, qui totam tragediam enarravit. Hi nempe omnes

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[1] *pedes*] om. A.

[2] *bene*] from A.B.; *bone*, MS.

[3] *expilaverat*, A.

[4] *consilio*, B.

[5] *imputari poterit*] om. A.

[6] Script. post Bedam, p. 165.

[7] *Decembris*, B.

[8] *Berkflet*, B.; in Willelm. the name is written *Barbelflut*.

[9] *comes Cestriæ*, C.D.

[10] *cum uxore sua nepte regis Henrici, archidiaconus Herefordiæ, filia regis Henrici, et alii nobiles, numero*, C.D.

[11] *Persiæ*, A.

[12] *comes*] om. B.

[13] *nepote*, A.

[14] *centum* written both before and after *numero* in MS.

[15] *evasit*, from A.B.

[16] *qui . . . est* (page 462)] om. C.D.

foot [1] to cherche in þe Lenten [2] tyme, and was nouȝt squaymus [3] to wasche seke menis feet, and grope sore bochches [4] wiþ here hondes, and kusse þe seke men, and sette to hem a mete borde and serve hem. Also sche loved moche Goddes service, þerfore sche spended moche on clerkes þat kowþe wel synge. Þerfore famous men of scole come to here wiþ vers [5] and wiþ song, as it were out of alle londes. Also sche spendede largeliche on comers þat come on every side. Desire of praysinge is so kyndeliche i-piȝt [6] in manis herte, þat unneþe eny man, þeiȝ he be of good conscience, holde [7] hym apaide wiþ the fruyt of his good werkes; but ȝit he haþ likynge þat þe people [8] knewe [9] of his good dedes: [by cause of suche dedes] [10] sche pyled hir [11] plouȝ men, but þat may be wiste by counseille of here mynistres. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 5°. The sixte day tofore Decembre at Barefleet [12] in Normandie up gooþ the ankres, and þe kyng saillede graciously [13] into Engelond. His sone William wolde seile after hym, and was i-drenched,[14] and meny noble men nouȝt fer from þe londe. Þe kynges sone Richard, eorle of Chestre,[15] bastard, was among hem, and Notha þe contesse [16] of Percy, and Richard eorle of Chestre, and his wyf, þat was þe kynges neese,[17] and þe archedecon of Hereford, and oþere in þe nombre of an hondred and fifty: of hem alle ascapede none but oon cherle, a bocher,[18] þat swam al nyȝt uppon a broken mast, and come to þe cleve [19] in þe morntide, and tolde [alle] [20] þe geest [21] how it was byfalle.[22] Alle þese wente be nyȝte into a

TREVISA.

Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto. Kynge Henricus takynge schippe at Barbelflete in Normandy come to Ynglonde the vij^the^ kalendes of December. But William his eldeste sonne wyllynge to folowe hym, was drownede with mony noble men not ferre from the londe. Amonge whom Ricardus Nothus, sonne of the kynge, was Richarde erle of Chestre, with his wife, the archidiacon of Herford with a cxl^ti^ oþer moo in nowmbre, amonge whom noo man escapede ne woman, but a botcher whiche fletynge on the maste of the schippe was dryven to londe, that rehersede of this processe. For these peple en-

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *barvoot*, γ.
[2] *Leynte*, β.
[3] *scaymes*, β.; *scoymes*, γ.; *squaymes*, Cx.
[4] *bocches*, β.; *boches*, γ.; *botches*, Cx.
[5] *versus*, Cx.
[6] *pyȝt*, α.
[7] *halt*, β.
[8] *pupel*, γ.
[9] *knowe*, Cx.
[10] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[11] *hue pelede here*, γ.
[12] *Barbeflet*, γ.; *Harfleet*, Cx.
[13] *gracyosliche*, γ.
[14] *adreynt*, Cx.
[15] *eorle of Chestre*] om. α., β., and Cx.
[16] *contas*, γ.
[17] *nece*, β.
[18] *bochour*, β.; *bochur*, γ.; *chorle bocher*, Cx.
[19] *clyve*, β.
[20] From Cx.
[21] *al þe geest*, β.; *gest*, .; *geste*, Cx.
[22] *byvalle*, γ.

cum[1] temulentis nautis navem novam ingressi de nocte cito in scopulum non longe a terra impegerunt, et rupta navi demissus est Willelmus filius regis in scapham, qua bene salvari potuisset[2] ad litus regressus, nisi ad ululatum sororis suæ rediens recepisset eam in scapham suam, scapha cum illa pondere insilientium pressa omnes submersit excepto rustico prædicto. Et quod mirandum est, in crastino multum thesauri reperiebatur per littora, sed corpora defunctorum nulla, sed æquoreis monstris in pabula cesserunt.[3] *Henricus, libro septimo.*[4] Et dicebatur quod pæne omnes illi sodomitæ[5] fuerant. *Willelmus.*[6] Insuper[7] et ille Willelmus regis primogenitus palam comminatus fuerat Anglis quod, si aliquando dominium super eos acciperet, quasi boves ad aratrum trahere [eos][8] faceret. *Ranulphus.* Quin etiam Ricardus comes Cestriæ comminatus fuerat quod cum de Normannia rediret monachos Cestrenses deleret, quos pater suus instituerat. *Willelmus.*[9]

Gratiæ, MCXXI. Henrici I. XXI.

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[1] *qui*, B.
[2] *potuit*, B.
[3] *sed . . . cesserunt*] om. C.D.
[4] Script. post Bedam, p. 381.
[5] *labe irretiti*, C.D.
[6] Not found in Willelmus.
[7] *Insuper . . . imperatori* (page 464)] om. C.D.
[8] *eos*] from B.
[9] *de Regibus*, add. A.; *de Regibus, libro primo*, B. Not found in Willelmus.

newe schip wiþ dronken schipmen; þey[1] fil anon uppon a rokke nouȝt fer from þe londe, and þe schippe to cleef, and William þe kynges sone [was][2] i-doo[3] in a boot, in þe whiche he myȝte have be i-saved wel inow; but whan he come to þe cleef,[4] and herde his suster wepe[5] and crye, þan he torned aȝen and took here into his boot; þanne oþer men sterte[6] into þat boot, and overladde[7] it, and drenchede[8] þe boot and al þat was þerynne outake þe forsaide cherle. But it was wonder þat grete tresour was i-founde [fast by the clyves in the morowe, and none of the dede bodyes were founde],[9] but þey were al eten of þe fisches[10] of þe see. *Henricus, libro* 7°. And me seiþ þat nyȝ[11] al þese were Sodomytes. *Willelmus.* And also þis William, þe kynges eldest sone, hadde i-manassed Englische men þat ȝif he were evere lorde over hem he wolde make hem drawe as oxen at þe plowȝ. [℟.][12] Also Richard eorle of Chestre hadde i-manassed þat whenne he were i-comen out of Normandie he wolde destroye þe monkes of Chestre þat his fader hadde i-ordeyned þere. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro* 5°. TREVISA.

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trenge into the see with indiscrete schippemen, were sette anoon on a rokke, and the schippe brake; neverthelesse William, son to the kynge, was taken into an oþer scaphe, whiche herynge his suster crye, returnede to save here, and so that vesselle was overcharged with peple commynge into hit, that hit sunke into the water. And in the morowe folowynge grete treasure was founde brouȝte to the londe, and not oon of theire bodyes. *Henricus, libro septimo.* And hit was seide that alle moste alle that peple pereschede usede the synne of Sodomye. *Willelmus.* Also the seide William, sonne to the kynge, seide openly mony tymes, and if he scholde be lorde of Ynglonde in his life, he scholde make men of Ynglonde to drawe in the plowe lyke to horses. ℟. Also the seide erle of Chestre manassede and promisede to destroy the monastery of monkes in Chestre, whom his fader did edifye and make. *Willelmus de Regibus, libro quinto.* Fulco returnede to Gas- MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *þey*] and, β.
[2] From β. and Cx.
[3] *was doo*, α.
[4] *clif*, β.
[5] *wuepe*, γ.
[6] *starte*, β.; *start*, γ.
[7] *overlade*, α.; *overladede*, β. and γ.; *overlode*, Cx
[8] *drowned*, Cx.
[9] From Cx.
[10] *yete of þe vysches*, γ.
[11] *neiȝ*, β.; *nyȝ*, from γ.; *nyȝt*, MS.
[12] From α.

Post hæc Fulco comes Andegaviæ prædictus, socer Willelmi submersi, de Terra Sancta rediens, maritavit alteram filiam[1] filio Roberti Courtehose,[2] cum qua dedit comitatum Cenomannicum, eo quod rex[3] Henricus retinuerat in Anglia dotem filiæ suæ.[4] Post hoc rex Henricus maritavit Matildam filiam suam Henrico quarto Teutonicorum imperatori. Hoc anno rex Henricus apud villam de Wodestoke fecit magnum parcum.[5] [6] Submerso Ricardo comite Cestrensi, successit ei Ranulphus primus, dictus de[7] Meschines,[8] filius sororis Hugonis primi,[9] qui præfuit octo annis.[10]

Gratiæ MCXXII. Henrici I. XXII.

Templariorum.

Radulphus Dorobernensis archiepiscopus obiit; cui successit Willelmus canonicus. Circa hos dies ordo Templariorum incepit. Hi nempe congregati ex[11] reliquiis Hospitalariorum, sedem sibi[12] statuerunt in porticu templi Jerosolimitani, qua de re vocati sunt milites Templi. Qui ex reliquiis Hospitalariorum in cibis et armis sustentati ad tantam rerum opulentiam[13] devenerunt, ut filia ditata matrem supergredi videretur et suffocare. Qui tandem ob ignominiosam apostasiam[14] in Christum blasphemiam, circa annum gratiæ millesimum

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[1] *suam*, A.

[2] *Crutehose*, A.

[3] *Angliæ*, B.

[4] *relictæ Willelmi*, B.

[5] *archum*, B.

[6] C.D. insert: "Eo tempore "facto longo fossato per terræ in- "cisionem a Torkeseye usque ad "Lincolniam per derivationem "Trentæ fluminis factum est iter "navium. Eoque anno apud "Wodestok juxta Oxoniam de ha- "bitatione hominum fecit rex mag- "num parcum ferarum. Wallenses "audita morte comitis Cestrensi "multa fecerunt in provincia Ces- "trensi. Hac de causa rex Hen- "ricus collecto exercitu Walloniam "subegit."

[7] *de*] om. B.

[8] *Gernons*, A.

[9] *comitis Cestrensis*, C.D.

[10] C.D. add: "Henricus impe- "rator ad cor rediens jura ecclesiæ "pro quibus cum papa contenderat "in manus ejus resignavit."

[11] *ex militibus vocati sunt milites Templi, quia in porticu Templi Jerosolimitani sedem sui ordinis statuerunt. Hii primo ex reliquiis*, C.D.

[12] *sibi*] om. A.

[13] *in brevi*, add. C.D.

[14] *et*, add. C.D.

Here after Fulco eorle of Angoye,[1] whos douȝter William þat was i-drenched[2] hadde i-wedded, come out of þe Holy Lond, and maried his oþer douȝter to Robert Schorthoses sone, and ȝaf with here þe eorldom of Cenomannia. For kyng Henricus[3] wiþ heeld hir dowarie[4] in Engelond. Here [after][5] Henry maried his douȝter Molde to þe fourþe Henry þe emperour of Almayne. Þis ȝere kyng Henry made a grete parke at Wodestoke.[6] Whan Richard [erle][7] of Chestre was i-drenched,[8] þe first Ranulph de Meschenes, þe sone of þe firste Hughe,[9] was eorle eyȝte ȝere after hym. Rauf [archebisshop][10] of Canturbury [dyed],[11] and William Canonicus was archebisshop after hym. Aboute þis tyme bygan þe ordre of Templeres; þese were i-gadred of þe releef[12] of þe Hospitalers, and ordeyned hem a place in þe porche of þe temple [of Ierusalem, þerfore above[13] yclepede þe knyȝtes of þe Temple].[5] Þese[14] were susteyned by þe releef of þe Hospitalers, boþe in mete and in armure, and wexe so riche þat it semede þat þe douȝter passede and weried[15] þe moder: at þe laste, for vile apostacie and despisynge of Crist, þei were destroyed[16] in þe fifte pope

TREVISA.

coigne from Ierusalem, mariede an oþer doȝhter to the sonne of Roberte Curthose, with whom he ȝafe the cowntee of Cenomanny. After that kynge Henricus mariede Matilda his doȝhter to Henricus the iiij^{the}, emperoure. Kynge Henricus made in this yere a grete parke at Wodestoke. Richarde erle of Chestre drownede, Ranulphus of Meschines, sonne to the suster of the firste Hewe, succedid þer viij. yere. Radulphus archebischoppe of Cawnterbery diede in this tyme; and the ordre of the Templaryes began that tyme also. These men congregate togedre made to theyme a place in the porche of the temple of Ierusalem, whereby they were callede knyȝtes of the Temple, founde by the relefe of the Hospitilaryes in meytes and in drynkes. But soone after they encreasede soe in fame and rychesse that thei exceded þe Hospitilaryes. Neverthelesse thei were destroyede in the tyme of pope Clement the v^{the}. for theire ignominiose apostasye and blas-

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 353. b.

[1] *Anioye, β.*; *Angeo,* Cx.
[2] *drowned,* Cx., et infra.
[3] *Henry, α.*
[4] *his dower, α.* and *β.*; *hys dower, γ.*
[5] From *α.*, *β.*, and *γ.*
[6] *Wodestode,* Cx.
[7] From Cx.
[8] *adreynt, β.*
[9] *Huwe, γ.*
[10] From Cx.; *archbischop, β.*; *Raph archebyschop of Caunterbury dyede and, γ.*
[11] From Cx.; *deyde, β.*
[12] *relef, β.*, et infra; *relyf, γ.*
[13] *above*] þei beþ, *β.*; they be, Cx.
[14] *þues, γ.*
[15] *wyryȝede, α.*; *wyryed, β.* and Cx.; *wyryde, γ.*
[16] *distruyed, β.*

Gratiæ MCXXIV. Henrici I. XXIV.

cccum xiium,[1] sub papa Clemente quinto deleti sunt. *Henricus, libro septimo.* Johannes Romanus cardinalis Angliam veniens severissime tractavit [2] contra concubinas sacerdotum coercendas, dicens summum scelus esse de latere meretricis surgere ad conficiendum corpus Christi. Eo tamen die postquam celebraverat ad vesperam cum meretrice [3] interceptus [est].[4] Res [5] apertissima negari non potuit, celari non debuit. Hoc si cuiquam displiceat, taceat, ne Johannem sequi videatur.[6]

Gratiæ MCXXV. Henrici I. XXV.

Honorius secundus [7] post Kalixtum sedit papa annis quinque. Henricus quartus imperator Alemanniæ obiit, et secundum quosdam sepultus est apud Spiram cum progenitoribus suis [8] cum tali [9] epitaphio. *Versus.*[10] " Filius hic, pater hic, avus hic, proavus jacet istic." *Ranulphus.*[11]

De Godescallo.

Verius tamen videtur Giraldus in Itinerario [12] Walliæ sentire,[13] ubi dicit quod Henricus iste,[14] postquam [15] incarceraverat patrem suum carnalem et patrem [16] spiritualem papam [17] cum cardinalibus, tandem ad cor rediens ultroneus exul factus est, dimissa clam uxore sua Matilda Anglica, heremiticam vitam apud Cestriam per decennium duxit, ubi, ne dum viveret

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[1] *vm*, B.

[2] *de uxoribus*, C.D.

[3] *cum meretrice*] om. B.

[4] *est*, from A.C.D.

[5] *est*, B.

[6] C.D.add : " Eo quoque anno dum " rex Henricus moraretur in Fran- " cia contra regem Lodovicum di- " micaturus, quæsivit de ortu et " procursu regni Francorum. Cui " quidam doctus post delucida- " cionem rei quæsitæ fertur re- " spondisse : Modo regnat Lodo- " vicus, qui, si patriæ et avitæ " probitatis imitator existeret, ne- " quaquam in regno illius tam se- " curus quiesceres."

[7] *secundus*] om. A.

[8] *ad cujus tumulum tale scribitur epithaphium*, C.D.

[9] *tali*] om. B.

[10] *Versus*] om. A.B.

[11] C.D. omit reference.

[12] *suo*, C.D.

[13] *sentire*] om. A.

[14] *iste*] om. A.

[15] *demum ductus prima dimissa uxore sua Matilda filia regis Angliæ sanctam apud Cestriam in monasterio Sanctæ Werburgæ vitam consummavit, ubi nudo pede veniens decennali spacio vitam duxit arcam. Et*, C.D.

[16] *suum*, add. B.

[17] *scilicet*, add. B.

Clementes tyme, þe ȝere of oure Lord a þowsand þre hondred and twelve. *Henricus, libro* 7°. Iohn, cardynal of Rome, come into Engelond, and made grevous proces aȝenst preostes concubynes, and seide þat it is a foule[1] synne and a greet to arise from a strompet side to sacre Cristes body; but þe same day after þat he hadde i-songen[2] [masse][3] he was i-take wiþ a strompet at even: þing þat was openliche i-knowe myȝt nouȝt be forsake, it moste nedes be i-knowe. ȝif þis displesiþ[4] eny man, I rede hym holde his pees and be stille, leste me wolde wene þat he folwe Iohn in wordes and in dedes. After Kalixte, the secounde Honorius was pope fyve ȝere. Þe ferþe Henry þe emperour of Almayne is dede, and som men telleþ[5] þat he is i-buried at Spire wiþ his forfadres, wiþ[6] soche writynge on his tombe: "Here lieþ þe sone and þe fader and þe grauntsire, and "þe fader grauntsire." [R.][7] But it semeþ þat Girald in his book Itinerario Wallie haþ þe[8] more sooþ understondynge, þere he seeþ[9] þat þis Henry, after þat he hadde punesched[10] his flescheliche[11] fader, and his goostliche fader the pope, and þe cardynales, at þe laste also[12] hym repentede, and went away, unwetynge his wyf Molde of Engelond, and excilede hym self by his good wille, and lyvede at Chestre ten ȝere as an here- TREVISA.

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phemy in Criste, in the yere of oure Lorde God a M.CCC.XIJ. *Henricus, libro septimo.* A cardinalle come in this yere to Ynglonde, and correcte soore prestes havynge concubynes, seyenge that it was a grevous synne amonge other synnes to aryse from a hoore and say masse after that. Neverthelesse the same cardinalle was taken with a womman in the same day after that he hade seide masse, for alle his hooly predicacion. Honorius the secunde succedid Calixtus the pope v. yere. Henricus the iiij^{the} and emperour of Alemayne diede this yere, and was beryede at Spira with his progenitors, after the rehersaille of somme men, with suche on epitaphy, "Filius "hic, pater hic, avus hic, proavus jacet istic." Ꝛ. Neverthelesse Giraldus rehersethe more truly in his Ytinerary, seyenge that this emperoure, after that he hade imprisonede his fader carnalle and þe pope with the cardinalls, departede privily from his wife Matilda borne in Ynglonde, and taryede at Chestre, lyvynge as an heremite by the space of x. yere, MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *voul*, γ.
[2] *ysonge*, β.
[3] From Cx.
[4] *displesiþ*, from β.; *dupleseþ*, γ.; *dysplesyth*, Cx.; *despise*, MS.
[5] *tellyn*, Cx.
[6] *wif*, α.
[7] From α.
[8] *no*] þe, from β.; om. γ.; the, Cx.; *no*, MS.
[9] *seyþ*, γ.
[10] *prisoned*, β.; *emprysoned*, Cx.
[11] *vleyschlyche*, γ.
[12] *at þe laste also*] om. Cx.

cuiquam innotesceret, Godescallum [1] se vocavit, quod sonat a Domino [2] vocatum. Sic igitur imperatore latenter digresso, Matilda [3] imperatrix ad patrem suum regem Henricum in Normanniam rediit,[4] ubi cito post copulata est Galfrido Plantagenet [5] comiti Andegaviæ, de quo suscepit Henricum secundum postmodum Angliæ regem.

Cap. XVII.

[*Concilium Londoniæ. Mors Henrici Primi regis Angliæ.*]

Gratiæ MCXXVII. Henrici I. XXVII.

Lotharius dux Saxoniæ factus est imperator post [6] decessum Henrici quarti.[7] Celebrato Londoniæ concilio, concessum [8] regi Henrico justitiam facere de sacerdotibus fornicariis [9] eorumque concubinis;[10] sed ipse [11] nihil aliud egit quam pecuniam emunxit. Quo anno proceres Angliæ juraverunt coram rege servare regnum Angliæ ad opus Matildæ imperatricis filiæ suæ, si ipsa patrem sine liberis decedentem superviverit. Inventio corporis sancti Matthei apostoli in urbe Treverensi, quod sanctus Agricius [12] archiepiscopus illuc advexerat de Constantinopoli tempore Constantini senioris, ex dono [13]

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[1] *Godescalkum*, B.
[2] *Deo*, A.
[3] *Matildis*, MS.
[4] *regem Angliæ rediit*, C.D.
[5] *Plantegenet*, A.B.
[6] *post . . . quarti*] om. C.D.
[7] *quarti*] om. A.
[8] *est*, A.
[9] *concubinariis*, B.
[10] *uxoribus, sed rex accepta ab eis pecunia nihil aliud fecit. Episcopi et regni proceres*, C.D.
[11] *pse*] om. B.
[12] *Egrecius*, A.
[13] *sanctæ*, add. C.D.

myte; and for he wolde not be knowe þere[1] while he was on lyve, he cleped hym self Godeschal,[2] þat is Goddis cleping. Whan þe emperour was so priviliche i-goo, Molde þe emperesse[3] come aȝen to [hir fader][4] kyng Henry into Normandie; þere sche[5] was so[6] i-maried to Geffrey Plantagenet erle of Angoye,[7] and had by hym þe secounde Henry, þat afterward was kyng of Engelond. TREVISA.

Capitulum decimum septimum.

WHEN þe ferþe Henry was i-goo,[8] Lotharius duke of Saxoun was i-made emperoure. At Londoun was i-made a counseille, and it was i-graunted to kyng Henry þat he schulde doo riȝt of preostes fornicaries and of hire concubynes; but he dede[9] nouȝt elles[10] but took[11] silver[12] on everiche side. Þat ȝere in presence of þe kyng þe lordes of Engelond swore þat þey wolde kepe þe kyngdom to his douȝter Molde þe emperesse, ȝif sche[13] levede after his day, and[14] ȝif he[15] diede wiþ oute [oþer][16] children. Seynt Matheu[17] þe apostles body is i-founde in þe citee Trever, þe whiche body Agry[18] þe archebisshop had i-brouȝt þider out of Constantynnoble in þe elder Constantynes tyme, and he

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callynge his name Godescallus, which sowndethe as callede of God. And this emperour departede in this maner from his cuntre. Matilda themperesse come to kynge Henricus her fader, beynge that tyme in Normandy, where sche was mariede after to Galfride erle of Gascoigne, by whom sche hade Henricus the secunde, afterwarde kynge of Ynglonde. MS. HARL. 2261.

Capitulum decimum septimum.

LOTHARIUS, the duke of Saxonia, was made emperour after the dethe or departynge of Henricus themperoure. A cownesayle hade in this tyme at London, bischopps preiede the kynge to correcte prestes havynge concubynes thro alle his realme;

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[1] *þere*] þe, β.; the, Cx.
[2] *Godescal*, β., γ., and Cx.
[3] *emperys*, γ.
[4] From β.
[5] *heo*, β.
[6] *so*] soone, β. and Cx.
[7] *Anioye*, β.; *Angeo*, γ. and Cx.
[8] *ago*, β. and γ.
[9] *dude*, γ.
[10] *not ellys*, Cx.
[11] *touk*, γ.
[12] *money*, β. and Cx.
[13] *ef hue*, γ.
[14] *and*] from α., β., γ., and Cx.; *but*, MS.
[15] *he*] α., β., γ., and Cx.; *sche* MS.
[16] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[17] *Mathys*, Cx.
[18] *Agricius*, β. and γ.

Helenæ reginæ. Innocentius secundus[1] post Honorium sedit[2] annis xiii. mensibus viitem. Petrus enim Leonis, qui et Anacletus, invaserat apostolatum,[3] et facta est turbatio in ecclesia; nam iste Anacletus[4] a paucioribus electus Innocentium de urbe fugaverat, ecclesias Romæ spoliavit, de quarum pecunia Romanos corrupit. Sed Innocentius cum cardinalibus apud regem Franciæ demoratus, consilium Remis celebravit;[5] tandem redeundo Lotharium ducem Saxoniæ in imperatorem coronavit, cujus ope Rogerum[6] ducem Siciliæ et Apuliæ, qui sibi[8] rebellis fuerat, effugavit. *Henricus, libro iii.*[9] Mortuo primo[10] Ranulpho comite Cestrensi,[11] successit Ranulphus secundus dictus de Gernous,[12] filius prioris Ranulphi, qui præfuit viginti quinque annis.[13] Mortuo comite Flandrensi, Henricus rex Angliæ de beneplacito regis Franciæ successit jure consanguinitatis, et cito post Matilda[14] imperatrix, repudiata a viro suo Galfrido, accessit ad patrem[15] suum in Normannia existentem, ubi tres mirabiles apparuerunt regi[16] visiones. Nam primo vidit in somnis rusticorum multitudinem cum

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[1] *quartus*, C.D.
[2] *papa*, add. B.
[3] *apostolatum*] om. A.
[4] *invaserat . . . Anacletus*] om. B.
[5] *sed*, B.
[6] *Robertum*, A.
[7] *Siciliæ*] from B.; *Ciciliæ*, MS.
[8] *sibi*] om. B.
[9] A.B.C.D. omit reference.
[10] *post*, A.
[11] *Cestria*, B.
[12] *Meschines*, A.
[13] C.D. add: "Hoc anno auctoritate apostolica in presentia regis Henrici confirmata est festivitas Beatæ Mariæ de ejus conceptione. *Alfridus.*"
[14] *Matilda repudiata*, B.; *Matildis*, MS.
[15] *rediit. Henrico regi in Normannia exeunti tres mirabiles*, &c. C.D.
[16] *ei*, A.

hadde þat body of þe ȝifte of Eleyne[1] þe queene. After Honorius, þe secounde Innocent was pope þrittene ȝere and seven monþes. Peter Leonis, þat hiȝte Anacletus also, assaillede þe poperiche, and so fel greet stryf in holy chirche; þis Anacletus was i-chose of þe lasse deel and partye, and chasede Innocencius out of þe citee, and spoylede þe cherches of Rome, and mededе þe Romayns wiþ þe money of þe chirches, but Innocencius and þe cardynales wonede wiþ þe kyng of Fraunce, and made a counsaile at Rome,[2] and in his comynge aȝen he crownede Lotharius duke of Saxon, and sacred hym emperour; by his help he chasede Roger duke of Cecile[3] and of Apulia, þat was rebel to þis Innocencius þe pope. Whenne þe first Ranulph eorle of Chestre was dede, his sone þe secounde [Ranulph],[4] Grevous[5] by his surname, was eorle after hym fyve and fifty[6] ȝere. Þe eorle of Flaundres [deyde],[4] and Henry kyng of Engelond, by þe assent of þe kyng of Fraunce, hadde þe eorldom after hym by riȝt of blood and of kynrede.[7] Molde þe emperice was sone forsake of here housebonde Geffray, and wente to hir fadir into Normandie. Þere þe kyng sygh þre wonder siȝtes. For firste he sawe in his slepe meny clerkes[8]

TREVISA.

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but truly he did noon oþer correccion to theyme, but toke theire moneye and goodes. Innocencius the secunde succedid Honorius the pope xiij. yere and vij. monethes. Anacletus presumede to be pope, and soe a grete trowble and dissencion were movede in the churche of Rome, for Anacletus, electe but of fewe men, expulsede Innocencius from Rome, and spoylede the churches in hit, thro whiche money he corrupte the Romanes. But Innocencius taryenge with the kynge of Fraunce, and in returnynge from Fraunce he crownede Lotharius themperoure, thro helpe of whom he chasede awey Roger duke of Sicille and of Apulia, in that he rebellede ageyne hym. Ranulphus erle of Chestre dedde, Ranulphus his sonne was successour to hym xxv. yere. The erle of Flandres dedde, the kynge of Ynglonde was successour to hym by ryȝhte of consanguinite. And Matildis thempresse, refusede of Gefray Plantaginet, comme soone after to Normandy to here fader. Where the kynge had iij. mervellous visions. The firste was, he thouȝhte that he see a grete

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 354. a.

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[1] *Helene*, β. and Cx.; *Helen*, γ.
[2] *Reme*, β. and γ.
[3] *Sycilya*, Cx.
[4] From β.
[5] *Gernons*, α.; *Gercious*, β. and Cx.
[6] *xxv*, β.; *twenty*, Cx.
[7] *kynrade*, β. and γ.
[8] *cherles*, α., β., and γ.

instrumentis[1] in ipsum insilire, et debitum expetere; secundo vidit armatorum cohortem omnimodis telis in eum sævire velle; tertio prælatorum vidit catervam cum baculis pastoralibus minas intentare.[2] Et omnibus his vicibus[3] exiliit rex de stratu suo gladium arripiens et opem inclamitans ac si esset aliquos occisurus sed neminem invenit. Ista etiam omnia vidit quidam medicus Grimbaldus nomine, qui mane[4] ista regi referens monuit eum, sicut quondam Daniel Nabugodonozor, ut eleemosynis peccata sua redimeret. Unde et rex in redeundo Angliam nimia tempestate quassatus est, votumque vovit ut[5] justitiam faceret. In terra

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[1] *ruralibus*, add. C.D.

[2] *attemptare*, B.

[3] *visionibus*, C.D.

[4] *qui mane*] from A.B.; *qui a mane*, MS.

[5] *ut septem annis Danicum tributum relaxaret, ut sanctum Edmundum visitaret*, A.B.; *ut septem annis tributum Danicum liberaret t relaxaret, ut sanctum Eadmundum visitaret, ut justiciam de cætero in regno suo observaret*, C.D

[6] *faceret*] om. B.

rise[1] ꝟon hym wiþ stoles,[2] and axede[3] of him dette; efte he saw a rowte of men of armes þat wolde rise[4] uppon hym wiþ al manere wepen; þe þridde tyme he saw a grete companye of prelates manace hym wiþ here croces; and everich tyme þe kyng sterte out of his slepe,[5] and kauȝt[6] his swerd, and cryde "Help!" as þey he wolde slee som man, but he myȝte no man fynde.[7] Also a phisicien, Grombald[8] by his name, sawȝ alle þese[9] þinges,[10] and tolde hem to þe kyng erliche on þe morwe. And as Danyel hadde somtyme chargede [Nabugodonosor, so he chargede][11] þe kyng þat he schulde doo almesse dedes in remedie of his synnes. Þan þe kyng wente into Engelond, and was hard i-sette[12] wiþ tempest in þe see, and made his avow þat he wolde relese þe Danes[13] tribute for seven ȝere, and þat he wolde visite seynte Edmond, and doo and use riȝtwisnesse. In Fraunce was so grete drouȝte[14] þat ryvers

TREVISA.

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multitude of chorls to comme and to fiȝhte with hym, and to aske þeire dewte. The secunde was, he thouȝhte that he see a cumpanye of armede men to comme and to ȝiffe batelle to hym. The thrydde was, he thoughte that he see a cumpanye of prelates manassynge hym with theire staves pastoralle. The kynge was so trowblede with these visions that he did lepe from his bedde, and toke his swerde in his honde, cryenge for helpe, as and if he hade intendede to have sleyne somme men. A leche, Grumbaldus by name, see the seide visions of the kynge, and expressede theym in the morowe folowynge to the kynge, spekynge to hym lyke as Daniel did to Nabugodonosor, that he scholde redeme his synnes thro almes. Neverthelesse the seide kynge saylynge from Normandye towarde Ynglonde suffrede grete tempestes on the see, where he made promyse that he wolde relesche the tribute of the Danes vij. yere, and visitte Seynte Edmunde, and use ryȝhteuousenesse after. Lodowicus kynge of Fraunce, herynge of the dethe Guillermus duke of Aquitanny, sende Lodowicus his sonne, crownede into kynge and anoytede, to Aquitanny, to wedde Elianor, doȝhter of the seide duke, whiche takynge with hir the duchery of Aquitanny, wedde that Elianor at Burdewse. Of whom he gate Mary countesse of Campanye, and Aclides wife of Theobaldus erle Blesense. And Lodowicus, kynge of

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *rese*, β. and γ.
[2] *toles*, α. and Cx.; *tooles*, β.; *toules*, γ.
[3] *axe*, β. and Cx.
[4] *rese*, γ. and Cx.
[5] *bed and caught*, β.
[6] *start up of his bed*, Cx.
[7] *vynde*, γ.
[8] *Grymbald*, β. and Cx.
[9] *þues*, γ.
[10] *syghtes*, Cx.
[11] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[12] *asset*, β. and γ.
[13] *Dane*, α.
[14] *druythe*, β.; *druyþe*, γ.

Franciæ tanta siccitas fuit ut fluvii et fontes siccarentur. Ignis quoque per rimas terram subintrans, nec imbre[1] nec frigore nec aliqua arte extingui potuit. Hoc anno Robertus quondam comes Normanniæ et frater regis obiit apud Caerdef, sed[2] sepultus est Glavorniæ[3] ante magnum altare.[4] Fundatus est prioratus de[5] Nortona in[6] provincia Cestrensi[7] a Willelmo filio Nigelli.[8] Et fundatum est monasterium de Cumbermere in eadem provincia. Et natus est Henricus filius imperatricis,[9] dictus[10] Courtmantel.[11] Rex Henricus obiit in Normannia, de quo quidam[12] metrice sic[13] cecinit:

Gratiæ MCXXXIII. Henrici I. XXXIII.

Gratiæ MCXXXVI. Henrici I. XXXVI.

Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis.
Numina flent numen deperiisse suum.
Mercurius minor eloquio, vi mentis Apollo,
Jupiter imperio, Marsque vigore[14] *gemit.*
Janus cautela minor, Alcides probitate,
Conflictu Pallas, arte Minerva gemit.
Anglia quæ[15] *cunis, quæ sceptro numinis hujus*
Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit.[16]
Hæc cum rege suo, Normannia cum duce marcet.[17]
Nutriit hæc puerum, perdidit illa virum.

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[1] *igne*, C.D.
[2] *quem frater suus Henricus rex Angliæ vinculaverat et ignita pelvi excæcaverat, obiit in vinculis apud Kerdyf in Wallia*, C.
[3] *apud Gloverniam*, B.
[4] *sed . . . altare*] om. A.
[5] *de*] om. A.
[6] *in . . . Cestrensi*] om. C.D.
[7] *Cestriæ*, B.
[8] *constabulario Cestriæ*, C.D.
[9] *imperatoris*, C.D.
[10] *est*, A.
[11] *Curtmantel*, A.
[12] *Henricus, lib. viii.*, C.D.
[13] *metrice sic*] om. B.
[14] *dolore*, C.D.
[15] *quæque*, A.
[16] *perit*, B.
[17] *marcet*] om. B.; *marco*, A.

and welles were fordreied. Also fuyre[1] come out of[2] þe chynnes[3] of þe erþe þat myȝt nouȝt be quenched, neiþer wiþ moist ne wiþ colde ne wiþ doynge of craft. Þis ȝere at Kerdyf deide þe kynges broþer Robert, þat was somtyme erle of Normandie, and he was i-buried at Glowcestre, to fore þe hiȝe auȝter. William þe sone of Nigellus[4] foundede þe priourie of Nortoun in þe province of Chestre. Also þe abbay of Comermere[5] was i-founded in þe same province. And Henry schort mantel is i-bore, þe sone of þe emperice. Kyng Henry deide in Normandie; [of hym oon meovede [in][6] metre in þis manere: Kyng Henryes deþ:[7] fayrenesse som tyme, now duel[8] of þe world. Godes now wepeþ[9] for here god þat is now dede. Mercurius þe lasse in speche; hert strong as Appollo; Iupiter in heste and Mars in strengþe. Groneþ[10] Engelond of[11] childhode [and kyngdome][12] ryȝt of þe[13] godde was hyȝe in schynynge ful[14] derk now falleth adowne. Þis land wiþ his

TREVISA.

Fraunce diede with in a monethe after the weddynge of his sonne, the kalendes of Auguste, and beriede in the churche of Seynte Dionise in Fraunce, whom Lodowicus junior did succede. Roberte erle of Normandy, and broþer to the kynge, diede at Caerdif in this yere, and was beryede at Gloucestre afore the hye awter. The priory of Norton in the province of Chestre was founded this tyme by William sonne of Nigellus, and the monastery of Cumbremere in the same province also. Also Henricus Courtmantelle, son of thempresse, was borne in thys tyme. Kynge Henricus diede this tyme in Normandye, whom a metricion commendethe in this wise:

MS. HARL. 2261.

" Rex Henricus obit, decus olim, nunc dolor orbis,
" Numina flent numen deperiisse suum.
" Mercurius minor eloquio, vi mentis[15] Apollo,
" Jupiter imperio, Marsque vigore gemit.
" Janus cautela minor, Alcides probitate,
" Conflictu Pallas, arte Minerva gemit,
" Anglia quæ cunis quæ sceptro numinis hujus
" Ardua splenduerat, jam tenebrosa ruit,
" Hæc cum rege suo, Normannia cum duce marcet.
" Nutrit et hæc puerum, perdidit illa virum."

f. 354. b.

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[1] *fier*, β.
[2] *out of*] into, β. and Cx.
[3] *in to þe chenes*, γ.
[4] *Nychellus*, Cx.
[5] *Cumbremere*, β.; *Cumbremer*, Cx.
[6] From Cx.; *meved in*, β.
[7] *Henry dyeþ*, β. and γ.; *Henry deyd*, Cx.
[8] *deol*, β. and Cx.
[9] *wuepeþ*, γ.; *wepen*, Cx.
[10] *Greveth*, Cx.
[11] *of*] in, β.
[12] From Cx.
[13] *þe*] þis, β. and γ.; this, Cx.
[14] *ful*] for, Cx.
[15] *Martis*, MS.

Henri cus, libro viii°.[1] Mortuo rege Henrico, libera ut assolet in mortuum judicia jaculabantur. Alii nempe tribus eum radiasse ferebant, sapientia, eloquentia, belli fortuna; alii vero[2] tribus vitiis eum succumbuisse asserebant, crudelitate, cupiditate, voluptate. Corpus itaque regis evisceratum excerebratumque multo[3] sale respersum est. Atque causa fœtoris vitandi, qui jam multos infecerat, tandem in corio taurino includitur, nec potuit adhuc humor ille noxius cohiberi, quin ille qui caput excerebravit ex fœtore occumberet. Comederat[4] nempe senex invalidus ex murena, quæ licet semper dilexerat, semper tamen sibi nocuerat. Denique regii corporis reliquiæ in Angliam delatæ, apud monasterium Radingiæ, quod ipse a fundamentis construxerat, sepultæ sunt.[5] Hujus regis tempore floruerat quidam Symon filius Roberti Lincolnensis episcopi, decanus in eadem ecclesia, qui fuerat acer ingenio, clarus eloquio, forma venustus, gratia coruscans, ætate juvenilis, prudentia senilis, sed superbiæ vitio respersus. Ex

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[1] 3°, A.B. Script. post. Bedam, p. 386.
[2] *enim*, A.
[3] *multoque*, B.
[4] *Comederet*, B.
[5] *Henricus, lib. viii.*, add. A.B.C.D

kyng, Normand wiþ his duke, welwes[1] away. Þis londe norscheþ þe childe þat oþer now leseþ[2] þe name.[3]][4] *Henricus, libro* 8°. Whan kyng Henry was dede men demede of hym and spak freliche what þey wolde, as me dooþ of oþere men when þey beeþ dede. Some saide þat he passede oþer men[5] in þre poyntes, in wit, in speche, and in fortune of bataille. Oþere saide þat he was overcome wiþ þre vices, wiþ covetise, wiþ cruelnesse, and wiþ lust of leccherie. Also þe kynges bowels[6] were drawen out of his body, and his brayn i-take out of his heed, and þe body salted wiþ moche[7] salt; and forto voyde[8] þe stenche[9] þat hadde infecte meny men, it was at þe laste i-closed in a bole[10] skyn, and ȝit myȝt nouȝt þe noyful humoure[11] be lette, but he þat took out þe brayne of his heed deide of þe stenche. He hadde i-ete of a lampray while he was olde and feble, and he loved it alway, þouȝ it greved hym evermore. Þis kynges body was i-brouȝt into Engelond, and i-buried in þe abbay of Redynge, þat he hadde i-founded out of þe grounde. *Henricus, libro* 7°. In þis kynges tyme oon Symon þe sone of[12] Robert bisshop of Lyncolne, was in his floures deen[13] in þe same chirche; he was scharp of wit, clere of speche, faire of ffface and of schap, and gracious wiþal, ȝong of age, and wise and redy as an olde man, but he was i-smeten[14] wiþ þe vice of pride. In hym of his

TREVISA.

Henricus, libro octavo. This kynge dedde mony men sayde that he hade iij. specialle vertues, wisedome, eloquence and fortune of batells; and somme men seide that he hade iij. specialle vices, covetyse, crudelite and voluptuosite. The cause of the dethe of this kynge was seide to have comme by the eitynge of a lamprey whiche meyte he luffed moche, nevertheless hit chargede his stomake oftetymes. The body of this kynge was brouȝhte to Ynglonde, and was beryede in the monastery of Radynge that he did founde. *Henricus, libro septimo.* Symon þe sonne of Robert bischop of Lincoln, and decan in the same churche, flowrede moche in this tyme, scharpe of witte, eloquente in speche, beautuous of forme, yonge in age, but olde in connynge and intellect of divine scripture. Of whiche thynges he began to be prowde, and

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *welwiþ, β.*; *welweþ, γ.*; *welwith*, Cx.
[2] *luseþ, γ.*
[3] *name*] man, Cx.
[4] From *α.*, *β.*, and Cx.
[5] *when . . . men*] bis in MS.
[8] *bowayles, α.*
[7] *myche, β.*
[8] *avoide, β.* and Cx.
[9] *stynch, γ.*, et infra.
[10] *boole*, Cx.
[11] *odour*, Cx.
[12] *of*] om. *α.*
[13] *deen*, from *β.*, *γ.*, and Cx.; *mede*, MS.
[14] *i-smyȝten, α.*; *ysmytted, β.* and *γ.*; *spytted*, Cx.

superbia crevit in ipso invidia, ex invidia odium[1] jurgia detractiones et delationes.[2] Qui aliquando prænosticavit de seipso dicens, " Ego curialibus interponor, " sicut sal inter viventes anguillas;" unam per hoc dicti proprietatem attendens, sed aliam non advertens. Nam sicut sal anguillas excruciat, ita ille curiales[3] corrodendo; sed tandem sicut sal destruitur anguillarum humore, ita ille cunctorum aspersione.[4] Nam tandem in odium regis devolutus, incarceratus per latrinam aufugit, et exul obiit.

Cap. XVIII.

[*Stephanus rex Angliæ. Bellum inter Stephanum et Matildam.*]

Gratiæ MCXXXVII. Stephani primo.

Mortuo rege Henrico primo, successit in regno[5] Stephanus comes Bononiæ, filius comitis Blesensis, nepos Henrici regis ex parte sororis, et regnavit xvii. annis. Vir quidem strenuus et audax; sed contra juramentum suum imperatrici factum die sancti Stephani Londoniæ coronatus est a Willelmo Cantuariensi archiepiscopo, qui prius[6] imperatrici sacramentum præstiterat.[7]

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[1] *ex odio*, B.

[2] C.D. add: " Hic cum ad magnam regis et curialium gratiam " pervenerat pronosticavit semel " de seipso," &c.

[3] *apud regem corroserat*, C.D.

[4] *adnullatus est*, C.D.

[5] *regnum*, A.

[6] *prius*] om. B.

[7] *qui . . . præstiterat*] om. C.D.

pride sprang envie, of envie wreþþe, of wraþþe stryf and bakbitynge. He spak in a tyme of hym self, and seide, "I am i-sette among men of court as salt among quyk elys."[1] He took heed of oon propurte of þat sawe, and was nouȝt war of þat oþer. For as salt amonges eles greveþ ful sore, so he greved men of court wiþ bacbitinge and evel speche. But at þe laste, as salt is destroyed by moysture of þe eles, so was he byhated[2] of alle men. For at þe laste he hadde þe kynges wreþþe, and was i-prisoned, and scapede awey by a gouge,[3] and was flemed, and deide so exciled. TREVISA.

Capitulum decimum octavum.

WHAN þe firste kyng Henry was dede, Stephen eorle of Boleyn[4] was kyng after hym. Þis Stephen was eorle of Blesenses sone, kyng Henry his nevew on his suster side, and he regnede seventene ȝere, a nobil man and an[5] hardy. But aȝenst his ooth þat he hadde i-made to þe emperesse he was i-crowned at Londoun on seynt Stephenes day, of[6] William archebisshop of Canturbury, þat was i-swore to þe emperesse also. Þerfore

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after that envy folowede, and so after by succession elacion and detraccion: whiche pronosticate in a tyme of hym selfe seyenge, "Y schalle be amonge cowrteours lyke salte amonge "elys on lyve;" attendynge to oon proprete, and not to that oþer, ffor like as salte destroyede elys, so he destroyede cowrteours by detraccion. But at the laste, lyke as salte is destroyede with the humoure of the elys, so he was destroyede by contempte of alle men. For he was putte into prison by the kynge for his hate and pride; from whiche prison he escapede by a sege and diede in exile. MS. HARL. 2261. f. 337 b.

Capitulum octavum decimum.

THIS kynge Henricus the firste dedde, Steven erle of Bonony, sonne of the erle Blessense, did succede, whiche reignede xvij. yere, a myȝhty man and a bolde, and was crownede into the kynge at London of William archebischoppe of Cawnterbery, ageyne the othe and promise made to the emprice; wherefore

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[1] *eles*, β.
[2] *by hate*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[3] *gonge*, α., β., γ., and Cx.
[4] *Boloyn*, β.
[5] *an*] om. Cx.
[6] From β. and Cx.; *and*, MS.

Quapropter idem Willelmus annum minime[1] supervixit; sed et omnes magni qui Stephano juramentum fecerant miserum sortiti sunt finem.[2] Fertur etiam quod hostia Christi die coronationis regi porrecta subito[3] disparuit. Coronatus igitur rex Stephanus[4] juravit coram proceribus apud Oxoniam quod prælaturas vacantes in manu sua non teneret, quod[5] Danegaldum[6] remitteret,[7] quod neminem de silvis propriis implacitaret. Immo quia[8] adventum imperatricis formidabat, concessit ut quilibet de proceribus posset facere munitionem sive castrum in fundo proprio. Et cito post hoc recepit[9] ad concordiam David regem Scottorum, qui nuper dolose ceperat castella de[10] Caerleil et Castrum super Tynam: et dedit ei Huntyndoun in Anglia; homagium autem et fidelitatem a filio ipsius David recepit, non autem ab ipso David, quia David prius juravit fidelitatem imperatrici.[11] Deinde rex Stephanus cepit Excestriam.[12] Willelmus Cantuariensis archiepiscopus obiit; cui successit Theobaldus Beccensis abbas.[13] Lotharius Teutonicus[14] imperator obiit; cui successit Conradus dux Bavarriæ, super Teutonicos et Romanos imperans[15] xv. annis; et quamvis benedictionem a papa non receperit, cruce tamen signatus tempore Eugenii papæ ad prædicationem Bernardi abbatis, in Terra Sancta multa

Quomodo hostia disparuit in coronatione regis Stephani.

Gratiæ MCXXXVIII. Stephani II.

[1] *vix anno supervixit*, B.

[2] *sed . . . finem*] om. C.D.

[3] *subito*] om. B.; *de manu archiepiscopi*, ins. C.D.

[4] *et*, A.

[5] *quod . . . remitteret*] om. C.D.

[6] *Denagaldum*, A.

[7] *dimitteret*, B.

[8] *quod*, B.

[9] *cepit*, B.

[10] *de*] om. A.

[11] *et . . . imperatrici*] regi Stephano rex David non fecit quia juramentum fidelitatis Matildæ imperatrici prius fecerat de Anglia ei manu tenenda post mortem regis Henrici, B.

[12] *quam Baldewinus de Reduers contra eum tenebat et dehinc insulam Vectam pergens eam a dicto Baldewino abstulit, et ipsum ab Anglia relegavit. Hoc anno*, B.

[13] *mortuusque est*, B.

[14] *Teutonicus*] om. B.

[15] *et imperavit*, B.

þis William levede nouȝt [over][1] oon ȝere. Also al þe grete þat were i-swore to Steven made a wrecched ende; and also me saiþ þat in þe day of his coronement[2] þe sacrament of Cristes body was brouȝt to þe kyng, and it vanysched[3] away sodeynlyche. Kyng Stephene was i-crowned, and i-swore to fore þe lordes at Oxenforde þat he wolde nouȝt holde in his hond þe prelacies þat voyden,[4] and also þat he wolde forȝeve þe Danes golde,[5] and þat he wolde enplede[6] no man for his owne woodes. Also, for he dradde þe comynge of the emperesse, he graunted eche[7] lord leve to bilde[8] a castel oþer a strengþe on his owne ground; and sone þerafter he feng to acorde David kyng of Scottes, þat hadde tofore by gile i-take þe castel of[9] Kaerlile and þe castel uppon Tyne; and he ȝaf hym hontynge in Engelond, and hadde feaute and homage to þe emperesse. Þan kynge Stevene took Excetre; and William archebisshop of Canturbury deide, and Theodorus[10] abbot of Becco was archebisshop after hym. Lotharius emperour of Almayne deide, and Conrade was emperour after hym fiftene ȝere of Almayns and of Romayns; and þouȝ he fong nouȝt þe benysoun of þe pope, ȝit at þe prechynge of abbot Bernard [he][1] took þe Holy Lond in Eugenius the popes tyme, and dede meny grete dedes. *Giral-* TREVISA.

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the seide metropolitan diede in the yere folowynge. And also alle noble men makenge fidelite to the seide kynge had an ylle ende. Also hit is seide the sacramente evaneschede awey in the day of his coronacion when hit was put towarde his mowthe. This Steven crownede into the kynge did swere afore the gentille men at Oxenforde that he wolde remitte Danegeld, a certeyn tribute paiede to the Danes; whiche dredynge the commynge of the empresse grawntede also to the noble men of his realme to make towres and castells in theire awne grownde after theire pleasure; and soone after that he toke Excestre. William archebischoppe of Cawnterbury diede, whom Theobaldus abbot Bectense did succede. Lotharius emperoure of Alemayne diede in this tyme; whom Conradus, duke of Bavarria, did succede, beynge emperour of Rome also by xv. yere. Thauȝhe this emperoure toke not benediccion off the pope, neverthelesse he, merkede with the signe of the crosse at the prechynge of seynte Bernarde abbot, did mony noble thynges MS. HARL. 2261. f. 355. a.

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[1] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[2] *crownement*, β.
[3] *vansede*, γ.
[4] *voidede*, β.; *voyded*, Cx.
[5] *Danegold*, α.; *Danegilt*, β.; *vorȝeve þe Danegaelt*, γ.; *Danegylt*, Cx.
[6] *emplede*, Cx.
[7] *every*, Cx.
[8] *bilde*, from β.; *bylde*, Cx.; *hold*, MS.
[9] *of*] om. Cx.
[10] *Theobalde*, α., β.,; *Theobald*, Cx.

Gratiæ MCXXXIX. Stephani IIII.

strenue gessit. *Giraldus.*[1] Eo tempore floruit pius comes Campaniæ Theobaldus,[2] pauperes et leprosos pie visitans, quem quidam metricus hyperbolicis laudibus extulit sic defunctum.[3]

" *Ille comes, comes ille pius Theobaldus erat,* [*quem*][4]
" *Gaudet habere polus, terra carere*[5] *dolet;*
" *Non*[6] *hominem possum, non audeo dicere*
" *numen;*
" *Mors probat hunc hominem, vita fuisse deum;*[7]
" *Trans homines*[8] *citraque Deum,*[9] *plus hoc,*
" *minus illo,*
" *Nescio quis neuter inter utrumque fuit.*"

David rex Scotiæ, jam tertio Angliam venit,[10] et terram usque ad[11] flumen Theyse in confinio Eboracensis provinciæ[12] cremando,[13] cædendo, gravidas findendo[14] vastavit. Sed[16] Thurstinus archiepiscopus cum regiis militibus latenter occurrens ipsum fugavit[17] occisis decem millibus, et spolia multa reportavit. Rex autem Stephanus, postquam castrum de Bedeford sibi adversum cepisset, Scotiam tendit, ubi paucis ad votum peractis

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[1] *Dist. prima, cap.* 18, add. A.B.C.D.
[2] *Theobaldus*] om. A.
[3] *sic defunctum*] om. A.
[4] *quem*] from B.C.D.
[5] *carere*, from A.B.C.D.; *colere*, MS.
[6] *Non*, from B.; *Nam*, MS.
[7] *dñi, Domin(i?)*, B.
[8] *hominem*, A.B.
[9] *terra hominem cœlumque deum*, C.D.
[10] *spoliando*, C.D.
[11] *ad*] om. B.
[12] *et . . . provinciæ*] om. C.D.
[13] *comburendo et*, B.; *pueros lanceando*, ins. C.D.
[14] *gravidas findendo*] om. B.; *gravitatas fundendo*, A.
[15] *usque ad aquam de Teyse juxta Eborum vastavit*, C.D.
[16] *et*, A.
[17] *profugavit*, A.

dus, distinctione prima, capitulo 18°.[1] Þat tyme Theobald þe mylde, eorle of Campania, was in his floures; he wolde myldeliche visite pore men and leprouse; oon preysed hym in metre passingliche in þis manere: "Þis felawe eorle þis[2] was "þat mylde man Theobaldris;[3] hevene makeþ ioye þat [hym][4] "haþ, and sorwful is þe world[5] þat hym leveþ. I[6] may calle "hym man, hym þat[7] [y][8] not[9] clepe God; deeþ preveþ hym "man; his owne lyf hym preveþ God;[10] [above man, under "God; more þan man, lasse þan God;][4] I not what manere "þing is bytwene þe tweyne." David kyng of Scotlond came þe þridde tyme into Engelond, and destroyed þe lond anon to the ryver of Tese,[11] in þe marche[12] of the province of ȝork, and brende and slowȝ, and slitte women wiþ childe. Thurstyn the archebisshop come priveliche aȝenst hym wiþ þe kynges knyȝtes, and chasede hym, and slowȝ ten þowsand of his men, and took meny prayes and grete. Kyng Stevene took þe castel of Bedforde þat was aȝenst hym, and þere after wente into Scotlond, and dede[13] þere newe[14] dedes at his owne wille

TREVISA.

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in the Holy Londe. *Giraldus, distinctione prima, capitulo* xviij°. Theobaldus the blissede, erle of Campany, was in this tyme, whiche usede to visitte poore peple, and men infecte with the lepre; whom a metricion commended after his dethe in this wise:

MS. HARL. 2261.

"Ille comes, comes ille, pius Theobaldus erat, quem
"Gaudet habere polus, terra carere dolet.
"Nam hominem possum non audeo dicere numen;
"Mors probat hunc hominem, vita fuisse deum;
"Trans hominem citraque deum, plus hoc, minus illo,
"Nescio quis neuter inter utrumque fuit."

David kynge of Scottelond entrede Ynglonde the thrydde tyme, wastynge that londe unto the water of Teyse, brennynge in the costes abowte Yorke, and sleenge moche peple. But Thurstyn archebischop of Yorke, gedrenge an hoste secretely, and metynge the seide kynge, put hym to fliȝhte, sleynge x. mt. of his hostes, and brouȝhte ageyne grete goodes taken from the cuntre. Kynge Steven, takynge the castelle of Bedforde, contrarious to hym, wente to Scottelonde, and doynge noo thynge

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[1] 19°, Cx.
[2] *þes felouȝ erl þes*, γ.
[3] *Theobaldus*, Cx.
[4] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[5] *sorful ys world*, γ.
[6] *yche*, α.; *Ich*, β.
[7] *þat*] dar, Cx.
[8] From α.; *I*, Cx.
[9] *hym dar ich not*, β.
[10] *yode*, α.; *goode*, β. and Cx.
[11] *Teyse*, β. and γ.; *Theyse*, Cx.
[12] *mouth*, Cx.
[13] *dude*, γ.
[14] *fewe*, β.; *vewe*, γ.

rediit, sed in redeundo Alexandrum Lincolniensem episcopum vinculavit[1] donec castrum suum de Newerk[2] regi dedisset; Nigellum quoque Helyensem[3] episcopum effugavit; Rogerum Salisburiensem episcopum, qui multa sibi bona fecerat, incarceravit donec duo castella sua de Vises et de Schireburne ei dedisset. Unde et episcopus ille Rogerus, domorum et castrorum ædificator præcipuus, nimia tristitia infirmatus, obiit, pecuniam quasi quadraginta millia[4] marcarum in castellis suis post se relinquens, quæ non in Dei sed in regis usum cessit. Nam rex illo thesauro Constantiam sororem regis Francorum filio suo Eustachio comparavit. Thurstinus Eboracensis archiepiscopus, eximius fundator monasteriorum,[5] Hagustald et Fontibus,[6] aliorumque octo,[7] suscepto habitu monachico apud Pontem-fractum in bona senectute obiit. Cujus corpus post duos annos repertum est odoriferum et incorruptum.[8] Interea rex cepit castra Gloverniæ, Herefordiæ, Webbeley, Bristolliæ,

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[1] *vinculavit . . . episcopum*] om. A.

[2] *Neuwerk una cum castro de Sleford*, B.

[3] *Eliensem*, B.

[4] *millia*] om. A.

[5] *monastico*, C.D.

[6] *Fontium*, A.

[7] *tamen jam militiæ tempus fere fuisset expletum*, B.

[8] B. adds: "post cujus cessionem singuli canonici Eboracensis ecclesiæ beatum Willelmum, ejusdem loci thesaurarium præferunt tam pro honestate morum quam pro excellentia meritorum, sed ejus electionem per quendam ejusdem ecclesiæ archilevitam dominandi cupiditate, quamvis a saniori parte facta fuerat, impugnatam, papa Eugenius, beati Bernardi abbatis quondam discipulus, non vitio personæ, sed Cisterciensis ordinis, cujus ipse cultor quondam fuerat, promotionis zelo cassavit, et Henricum Mordak, ejusdem ordinis monachum in Eboracensis ecclesiæ pastorem ordinavit."

and come home aȝen.[1] But in his comynge homward he took Alisaundre bisshop of Lyncolne, and putte hym into bondes forto[2] he hadde i-ȝilde[3] hym þe castel of Newerk. Also he chasede Nigellus bisshop of Hely; and Roger bisshop of Salisbury, þat hadde i-doo hym moche good, he took hym and putte hym into prisoun, and helde hym þere til he hadde i-ȝove[3] hym tweie castellis of Vescy[4] and Schirborne; and for þis Roger was a greet bilder of houses and of castelles, he werþe[5] sike and deide for sorwe. After hym he lefte in his castel[6] of money as it were a fifty[7] þowsand mark,[8] þat was i-spended in þe kynges use, and nouȝt in Goddes service, for wiþ þat money þe kyng bought[9] to his sone Eustas Constantines[10] þe kynges suster of Fraunce. Thurstyn þe archebisshop of ȝork was a greet foundour of abbayes, of Hangustalde, of Fonteyns,[11] and of viii. oþere, and took þe abite of monk at Pomfreet,[12] and deide in good elde. After two ȝere his body was i-founde hool and sownde, and smelled ful[13] soote. Þat tyme þe kyng took þe castel of Gloucestre, of Hereford, and[14] of Webelay,[15] of Bristowe, and of Dudley,[16] and of Schroisbury. Robert eorle of Gloucestre, of Hereford,

TREVISA.

þer worþy commendacion, returnede to Ynglonde, and imprisoned Alexander bischop of Lincoln, unto the tyme that he hade taken to hym the castelle of Newerke. Also he chasede awey Nigellus bischop of Hely, and prisoned Rogerus bischoppe of Salisbery, untille that he hade ȝiffen to hym ij. castelles of the Vies and of Shirburne. Wherethro that famous edifier of howses and of castells diede for sorowe, levynge in his castells xl^{ti} m^{t} marke, whiche summe was not spende in the servyce of God, but at the use of the kynge. With whiche treasure kynge Steven mariede Constancia, suster to the kynge of Fraunce, to his sonne Eustachius. Thurstyne, archebischop of Yorke, and the noble edifier of Hangustalde and of other viij. monasteryes, takynge the habite of a monke at Pountefrete, diede in a goode age; the body of whom was founde redolente and incorrupte by ij. yere after his dethe. After that kynge Steven toke the castells of Gloucestre, of Herforde, of Walkely, Bristowe, of Dudley, and of Salisbery. Robert erle of Glowces-

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 355. b.

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[1] *aȝeyne*, α.
[2] *til that*, Cx.
[3] *y ȝeve*, β., bis.
[4] *Vyse*, β. and γ.; *the Vyse*, Cx.
[5] *a worþ*, γ.; *he bycam*, Cx. *castels*, β.
[6] *fourty*, Cx.
[7] *marcȝ*, α.
[8] *bought*, from Cx.; *brouȝt*, MS.
[9] *Constauns*, β.; *Constans*, γ.; *Constaunce*, Cx.
[10] *Fontens*, β. and γ.
[11] *Pontfret*, β.
[12] *smellyng fol*, γ.
[13] *and*] om. α.
[14] *Webbeley*, β.; *Webbely*, Cx.
[15] *Duddeleye*, β.

Duddeleye, et[1] Salopiæ. Quo audito Robertus comes Gloverniæ, nothus filius regis Henrici, invitavit sororem suam Matildam[2] imperatricem, Andegavis tunc morantem, ut Angliam tunc[3] veniret, auxilium promittens contra regem Stephanum.[4] Venientes igitur[5] mense Julio[6] Robertus et Matilda[7] primo apud[8] Portesmudam deinde apud Bristolliam[9] multa damna provincialibus irrogant. Quod rex audiens, dimissa obsidione quam circa castrum de Walingford fecerat,[10] illuc tendit,[11] sed cito post Lincolniam abscedit.[12] Igitur circa purificationem beatæ Mariæ Ranulphus comes Cestriæ, Robertus comes Gloverniæ cum pluribus Walensibus ad solvendam regis obsidionem[13] venerunt. Qui cum paludem arundineam[14] vix pertransissent aciebus dispositis sic comes Cestriæ suos alloquitur, "Gratias vobis per-
" solvo,[15] jugiter exorans ut, qui vobis causa sum periculi
" primus omnium periculo subeam." Cui dixit comes Robertus, "Non est indignum[16] quod primi ictus[17]
" dignitatem deposcis, tam ex nobilitate generis quam
" ex virtute roboris qua præcellis; sed movet me ad

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[1] *Duddeleye et*] om. A.
[2] *dudum*, C.
[3] *tunc*] om. A.B.
[4] *Henricus, libro octavo*, B.
[5] *anno regni Stephani* (sic), B.
[6] *dictus*, B.
[7] *cum magna exercitu in Angliam*,
[8] *apud*] om. A.
[9] *applicant*, C.D.
[10] *fecerat*] om. A.
[11] *castra nonnulla firmavit, igitur circa*, C.D.
[12] *secessit, et munitiones ejus, quas Ranulphus comes Cestriæ fraudulenter susceperat, obsedit*, B.
[13] *Lincolniam*, C.D.
[14] *arenosam*, C.D.
[15] *solvo*, A.
[16] *indignus*, A.
[17] *ictus*] om. A.

and of Webelay,[1] kyng Henries [bastard][2] sone, herde here of, and sente for his suster Molde þe emperesse, þat wonede þoo in Angeo,[3] and prayede here to come into Engelond, and behiȝt[4] here help aȝenst kyng Stevene. *Henricus, libro* 8°. Þanne in the monþe of Iuyl[5] Robert and Molde come first to Portesmouþe, and þennes to Bristowe, and dede men of þe contray grete harme and damage; þo þe kyng bysegede þe castel of Walyngforde, and herde here of, [and][6] lafte his sege,[7] and went aȝenst hym, and bysegede Lyncolne sone after þat tyme.[8] Þanne aboute Candelmasse Ranulph eorle of Chestre, and Robert eorle of Gloucestre, come wiþ meny Walsche men, and brak[9] þe kynges sege; and whanne þey were unneþes i-passed Areden marys,[10] and hadde arrayed þe scheltrouns, þe eorle of Chestre spak to his men in þis manere, and seide: "I þanke "ȝow, and pray ȝow besiliche þat y[11] þat am cause of ȝoure "peril moste[12] be þe firste þat schal answere hym into[13] "peril." Eorle Robert answerde hym, "It is nouȝt unworþy "þat þou axest þe dignete of þe first strook boþe for nobilte[14] "of blood and for vertu of strengþe, in the whiche þow

TREVISA.

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tre perceyvyng that, sende to Matilda thempresse, promisynge to hir helpe ageyne the kynge. *Henricus, libro octavo.* The seide Robert and the empresse comen to Portesmude in the monethe of Julius, and after that to Bristowe, where thei did grete hurte to peple of that province. The kynge herynge that, lefte the segenge of the castelle of Walyngeforde, and segede Lincolne. Wherefore Ranulphus erle of Chestre, and Robert erle of Gloucestre, come with mony men of Wales to dissolve that sege, and a marres fulle of redes passed over, and the wardes of theire batelle sette in ordre, the erle of Chestre seide that he scholde be the formaste man in that day to putte his body in perelle. To whom Robert the erle of Gloucestre seide, "Hit is not inconveniente to yow to desire the dignite of "the fyrste stroke, bothe for the nobilite of youre bloode and "for the vertu of strength, in whom ye precelle other men.

MS. HARL. 2261.

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[1] *of . . . Webelay*] om. α. and Cx.
[2] From α., γ., and Cx.
[3] *Angeo*, from γ. and Cx.; *Avyoun*, MS.
[4] *byhyght*, Cx.
[5] *Jul*, γ.
[6] From Cx.
[7] *syege*, Cx.
[8] γ. has suffered in this part very great damage from the fire.
[9] *and brak*] to breke, Cx.
[10] *a reden marys*, α.; *a reody marreys*, β.; *a reedy mareys*, Cx.
[11] *ich*, β.
[12] *mot*, Cx.
[13] *shal entre into the*, Cx.
[14] *nobley*, β.

" bellum [1] regis rabies et perjurium. Verumtamen per
" iter [2] quo venimus non est [3] revertendum, hic ergo [4]
" vincendum aut occubendum ; necesse est enim ut ad
" probitatem [5] confugiat, cui non est [6] aliud refugium,
" Attendite tamen [7] contra quos et quales bellum
" geritis. Stat enim contra vos comes de [8] Mellent,
" fraudis artifex, cui innata est in corde nequitia, in
" ore fallacia, in opere pigritia. Procedit etiam comes
" de Albemarle Baccho [9] devotus, Marti ignotus, vino
" redolens, bello insolens, astat ibi Symon Hamptunensis
" cujus actus sola loquacio [10] cujus datum sola pro-
" missio, qui cum dixerit fecit, cum promiserit dedit." [11]
Rex autem Stephanus sub tantis æstibus missam audivit,
Alexandro episcopo tunc celebrante, in cujus manibus

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[1] *bellandum*, A.B.
[2] *pariter*, A.B.
[3] *est*] om. B.
[4] *aut*, B.
[5] *improbitatem*, A.
[6] *est*] om. A.
[7] *tamen*] om. B.
[8] *Devoniæ, fallendi*, C.D.
[9] *Baco*, A.
[10] *locutio*, B.
[11] *dedit*] om. A.

" passest oþer men. But þe kynges falshede[1] and his wood- TREVISA.
" nesse meveþ me to werre and to fiȝte. But we moste[2] nouȝt
" torne aȝen by þe wey þat we come, þan we moste have here
" þe maistrie oþer be overcomen; he þat haþ non oþer socour
" moste nedes flee to bolde dedes[3] of manhode and of
" strengþe. But takeþ hede aȝenst whom[4] and what manere
" men ȝe moste[5] fiȝte: Robert eorle of Mellent stondeþ
" aȝenst ȝow; he is crafty of fraude and of gile, and haþ wicked-
" nesse in [his][6] herte, tresoun and gyle in his mowþe, and
" slewþe in his dedes.[7] Þere comeþ also þe eorle of Albe-
" marle; he is devout to Bachus, and nouȝt i-knowe of Mars;
" he smelleþ of the[6] wyne, and useþ no werre." *Trevisa.* Poetes feyneþ a god of wyn, and clepeþ[8] hym Bachus, and anoþer of bataile, and clepeþ hym Mars; and so for þe speche,[9] he is devout to Bachus þat dooþ leccherie,[10] and he þat is nouȝt worþ in batayle is unknowen to Mars. Þan he telleþ forþ his tale in þe storie in þis manere: " Þere stondeþ Symon of Hamptoun, his
" dedes beeþ[11] but wordes, and[12] his ȝiftes [is][13] but a byheste;
" when his word is i-saide he haþ i-doo his dede; when he haþ
" [y-hote he haþ][14] i-ȝove[15] his ȝiftes." In þis grete hete kyng Steven herde[16] Alisaundre þe bisshoppes masse, and þe tapre þat

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" But the cruellenesse of the kynge and perjury move me to MS. HARL.
" fiȝhte ageyne hym, for hit is not to returne by that way we 2261.
" come, other lete us have victory here or lete us dye. For
" hit is necessary to a man to flee to manhode that hathe noon
" oþer socoure. But attende ageyne what men we schalle fiȝhte:
" the erle of Mellent stondethe ageyne us, the crafty man of dis-
" seyte, which hathe of properte wikkidnesse in hert, falsenesse
" in tunge, and slawthe in his dedes. Also the erle Albemarle
" wyne drunke, havynge noo crafte in batelle, and Symon of
" the province of Hampton is þer, whose promise is a ȝifte,
" and his doynge but as wynde, whiche hathe done when he
" hathe seide, and hathe ȝiffen when hathe promysede."
Kynge Steven in his perelle herde masse, Alexander bischop of Lincolne seyenge masse afore hym; and the kynge offrenge

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[1] *ȝals oþ*, β.; *fals othe*, Cx.
[2] *mowe*, γ.
[3] *dedes*, from γ. and Cx.; *dayes*, MS.
[4] *hem*, Cx.
[5] *mot*, β.
[6] From Cx.
[7] *dede*, γ.
[8] *clepyn*, Cx., bis.
[9] *forth to speke*, Cx.
[10] *þat dooþ leccherie*] om. α.; *that is a good drynker*, Cx.
[11] *ben*, Cx.
[12] *and*] om. α.
[13] From α. and β.
[14] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[15] *yȝeve*, β.
[16] *hurde*, γ.

cereus quem rex obtulit confractus est, et pixis qui hostiam continuit fracta catena cecidit. Quod quidem signum fuit regiæ ruinæ. Præcedente tandem rege verba belli exhortatoria Baldwyno comiti sunt commissa,[1] qui cæteros affatur in hunc modum: "Con- " fligentes oportet nosse tria, justitiam causæ, ne " periculum[2] incurratur, copiam catervæ, ne numero " hostium comprimatur, efficaciam dexteræ, ne debili- " bus innixa facile subruatur. Quantum ad hæc tria, " ut arbitror, expediti sumus. Attendite ulterius quales " habemus adversarios. Ecce Robertus consul, qui de " more multum minatur, parum operatur, ore leoninus, " corde leporinus; clarus eloquentia, obscurus inertia.[3] " Deinde stat comes Cestrensis,[4] vir quidem audaciæ irra- " tionabilis, promptus ad conspirandum, inconstans ad " perficiendum,[5] animo impetuosus, periculi improvidus, " altiora machinans, impossibilia temptans, quod avide " incipit [effeminate deserit][6] ubique infortunatus, " aut vinci aut effugari assuetus, transfugas et gyro- " vagos secum adducitur[7] Walenses, qui quanto sunt " numero plures, tanto deteriores." Sed ecce priusquam dictis finem faceret, adest clamor hostium, clangor lituorum, fremitus[8] equorum; offendunt acies, cadunt segnes, rex[9] capitur, ad imperatricem adducitur et a[10]

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[1] *concessa*, C.D.
[2] *animæ*, B.C.D.
[3] *in arcea*, A.
[4] *Cestriæ*, B.
[5] *proficiendum*, A.
[6] from A.B.C.D.
[7] *adducit*, A.B.
[8] *fremitus*] om. A.
[9] *Stephanus*, C.D.
[10] *a*] om. B.

TREVISA.

þe kyng offrede brak in þe bisshoppis hond, and þe cheyne brak, and þe box fil[1] þat[2] Goddes body was ynne; þat was a token of þe kynges fallynge.[3] Þan þe kyng wente, and Baldewyn þe eorle hadde þe wordes to conforte men for to fiȝte, and he spak to oþere men in þis manere: "Men þat schal[4] fiȝte "most knowe þre þinges, þe riȝtfulnesse of þe cause, leste me[5] "schulde falle in peril of soule; þe quantite of þe companye, "þat þey be nouȝt i-bore down wiþ to menye enemyes; and þe "effecte of myȝt and of strengþe, leste me lene uppon febil[6] "helpe, and falle to þe grounde. Touchinge þese þre poyntes "I trowe þat we ben sped;[7] but takeþ hede furþermore what "manere enemyes we haveþ.[8] Loo Roberd consul,[9] þat useþ "greet manas, and doþ litel in dede, in þe mouþ he is a lyoun,[10] "and in þe herte an hare; [he is clere of speche and derk by "unkonnynge. Also þere stondeþ þe erle of Chestre, a man of "unresonable hardynesse; redy and prest to conspiracy, and "unstedfast [to][11] fulfille[12] in dede, hasty of herte and unwar "of peryles. He casteþ ful greet dedes, and assaieþ dedes þat "he may nouȝt y-welde.[13] What he bygynneþ frescheliche, "he forsakeþ hit feyntliche as a womman; unhappy and "ungracious in everiche place, and is alwey overcome or "y-chasede].[14] He haþ wiþ hym flemed men and scolkers[15] "aboute; þe Walsche[16] men, ever þe moo beeþ of hem, þe worse "þey beeþ [in][17] fiȝtinge." But or he hadde i-made an ende of his wordes, come þe cry of þe enemyes, þe noyse of trumpes, and þe gruntynge of hors, and þe scheltrouns smyten[18] to gidre, and doun goþ [þe][19] slowȝ.[20] Þe kyng is i-take, and brouȝt to þe emperesse, and was i-kepte in bondes[21] at Bristowe from

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MS. HARL. 2261. f. 356. a.

his taper, hit brake anoon betwene þe hondes of the bischop; and the pix, in whom the sacramente was contenede, brekynge the chene, did falle, whiche was a pronosticacion contrary to the victory of the kynge. Anoon after that the hostes joynede to gedre, moche peple was overthrowe; the kynge was taken and brouȝhte to the empresse, and was kepede in prison from the feste of þe Purificacion unto the Exaltacion of the holy

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[1] *vul*, γ.
[2] þat] there, Cx.
[3] *vallyng*, γ.; *fayllyng*, Cx.
[4] *must*, Cx.
[5] *men*, Cx.
[6] *feble*, β.; *oppon febel*, γ.
[7] *beþ yspedde*, β.
[8] *habbeþ*, γ.
[9] *Roberts counseyll*, Cx.
[10] *leon*, γ.
[11] From β., γ., and Cx.
[12] *to vulvulle*, γ.
[13] *awelde*, Cx.
[14] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[15] *sculkers*, β.
[16] *Walysch*, γ.
[17] From β. and Cx.
[18] *smytiþ*, β.
[19] From β.
[20] *and forth goon tharowes*, Cx.
[21] *boundes*, Cx.

Gratiæ MCXLVII. Stephani XII.

festo[1] Purificationis usque ad Exaltationem[2] sanctæ Crucis apud Bristolliam[3] vinculatur. Ex cujus rei[4] eventu imperatrix, nimis elata, Cirencestram occupat, deinde Wyntoniam, ubi approbante hoc legato papæ processionaliter suscipitur. Inde Wyltoniam, Oxoniam Radingum, ad Sanctum Albanum iter dirigens a cunctis ubique, exceptis solis Kentensibus, gratanter excipitur,[5] occurrente ei potissime Theobaldo archiepiscopo.[6] Inde Londoniam veniens de statu regni tractatura, interpellata est a regina Angliæ, regis Stephani uxore, ut rex[7] absolvi posset ea conditione, quod regno imperatrici reddito rex alicubi[8] posset monachari aut perpetuo peregrinari; sed hoc non exaudivit. Interpellata est etiam a civibus Londoniæ ut liceret eis[9] uti legibus sancti Edwardi, non autem legibus patris sui Henrici quia graves erant; sed illa non adquievit. Inde populus commotus illam capere statuit, quod illa comperiens, dimissa omni suppellectili sua, Oxoniam fugit, ubi dispersos milites suos expectavit. Inde assumpto secum

Rex capitur et incarceratur per reginam suam.

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[1] *Beatæ Mariæ*, C.D.
[2] *festum Exaltationis*, B.
[3] *apud Bristolliam*] om. C.D.
[4] *rei*] om. A.
[5] *accipitur*, A.B.
[6] *cum procerum numerosa multitudine*, add. C.D.
[7] *rex*] om. B.
[8] *alicubi*] om. B.
[9] *eis*] om. A.

Candelmasse to the Holy Rode day in harvast.[1] Þerfore þe emperesse worþ swiþe proude, and occupied Circestre[2] and þan Wynchestre, þere þei[3] come aȝenst hire with a[4] processioun, and þat allowed þe popes legat. Þan sche wente to Wyltoun,[5] to Oxenford, to Redynge, and to Seynt Alboun;[6] and in every place alle men fonge here with good wil, outake Kentische men allone. But Theobaldus þe archebisshop come specialliche aȝenst her. Þan sche come to Londoun to trete of the state of þe londe. Þere þe queene of Engelond, kyng Stephenes wyf, prayed þe emperesse þat þe kyng moste[7] be delivered out of bondes uppon þat condicion, þat þe kyng scholde holde[8] up þe kyngdom to þe emperesse, and somwhere bycome a monk or be a pilgrim to his lyves ende. But þe emperesse wolde nouȝt here þis bone. Also þe citeȝeins of Londoun prayed here þat þey myȝte use seint Edwardes lawes, and nouȝt þe lawes of her fader kyng Henry, for þey were ful harde; but sche wolde nouȝt assente. Þerfore þe people[9] was i-meoved, and[10] [y]-ordeyned to take here. Sche[11] was war þerof, and lefte al her store and housholde, and fliȝ to Oxenforde, and þere sche bode[12] here knyȝtes þat were al i-sched.[13] Þanne

TREVISA.

Crosse. The empresse joyenge moche of that victory, occupiede anoon Ciciter, after that Wynchestre, where sche was receyvede with a procession by approbacion of a legate. After that sche goynge to Oxforde, Radynge, and to Kente, was receyvede with grete honoure of Theobaldus metropolitan. After that the empresse commen to London to trete of the state of the realme, was movede by the wife of kynge Steven that the realme restorede to the empresse, the kynge myȝhte be losede from prison, this condicion putte, that either he scholde be made a monke, or elles travayle in pilgremage by alle the tyme of his lyfe. But the empresse wolde not here this peticion. Nevertheless the citesynnes of London made supplicacion that they myȝhte use the lawes of seynte Edwarde, and not the lawes of here fader, in that thei were more streyte; but sche wolde not condescende þerto. The peple trowblede þerwith intended to have taken her, but sche havynge knowlege þerof, and levynge the stuffe of howseholde, fledde to Oxenforde to abide her knyȝhtes that were dispersede. After that sche takenge her

MS. HARL. 2261.

[1] *hervest*, β.; *harvost*, γ.
[2] *Surseter*, γ.; *Surcetre*, Cx.
[3] *þere þei*, from β.; there they, Cx.; *þerby*, MS.
[4] *a*] om. α. and Cx.
[5] *Wiltoun*, β.
[6] *Albon*, Cx.
[7] *myght*, Cx.
[8] *yelde*, Cx.
[9] *pupel*, γ.
[10] From α.
[11] *Heo*, β.
[12] *heo abode*, β.; *abods*, Cx.
[13] *or divided*, β.; *or dyvyded*, add. Cx.

avunculo suo David Scottorum rege, cum manu militari Wyntoniam tendit, turrim episcopi, ubi frater regis erat, acriter obsedit; superveniente tandem regina cum Willelmo Yprensi,[1] imperatrix ita timore resoluta est ut feretro imposita, ac si[2] cadaver esset, equis deferentibus ad urbem Gloverniæ delata est. Comes Robertus frater suus interim captus est et incarceratur.[3] Igitur satagentibus regina pro rege, imperatrice pro[4] fratre[5] suo, multis hinc inde procurantibus[6] talis liberatio providetur, ut rex suo restituatur regno et comes suo dominio,[7] et ambo[8] deinceps forent regni moderatores, sicut extiterant turbatores.[9] Sed comite id renuente per totum annum regnum subjacuit rapinis et cædibus ac divitum[10] venditionibus. Tandem circa Exaltationem Sanctæ Crucis rex liberatus obsedit imperatricem in urbe Oxoniæ,[11] a festo sancti Michaelis usque ad natale Domini cuncta extrinsecus devastando. Inva-

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[1] *Prensi*, A.
[2] *quasi*, C.D.
[3] *incarceratus*, B.
[4] *pro*] om. A.
[5] *comite*, C.D.
[6] *multis . . . procurantibus*] om. B.
[7] *fratre . . . dominio*] om. C.D.
[8] *ambo*] om. B.
[9] *moderatores*, A.
[10] *devictum*, A.; *dituum*, C.D.
[11] *Oxoniensi*, B.

sche[1] took wiþ here her owne eme,[2] David kyng of Scotlond, and strengþe of kny3tes[3] and wente to Wynchestre; þere sche byseged comounliche[4] the bischoppes tour, where þe kynges broþer was. At þe laste come þe queene with William Iprens,[5] and þe empresse was [so][6] aferde, þat sche was bore to Glowcestre on an hors liter[7] as it were a dede body. Here broþer eorle Roberd was i-take and i-putte in prisoun in þe mene tyme; þan þe queene was besy on þat oon side for þe kyng, and þe emperesse on þat oþer side for hire owne broþer; and suche delievrance[8] was i-procured, and i-ordeyned, þat þe kyng schulde be restored a3en to þe kyngdom, and þe eorle to his lordschepe, and boþe schulde make pees in þe kyngdom as þey hadde destourbled[9] it; but þe eorle wolde nou3t assente. Þan al þe 3ere was in þe lond robbynge and manslau3ter, and revynge,[10] and sellynge[11] of riche [men].[12] Þanne about Holy Rode day in hervest þe kyng was delyvered, and byseged þe emperesse in þe citee of Oxenforde from Mi3helmasse to mydwynter, and destroyed[13] al þat was wiþ oute. At þe laste fel[14] a greet hunger, and þe

TREVISA.

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uncle with her, David kynge of Scottes, with a grete nowmbre of kny3htes, wente to Wynchestre, segynge soore the towre longynge to the bischop, where the broþer of kynge Steven was. But the qwene commynge with William Yprense, the empresse was so afrayede that sche was putte on a bere as sche hade be dedde, and brou3hte with horses to Gloucestre as sche scholde have bene beryede þer. Robert the erle her broþer was taken and putte in prison. At the laste the qwene laborynge for the kynge, and the empresse for her broþer, this promision was hade, that the kynge scholde be restorede to his realme, and þe erle to his lordeschippe, and that thei bothe scholde be governoures of the realme, lyke as thei hade causede grete trowble in hit. But the erle forsakynge that, myche manslau3hter and robbynge was in the realme by alle that yere. Neverthelesse the kynge delyverede from prison abowte the feste of Exaltacion of the hooly Crosse, segede the empresse in the cite of Oxenforde from the feste of seynte Michell unto Cristemasse. But at the

MS. HARL. 2261.

f. 356. b.

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[1] *hue*, γ., et infra.
[2] *eame*, Cx.
[3] *þat were al i-sched*, wrongly inserted here in MS.
[4] *strongly*, Cx.
[5] *Prens*, γ.
[6] From β. and Cx.
[7] *hors-bere*, β.; *hors bere*, Cx.
[8] *deliverauns*, γ.
[9] *destroubled*, α.; *dystourbed*, Cx.
[10] *revynge manslau3t*, β.; *revynge manslau3ter and*, α. and Cx.
[11] *sullyng*, γ.
[12] From α., β., γ., and Cx.
[13] *distruyed*, β.
[14] *fyll*, Cx.

lescente tandem inedia, imperatrix albis vestibus cooperta per Thamisim congelatam, nive conspersam, evasit usque ad Walyngford, nam oculi obsidentium per nivis reverberationem delusi erant. Et sic[1] urbs Oxoniæ regi reddita est. ["Circa hæc tempora quidam magister Arnaldus prædicavit Romæ contra divites et contra superfluitates[2] hominum qua de causa multi sequebantur eum, tandem captus est[3] et in odium clericorum suspensus [4]est."][5] Quo etiam anno Johannes de Temporibus, qui vixerat trescentis sexaginta uno annis et armiger magni Karoli extiterat, obiit.

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[1] *sic*] om. B.
[2] *superfluitatem*, A.
est et, om B.
[4] *est*, from A.B., om. C.D.
[5] from A.B.C.D.

emperesse was heled[1] in white, and bysprongе wiþ snow, and scapede awey over Temse, þat was i-frore[2] and heled wiþ snowe, and come to Walyngforde. For[3] þe men of þe sege[4] were begiled and yblynd[5] wiþ þe blasynge of þe snowe; and so þe citee of Oxenford was i-ȝolde[6] to þe kyng. Aboute þis tyme oon maister Arnold preched at Rome aȝenst riche men, and aȝenst superfluyte þat men useþ;[7] þerfore meny folowede[8] hym: at þe laste he was i-take and an honged for wratthe of clerkes. Also þat tyme deide Iohn de temporibus, þat hadde i-leved þre hondred ȝere þre score and oon, and hadde i-be a squyer wiþ the grete Charles. Trevisa.

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laste the empresse, clothed in white clothes, wente over the yse on Thamys in a grete snawe unto Walyngforde; so the siȝhte of the peple segenge that cite was deludede by the reverberation of snawe: and so the cite of Oxenforde was restorede and yolden to the kynge. Abowte this tyme a maister Arnald by name prechede at Rome ageyne ryche men, and ageyne the superfluite of men, where thro mony peple folowede hym, but at the laste he was taken and honged in the despite of prestes. In whiche yere John of tymes dyed, whiche hade lyvede ccclxj. yere, somme tyme esqwier to grete kynge Charls. MS. Harl. 2261.

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[1] *coverd*, Cx.
[2] *yfrore*, β.
[3] *For*] Therefore, β.
[4] *syege*, Cx.
[5] *y-blynd*, from α.; *y-blend*, β. and Cx.; *wende*, MS.
[6] *yolden*, Cx.
[7] *usen*, Cx.
[8] *volwede*, γ.; *pursued*, Cx.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX.

C^m 15^m.

Harl. MS. 1900. f. 248b.

Hugus[1] Capet[2] kyng of West France deyde after that he had regned ix ȝere his sone Robart was kyng after hym that he had y-gete[3] on the elder Edwardes douȝter, kyng of Englond, This[4] Robart regned about an thritty ȝere. In his tyme came a religiouse pilgrime out of Jerusalem into Sicilia, and lerned of oon that was closed[5] that dede mennes soules for diverse synnes and trespasses beth[6] tormented inn Vulcanus[7] crokke. He that was ỏ-closed tolde that he had ofte herde[8] the voỏs and the grysbitting[9] of thilke[10] soules that beth delyvered by prayers and almes dedes of cristen men and namelich[11] of monkes of Cluny. Therfor Odilo abbot of Cluny whanne he was war therof; he ordeỏned to have mỏnde[12] and memorỏe for hem that beth[13] dede, and that the morowe after al halwen day. That maner of usage and of doỏng passed afterward into al the world.[14] Also this Robart was a kunnỏng[15] man of science, and wolde inn heỏȝ festes of seỏntes inn som abbaỏ of hỏs kyngdom sỏnge other bere a cope and rule the queor.[16] Ones at Aurelians in a seỏnt Amans[17] day, he had lefte his oost about a castel that he bisegide and bare a coope in the queor and [sange][18] thres[19] Agnus dei, knelỏng on the ground. Thanne the same tỏme the walles of the castel that was bỏsegide fil[20] doun sodeỏnlich[21] riȝt[22] to the ground. This is that Robart that made that sequence of the Holy Goost; Sancti spiritus assit nobis gratia, that is, the grace of the Holy Gost be with us. Also he made the Respond of[23] mỏdwỏnter eve; Juda et Jerusalem nolite timere, that is, Jewry[24] and Jerusalem

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[1] *Huw*, γ.
[2] *Capett*, Cx.
[3] *bygoten*, Cx.
[4] *þes*, γ.
[5] *y-closed*, γ.
[6] *be*, Cx., et passim.
[7] *in*, γ.
[8] *yhurd*, γ.
[9] *grysbytyng*, Cx.
[10] *grysbattynge of þulke*, γ.
[11] *cristemen and namlych*, γ; *namely*, Cx.
[12] *munde*, γ.
[13] *ben*, Cx.
[14] *worl*, γ.
[15] *connyng*, Cx.
[16] *quer*, γ., et infra; *quere*, Cx., et infra.
[17] *Anian*, γ.; *Anians*, Cx.
[18] From Cx.
[19] *þryes*, γ.
[20] *vul*, γ.
[21] *sodenly*, Cx.
[22] *riȝt*] om. Cx.
[23] *of*] on, Cx.
[24] *Juwery*, γ.

haue ȝe no wille to drede, as who seith, drede ȝow [1] riȝt nouȝt. Also that ȝere Develyng, a cite of an archbischops see of Irland, was distruyed of Scottes, and the navey of Denmarch went into Normandy and kyng Egelredus destruyed Cumbrelond and the ylond Mon, that hatt Anglesia also [2] and is by North Wales. Seynt Ivo the bischops body is y-founde.[3] *Willelmus de pontificibus libro x°.*[4] This Ivo, of the nacioun of Perses, forsoke the likyng of this world, and passed by many londes in a cherles wede with thre felawes and no mo, and endede his lif inn the yle of Rameseye.[5] His grave and his name was longe tyme unknowen to men of that cuntray. But this Ivo appered to a symple man and enformed hym of his name, and of his degree. And chargide hym that he schuld go to the abbot of Rameseye; for thei schuld go y-fere [6] and take up [7] his body out of the erthe. Whanne that was doone, an helful [8] welle for al maner sekenesse sprang out of his grave. So the [9] ȝitt [10] unnethe in al Englond is eny seynt that wole liȝtloker [11] here [12] a mannes bone and helpe hym in dede. That ȝere king Egelredus wedded Emma the flour of Normandy, the douȝter of the firste Richard duke of Normandy. And was proude [13] therfore, and sent lettres into the citees of Englond and comaundide and het sle [14] alle the Danes in oon nyȝt. And so it was doon in seynt Britius [15] nyȝt. Also that ȝere was the abbay founded of Burtoun uppon Trent of a grete man that het Wulricus Spot.[16] After the thrid Otho, the first Henry that was cleped mylde, was emperor two and twenty ȝere; hym crowned the archbischop of Magons.[17] And here take hede that moo Henryes were kynges than emperors. Therfore whanne me redith the first Henry, the Secunde, other the thridde, by cause of liknesse of the name, he is seide the first other the secunde in the empire; the same schal be understonden of Conrades and Othones, emperors that so hatte. This first Henry lyved clene mayd with his wif. The eiȝtenthe Joon was pope six monthes. Suanus kyng of Danes herde [18] telle that the [19] Danes were privyliche slayn in the citees of Englond and com with a grete navey and londed in Cornwail.[20] There by tresoun of a Norman, erle Hugus [21] that the queen

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[1] *ȝow*] *now*, Cx.
[2] *also*] om. Cx.
[3] *vounde*, γ.
[4] *quarto*, Cx.
[5] *Ramsey*, Cx.
[6] *vor hy scholde go yfere*, γ.
[7] *op*, γ.
[8] *heeleful*, Cx.
[9] *the*] that, Cx.
[10] *þat ȝut*, γ.
[11] *lyghtlyer*, Cx.
[12] *hure*, γ.
[13] *prout*, γ.
[14] *hete to sle*, Cx.
[15] *Bricius*, γ.
[16] *Wulrycus Spotte*, Cx.
[17] *Magonce*, Cx.
[18] *hurde*, γ.
[19] *the*] om. Cx.
[20] *Cornewayle*, Cx.
[21] *Huwe*, γ.; *Hugh*, Cx.

Emma had made[1] lord of Devenschyre, Suanus toke Excetre and distruyed the walles. But the West Saxons com manlich aȝenus[2] hym. But as ofte as the oostes neiȝede[3] to gidres the cheveteyn[4] of Englisch men, Edricus a fals traytor, feyned for to spuwe, and seide that he was seke. Therfore Englisch men were discomforted[5] and kyng Suanus spoyled and[6] robbed Wiltoun and Schirburn, and went to his schippes aȝen, and com to Norwich[7] the next ȝere after, and destruyed the cuntray and sett Tetford a fier.[8] Whanne duke Usketel was war therof, he sent to men of the cuntray that they schulde brenne the schippes of her[9] enemyes But thei[10] made hit as thouȝ thei rouȝt nouȝt,[11] other durst nouȝt. Thanne the[12] duke com with al that he myȝt and ȝaf the Danes a wel scharp and harde[13] batail. But for that ȝere was strong hungre in Englond, kyng Suanus turned aȝen to Denmarch, and com the next ȝere after into[14] Englond aȝen. The nyntenthe Joon was pope fyve ȝere. This ȝere Elphegus bischop of Wynchestre was made archbischop of[15] Caunterbury, whanne Wulricus the archbischop was dede. There after in the monthe of Juyle the navey of Danes londede at Sandwich and spoylede and robbede Kent and Southsex, and traveyled the oost of Englond with many maner disseytes and wyles, now spoylinge and robbynge and now turnyng home aȝen. Thre felowes folewide hem[16] alwey, robbyng sleyng and brenyng, for kyng Egelredus woned thanne at Schrowesbury,[17] and myȝt not anoon put of the Danes, er thei had destried Barrokschyre.[18] Therfore kyng Egelredus by counsail of lordes payed to the Danes tribute thritty thousand pound for to have pes.[19] That ȝere he made Edricus, the traytour, duke of Mercia; Edricus was lowe[20] of kyn, riche of tonge, fals and disseyvable of witt, softe and faire[21] of speche, untrusty and fals of thouȝt. The thridde Sergius was pope thre ȝere. *Henr' libro* 6°. Turkillus, an erle of the Danes, com alond in Kent, and Caunturbury men ȝaf hym thre thousand pound forto have pes. And the Danes went into the yle of Wiȝt, and toke prayes there. As ofte as the kyng went forth forto fiȝt aȝenus[22] hem, erle Edricus counseyled that he schuld

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[1] *ymad*, γ.
[2] *aȝenes*, γ.; *manely ayenst*, Cx.
[3] *neyhed*, Cx.
[4] *cheventen*, γ.; *Capitayn*, Cx.
[5] *dyscomfortet*, γ.
[6] *spoyled and*] om. Cx.
[7] *Northwich*, γ.
[8] *Tedford a vure*, γ.
[9] *theyr*, Cx.
[10] *hy*, γ.
[11] *a roȝte nouȝt*, γ.
[12] *þes*, γ.
[13] *harde and sharpe*, Cx.
[14] *in*, γ.
[15] *of Dorobernia þat is Canturbury*, γ.
[16] *volwede ham*, γ.
[17] *Shroesbury*, Cx.
[18] *Borocschire*, γ.
[19] *pees*, Cx., et infra.
[20] *louȝ*, γ.
[21] *veyr*, γ.
[22] *ayenst*, Cx.

ȝeve hem no batail. Therfore that ȝere the Danes were made ful riche and destruẏede almost half Englond from Northampton to the ẏle of Wiȝt.

Cm 16m.

About seẏnt Matheus feste, the Danes bisegide[1] Caunterbury, and the twentithe[2] daẏ of the sege the cite was take, and sett afuyr,[3] and that by tresonn of Almarus the dekene[4] that seẏnt Elphegus had to forhond saved from the[5] deth. The abbot of seẏnt Austẏns[6] was suffred for to go his weẏ. Cristes flok was tethed[7] the nẏne were slayn and the tenthe was kept. Of hem that were slaẏn somme were slayn with iren,[8] and somme y-throwe adown of heiȝ places, some an hanged bẏ the privy membris and somme to-drawe by the heer. Among the whiche,[9] Elphegus the bischop was take and bounde sevene monethes and greved and dispised with manẏ maner peynes. Therfore Goddes wreththe[10] fil[11] uppon the peple that slouȝ so men that sorowe of her bowels slouȝ and destruẏed of hem now bẏ ten now bẏ twentẏ, and so a grete noumbre. Thanne the Danes were warned by Cristen men that thei schuld do the bischops gre, but thei differred hit and abide therwith. For on Ester eve thei ȝaf the bischop choẏs whether he wolde paẏ thre thousand pound other leese[12] hẏs lẏf. He forsoke al her profre and praẏed mekelich his Cristen men and forbede[13] hem heiȝliche[14] that noon of hem schuld paẏ for his raunsone. Therfore the Danes were wroth and kene, and the Saturday therafter[15] the Danes were wẏn dronke and ladde out the bischop and slouȝ him with stones and with rutheren[16] bones. That Saturdaẏ fil twelue daẏes tofore Maẏ. Whanne the bischop was ded he most nouȝt be biryed er amorowe.[17] Whanne a drye tree was touched with a drope of the blode hit waxe grene aȝen. Thanne the next daẏ after his body was brouȝt to Londoun, and buryed worschipliche in Seẏnt Paules chirche. But afterward by graunt of Canutus kẏng of Danes, he was brouȝt al hool in body to his owne chirche. *Willelmus de Regibus libro* 2°. After that this Alphegus[18] had take monkes

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[1] *beseged*, Cx.
[2] *twenty*, Cx.
[3] *a vure*, γ.
[4] *decon*, γ.
[5] *the*] om. Cx.
[6] *Austynhys*, γ.
[7] *ytueþed*, γ.
[8] *yr*, γ.
[9] *whoche*, γ.
[10] *wrath*, Cx.
[11] *vul*, γ.
[12] *luse*, γ.
[13] *vorbude*, γ.
[14] *hyghly*, Cx.
[15] *therafter*] after Cx.
[16] *roþerne*, γ.; *rotheren*, Cx.
[17] *he was not buryed til on the morn*, Cx.
[18] *Elpheyus*, γ.

abẏte[1] at Dirhust, he lyved as an anker at Bathe and gadered there monkes afterward, and as hit fallith[2] ofte in a grete college, these monkes drouȝ hem[3] to euel maner of doẏng. For unwitẏng the fader,[4] somme of hem made feestes by nẏȝt in outrage and in drinking to the day lyȝt. But the banẏour of this evel doyng fil[5] dede by wreche of God Almẏȝty[6] ẏn the mẏddel of the hous that thei dronke ẏnne. The fader was war therof bẏ noẏs that he herde[7] and com to the wẏndowe and sẏȝ tweẏ fendes bete that body and the wrecche axide helpe. Nay, quoth the fendes, thu were nouȝt obedient to God; so we shal nouȝt be obedient to thee. In a tẏme seẏnt Andrewe appered to Dunstan and by counseil of seẏnt Andrewe, Elphegus was made bischop of Wynchestre, and ete[8] never flesch but he were seke. By nyȝt he wolde bigile his wardeẏns, and stonde in the water to the girdel stede, and worschipe God and pray hym to[9] the day lyȝt. Whanne he had be bischop of Wynchester two and twentẏ ȝere, he was made archbischop of Caunturbury aȝenus[10] his wille. But as he went to Rome for the pal, he was robbed in a strete of al that he had. Therfore God toke wreche of that strete so that the strete werth a fuyre.[11] Thanne the men of that strete knowlechide her trespas and restoride aȝen all that was his. Thanne thei sẏȝ that the fuẏre was quenchide atte prayer of seẏnt Elphegus. *Marcus.*[12] After Sergius the eiȝtenthe Benet was pope twelve ȝere. Of hym Peter Damianus seith that a bischop sẏȝ hẏm sitte on a blak hors grevouslich tormented.[13] Therfore he prayed the bischop that syȝ that siȝt that he schuld go to his successor the xx. Joon, and pray hym that he schulde do almes dede for hẏm of the moneẏ that was in sich[14] a shrẏne.[15] For al that was deled for hẏm toforhand[16] stode hym in no stede, for hit was of theefte and of robberye. So it was doon, and thanne that bischop went into an abbeẏ. This ȝere twey daẏes tofore Octobre the see overflowide[17] and passide the clyves and dreynt many men and tounes. *Henr'. libro* 6°. Suanus kẏng of Danes seẏled about Est Anglond, that conteẏneth Northfolk and Southfolk, and com with his naveẏ into Humbre and passed forthe bẏ the rẏver of Trent to Geẏnisburgh. Thanne the men that wonede[18] by north

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[1] *habyt*, γ.; *habyte*, Cx.
[2] *valleþ*, γ.
[3] *alle*, add. Cx.
[4] *vader*, γ.
[5] *vul*, γ.
[6] *Almyȝty*] om. Cx.
[7] *hurde*, γ.
[8] *yte*, γ.
[9] *preyse to*, γ.
[10] *ayenst*, Cx.
[11] *worth a vure*, γ.; *waxe on fyre*, Cx.
[12] *Marianus*, Cx.
[13] *ytormentet*, γ.
[14] *soche*, γ.
[15] *chest*, Cx.
[16] *byfore*, Cx.
[17] *overvlowede*, γ.
[18] *dwellyd*, Cx.

Watlyngstrete swore fewte to hym and bitoke hym plegges. And he bitoke his nauey and these[1] plegges[2] to his sone Canutus, while he went to distruye South Mercia and slouȝ the men, and kept the wymmen to fleschlich[3] likyng of hym and of his men. Thanne he toke Oxenford and Wynchestre, but as he went toward Londoun and souȝte no brigge[4] he loste many of his men in the ryver of Temse. But by presence of kyng Egelredus he was put of at Londoun and went and wan West-saxon. The Londoneres syȝ[5] that and sent hym plegges. Thanne the kyng was abasched and sent his wif Emma to hir brother the secunde Richard duke of Normandy, and sent with hir hir twei sones and the bischop of Londoun. In the meene tyme [he rowede][6] hider and thider[7] at Wiȝt, he helde so his mydwynter tyde. Atte last he was without catel and comfort and seyled into Normandy. Thanne kyng Suanus was the more proude therfore and to eche[8] his[9] owne dampnacioun, he chalangide grete tribute of seynt Edmund the martirs cite, and manassed[10] that but the tribute were payed, he wolde sle the men and sette the cite a fuyre. Also he dispised and scorned seynt Edmund with al that he couthe. But whanne eve come, he was stiked with seynt Edmundus swerd, in the mydde of his owne knyȝtes atte toun of Geynisburgh, and cryed in the depertinge of day and nyȝt and deyde the thridde day of Februare. His sone Canutus siȝ that, and dide[11] myldloker[12] with seynt Edmund, and made a diche aboute seynt Edmundes lond, and graunted hym fredome and deschargide the place of al maner servise. And bylde a chirche ouer the martires body and ordeyned there monkes and ȝaf hem many[13] londes and rentes. There after it was used that kynges of Englond sendeth her crownes to seynt Edmund, and ȝif thei wolde use hem afterward, thei schulde paye therfore a grete pris[14] and have hem aȝen. The gaderers[15] of tribute that were ful crauel[16] in othere places of Englond, there beth mylde and esy and softe pledinge is a[17] this half Seynt Edmundes diche.

Cm 17m.

Whanne Suanus was ded, the Danes made his sone Canutus kyng. But the Englische men sente into Normandy to kyng

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[1] *þue*, γ.
[2] *pledgys*, Cx.
[3] *vleyschliche*, γ.
[4] *brugge*, γ.
[5] *syȝ*] wente and sawe, Cx.
[6] From γ.
[7] *huder and þuder*, γ.
[8] *yche*, γ.
[9] *his*] om. Cx.
[10] *menaced*, Cx.
[11] *dude myldelokur*, γ.
[12] *myldly*, Cx.
[13] *money*, Cx.
[14] *moche money*, Cx.
[15] *collectours*, Cx.
[16] *cruwel*, γ.; *cruel*, Cx.
[17] *pletynges on this*, Cx.

Egelredus and byhoteth[1] that ȝif he wolde be more goodlich to hem than he was wont,[2] hem were lever put[3] awey Canutus and take hym to kyng. He assented to the profre and sent his sone Edward tofore, forto stable the pees, Therafter aboute Leynte tyme the kyng come with grete spede[4] and drof[5] Canutus out of Lyndeseye. Thanne Canutus toke hym to rede forto fle[6] at Sandwyche in Kent, he made kitt of hondes and noses of alle the Englisch plegges[7] that were delyvered to his fader somtyme, and seyled aȝen into Denmarch, and come aȝen the next ȝere after. This ȝere Canutus sayled about Est Anglond and toke prayes in the southe cuntray. The noble knyȝt Edmund Yrenside[8] cam manlich aȝenus[9] hym, but Edmund withdrouȝ hym whanne he was war of Edricus tresoun. Edricus ȝaf hym and his to Canutus. The Westsaxons syȝ[10] that and delyvered hym plegges and dide the same. Kyng Egelredus deyde at Londone viii. dayes tofore[11] May, and was buryed in Paules chirche. After his deth bischops abbotes and lordes of the lond forsoke his ospringe[12] and his progenye, and knowlechide at Southhamptoun that Canutus schuld be her kyng. And he swore that he schuld[13] be to hem a trewe lord bothe to Godward and to the worlde.[14] But the Londoners and many of the lordes made her kyng Edmund Irensyde. And anone he made the West Saxons suget, somme for drede, and somme by her owne gode wille. In the mene tyme Canutus bisegide Londone, but he was put of there, and he fauȝt[15] with Edmund in Dorsett, besydes Gillyngham, and was overcome thar. Therafter, after the myddel of the somer Edmund with a gretter[16] oost, fauȝt[17] scharplich with Canutus in the prouynce of Wicties,[18] that is the prouynce of Wircestre. Ther thei fauȝt so stronglich, that either oost withdrouȝ hym[19] from other for pure werynesse. *Alfr. and Mar'.* But the morowe Edmund had overcome the Danes, ne hadde[20] the fals Edricus yschewed a knyȝtes hede that was most liche to kyng Edmund. Edricus schewed[21] that hede and seide, Fleth[22] Englisch men, lo here is the heed of Edmund ȝowre kyng. But whanne Edmund was war therof, he leyde on the scharploker[23]

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[1] *promysed*, Cx.
[2] *wond*, γ.
[3] *to put*, Cx.
[4] *spyde*, γ.
[5] *chasede*, γ.
[6] *vle*, γ.
[7] *pledgys*, Cx.
[8] *Yreneside*, γ.
[9] *ayenst*, Cx.
[10] *sye*, γ.
[11] *bifore*, Cx.
[12] *vorsouk his ofspringe*, γ.; *yssue*, Cx.
[13] *wolde*, Cx.
[14] *worl*, γ.
[15] *voȝt*, γ., et infra.
[16] *greete*, Cx.
[17] *more*, add. Cx.
[18] *Wykcies*, γ.
[19] *hem*, Cx.
[20] *nadde*, γ.
[21] *scheowede*, γ.
[22] *vleth*, γ.
[23] *one more sharply*, Cx.

and faster and fauȝt forto[1] nyȝt. By nyȝt Canutus went to Londoun ward, but Edmund folewide after, and saved the cite, and passed Temse the thrid tyme, and overcome the Danes at Brentford. Thanne duke Edricus swoor feute[2] to kyng Edmund ȝitt the firthe[3] tyme. Whanne the Danes robbede and reued and toke prayes, Edmund overcome hem at Okeford[4] in Kent, and chased hem anone to the ilond of Schipeheye. Thanne while Edmund turned into West Saxon Canutus toke prayes in Mercia. Therfore Edmund mett hym uppon Aschdoun, there was strong fiȝtyng in either side. Duke Edricus syȝ the Danes dounward, and flyȝ as a traytour[5] schulde, so that many noble men were slayn in Edmundes syde. There was slayn the bischop of Lyncoln, and the abbot of Rameseye. that were come to pray for the knyȝt. Thanne by counseil of Edricus, pees was made bitwene the kynges and plegges take on either syde. At Durhurst uppon the brynk of Sevarn, the pees was made in this maner. Oon of the knyȝtes stode up[6] in the myddel of the oost and seide: Al day[7] we dyeth,[7] no man hath the victorye, Edmund may nouȝt be overcome for his grete strengthe, Canutus may not be overcome for favour of fortune, but what schal be the fruyt of this contynuel strif, but whanne the knyȝtes beth slayn in either syde, thanne the dukes compelled by nede, schal acorde, other certeynlich thei schulleth[8] fiȝte[9] withoute knyȝtes aloon either with other. Thanne why doth thei nouȝt now oon of these tweyne? ȝif thei acordeth why is nouȝt the kyngdom now more suffisaunt for hem tweyne, that was som tyme y-nowȝ for fyve? ȝif her covetise of lordschip is so grete that either hath indignacioun to take and have part with othere, other to be under; thanne lete hem fiȝt aloone that wole be lordes aloone, leste ȝif[10] alle men fiȝteth alle men be slayn, and so schuld leeve no knyȝtes under the hestes of dukes, nother to defende the kyngdom agenus[11] straunge alyens. Thanne the dukes with her oostes come to gidres atte ylond of Olneye bisides Gloucestre, there alle men criede in either syde that thei schulde acorde other fiȝte aloon. Thanne bothe the kynges come togidres in the myddel of the ilond and the peple[12] stode and bihelde[13] in[14] either syde. The kynges fauȝt first on[15] hors and thanne on foote.[16] There Canutus was war that Edmund myȝt nouȝt be overcome

[1] *unto*, Cx.
[2] *swar fewte*, Cx.
[3] *vurde*, γ.; *fyfthe*, Cx.
[4] *Octeford*, γ.
[5] *treytor*, γ.
[6] *op*, γ.
[7] *Alwey we dye*, Cx.
[8] *shal*, Cx.
[9] *a schollеþ vyȝte*, γ.
[10] *ef*, γ.
[11] *ayenste*, Cx.
[12] *pupel*, γ.
[13] *byhuld*, γ.
[14] *in*] on, Cx.
[15] *an*, γ.
[16] *a roote*, γ.

and acorded to be partener of the kyngdom and thei threwe[1] awey her wepen and kisside[2] eyther other. Thanne alle men wondride, and were ioyful therof. Whanne this was do the traytour Edricus desired to make hymsilf leef[3] to[4] Canutus. And at Oxenford, whanne Edmund was at wardrobe[5] to clense his wombe as nede of kynd axith, Edricus was privylich hidde[6] under the place and stiked the kyng upwards that sate on the sege to do his privy nede.[7] And than Edricus went to Canutus and seyde, Hayl kyng aloon. Whanne the kyng knewe how hit stode, he seide to Edricus ; for thu trowidest[8] to plese me wit siche maner servise and hast slayn[9] the beste body of the worlde,[10] y schal arere thyn heed above alle the lordes of Englond. Thanne anone Edricus hed was smyte of and sett above the heiȝest ȝate of Londoun. *R.* But some storyes tellith,[11] and specialy Marianus story,[12] that Edmund deyde nouȝte in that maner. But after the acord was made and stabled bitwene the kynges and the kyngdom deled bitwene hem tweyne ; Edmund deyde at Londone aboute seynt Andrews tyde, and was buryed at Glastenbury with his grauntsire Edgar. That semeth sothe, for comyn[13] cronykes tellith that after Edmundus deth, Canutus ȝaf Mercia to the fals Edricus, and exiled Edmundes brother by his counsel, and dide many other dedes, and that myȝt nouȝt stonde, ȝif he had biheded Edricus toforhond.[14]

Cm 18m.

Canutus the Dane was made kyng aloone whanne Edmund was dede and regned about an[15] nyntene ȝere. He deled the kyngdom of Englond a[16] foure, and assigned West Saxon to hym silf. Est Anglond that conteyneth Northfolk and Southfolk to the erle Turkillus, Mercia to the fals Edricus, and Northhumbreland to Hiricius. Thanne he made a counseil at Londoun, and axide of the lordes ȝif[17] any mencion was made in

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[1] *þruw*, γ.
[2] *kussede*, γ.
[3] *luf*, γ.
[4] *to*] om. Cx.
[5] *pryvy*, Cx.
[6] *yhud*, γ.
[7] *to . . . nede*] om. Cx.
[8] *thou trowest*, Cx.
[9] *slawe*, γ.
[10] *worl*, γ., ut semper.
[11] *say*, Cx.
[12] *story*] om. Cx.
[13] *comune*, Cx.
[14] *byfore*, Cx. Here γ. adds : *Trevysa.* Hyt myȝt wel stonde þat Canutus as a felman touk consayl of Edricus ar Edricus wuste þat a scholde dye, and dude whanne Edricus was ded as Edricus hadde yconsayled while a was alyve, and so þe storyes myȝte stonde, and non wiþsegge oþer, and so hyt ys more semelych þan segge þat wryters of storyes beþ fals.
[15] *an*] om. Cx.
[16] *a*] in, Cx.
[17] *ef*, γ.

the acord bitwene hỳm and Edmund that Edmundes bretheren other his children schulde be kỳnges after his deth. Thei answerde ful falsliche and flaterynglich, and seỳde naỳ. Also thei swoor that thei wolde in al wise put of Edmundes kỳn. Thei trowide therby to be grete with the kỳng afterwards. Therfore somme of hem were slaỳn bỳ Goddes riȝtful doom, and somme y-banỳsched and exiled and putt out of lond. By counseil of Edricus the kỳng exiled Edwỳnus,[1] Edmundes brother, that was cleped kỳng of cherles. But he was afterwards gilefullich[2] reconciled and slayn bỳ tresoun of his owne men. But kyng Canutus drad, and was aschamed to sle Edmundes sones, Edmund and Edward, and bỳ counseil of Edricus he sent hem to the kyng of Suanes,[3] for he schuld sle hem. But he dradde God and sent hem forther[4] to Salomon kyng of Hungarỳ to save her lif. And Edmund wedded that kỳnges douȝter, and deyde soone after without children. But Edward wedded Agath, Henry the emperours douȝter, and gat[5] on hir Margret. that was afterward queen of Scotlond, and Cristyne, a monchon,[6] and Edgar Adelỳng. *Henr'. libro* 6°. This name Adelỳng is made of tweỳ Saxon wordes, Adel that is noble, and lỳng that is an ỳmage, thanne Adelỳng ỳs as it were an noble ỳmage. Therfore the West Saxons haveth[7] in a prouerbe of grete dispite underlyng, that is he that is put out of honeste, other an ymage that goth backwards. The holy kỳng Edward was afterward in purpos to make this Edgar eỳr[8] of Englond, but he drad Godwynes sones, and the schrewidnesse of his owne men, and made William Norman his sone adoptivus. *Willelmus de Regibus libro* 2°. In the monthe of Juỳl[9] kyng Canutus wedded Emma the queen, for he wolde be the more siker of Englond, and gat on hir a sone that het Hardeknutus. After that, at London, the fals Edricus dispised the benefice that hỳm was ȝeven,[10] and the kỳng bad sle hỳm riȝt there in his owne palys, and bade throwe the body bisides the walles into Temse. In that he was war that Edricus schulde nouȝt bỳtraỳe hỳm bỳ fraude and bỳ tresoun. He exiled somme other lordes, but he loved[11] erle Leofricus alweỳ afterward. Here afterward he made a parlament at Oxenford there Englisch men and Danes were acorded forto holde kỳng[12] Edgars lawes. *Henr'. libro* 6°. That ȝere Canutus went into Denmarch, and hadde with hym Englisch men, aȝenus the Wandales, that werride uppon hỳm. The nỳȝt

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[1] *Edwynus*] om. Cx.
[2] *gylfollych*, γ.
[3] *kynge Swanus*, Cx.
[4] *vorþer*, γ.
[5] *bygate*, Cx.
[6] *mynchyn*, γ.; *nonne*, Cx.
[7] *habbeþ*, γ.
[8] *heyr*, γ., Cx.
[9] *Jul*, γ.
[10] *were yȝeve*, γ.
[11] *a lovede*, γ.
[12] *kyng*] om. γ.

tofore[1] the batail duke Godwin and Englische men come unwar uppon the enemyes, and disparplede[2] ẏhem and chased hem unwitẏng the kẏng. Therfore the kẏng dide Englische men grete worschipe from that tẏme forthward, and com aȝen that ȝere into Englond. This ȝere Aldunus[3] bischop of Lyndisfarn was ded. Thanne the se was voẏde about an[4] thre ȝere, and there was made a synod for the electioun of the bischop. There com Edmund the prest[5] and seide in his game, Why chese ȝe nouȝt me? Somme toke nouȝt his game to game, but thei ordeyned forto faste thre daẏes for the same cause, for thei wolde wite seynt Cuthbertus wille. Thanne whanne the prest was atte masse, a voys souned twyes[6] out of seynt Cuthbertus tombe,[7] and seide that Edmund schuld be his bischop. Also this ȝere fil that wonder in Saxon, in Seẏnt Magn[8] the martres chirche. Ther fiftene men and thre wẏmmen ladde a daunce[9] in the chirche heẏe,[10] in a mẏdwẏnter[11] nẏȝt. And the prest of the chirche was wroth, and praẏed Goddes wreche and seide in this maner; God graunt, by the prayer of seẏnt Magn the martir, that ȝe be so disesed and lede in this maner the daunce al this ȝere longe, and so it was doon;[12] for whanne that ȝere was apassed, the same mẏdwẏnter nẏȝt a twelve monthe thei ladde the daunce in snowe up to the sẏdes, and hadde nouȝt ẏ-ete ne dronke nother y-slepe er thei were delẏvered by the praẏer of seẏnt Cuthbert bischop of Coloun. Whanne thei were drawe up of the erthe, thei laide hem silf tofore the auter; thanne somme of hem deide anone, and somme were kept alyve, and schewide on hem self the grete dedes of God. Oon of thilke wẏmmen was the same prestes douȝter that prayed this wreche. Her owne brother fonded[14] to drawe hir out of the daunce; but heo brayde to hir[15] hir arme and ladde forth the daunce neuer the latter[16] with the othere al that ȝere. *Willelmus de pontificibus libro primo.* About this tẏme Briȝtwold monk of Glastenbury, that was afterward the first bischop of Wiltoun, was in his contemplacion, and thouȝt on the kẏnges lẏnage of Englisch men, that lẏnage was thanne neiȝ al destruẏed. And so this monk fil[17] a[18] slepe, and syȝ seẏnt Petre the apostle holde by the hond Edward, Egelredus sone in Normandy, that was thanne exiled out of Englond. And he sẏȝ Petre sacre

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[1] *byfore*, Cx.
[2] *dysparblede*, γ.
[3] *Alduinus*, Cx.
[4] *an*] om. Cx.
[5] *prust*, γ.
[6] *þryes*, γ.
[7] *tumbe*, γ.
[8] *Magnus*, Cx.
[9] *dauns*, γ.
[10] *chircheyerde*, Cx.
[11] *Crystemas*, Cx.
[12] *ydo*, γ.
[13] *cristemasse*, Cx.
[14] *vondede*, γ.
[15] *she brayde to hym*, Cx.
[16] *later*, γ.
[17] *vul*, γ.
[18] *a*] on, Cx.

this Edward, and make hym kyng and schewe[1] atte fulle[2] how holy this Edward schuld be, and how he schuld regne thre and twentȳ ȝere. Also this monk axed and made questioun of Edwardes ospringe[3] and who schuld be kynges afterward. Petre answerde and seide: the kyngdom of Englisch men is Goddes kyngdom, and after this God schal ordeyne and purveye. *Henr. libro* 6°. About this time an holy man warned Englisch men that a lord, that thei thouȝt nouȝt on, schuld come out of Fraunce and brynge hem riȝt lowe and tolde othere thingis as it is seide in the ende of the firste[4] boke. *Willelmus de Regibus libro* 2°. This ȝere Eglenothus,[5] archbischop of Caunterbury, plesed kyng Canutus in goodnesse by auctorite of holynesse, and ferede hym in his excesse, and brouȝt seynt Elphegus body out of Londoun to his owne chirche. Therafter as he cam from Rome at Papie he bouȝte seynt Austyn the doctors arme, for an hundred[6] talentes of silver and[7] talent of gold. He sent that arm to Couentre, for love of erle Leoffricus.[8] This ȝere deyde the first[9] Henry emperor of Almayn. After hym the first Conradus regned fiftene ȝere. He ordeyned that who hit ever[10] were that brake the lawe of the lond, schuld leese his heede. Thanne the first that trespaced aȝenes that ordynaunce was erle Lupoldus. Thanne he dradde ful[11] sore, and flyȝ into wildernesse he and his wyf. In a tyme Conradus come thider forto hontye,[12] and herde,[13] sleping in his bedde, a voys that spake to hym twyes and seyde. The hermytes[14] childe, that now is newlich y-bore, schal wedde thi douȝter and he schal be thyn eyr.[15] Therfore he hadde indignacioun and het[16] bryng the childes herte. But the messagers dradde God, and threwe[17] the childe alyve in a wode and brouȝte to the kyng the herte of an hare. Soone therafter hit happed that oon duke Henry[18] passed therforth and herde the childe wepe, and sent hym to norisching to his owne wif that was bareyn,[19] and cleped hym Henry[20] by his owne name. Whanne the child com to age, Conradus the kyng byheelde[21]

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[1] *shewed*, Cx.
[2] *folle*, γ.
[3] *ofspringe*, γ., Cx.
[4] *vurste*, γ.
[5] *Elgenoþus*, γ.
[6] *honderd*, γ.
[7] *a*, add. Cx.
[8] γ. adds here: *Trevysa.* Here tak hyde of þre manere talentes, þe leste weyeþ vyftene pound, þe myddel þre schore pound and twelve, þe moste weyeþ syx score pound. Thanne hyt volweþ in þe story. This ȝere, &c.
[9] *vurste*, γ., et infra.
[10] *whoso ever*, Cx.
[11] *fol*, γ.
[12] *hunte*, Cx.
[13] *hurde* γ.
[14] *erl hermyt hys*, γ.; *erle heremytes*, Cx.
[15] *heyr*, γ.
[16] *hyte*, γ.
[17] *þruw*, γ.
[18] *Harry*, Cx.
[19] *barayn*, γ.
[20] *Harry*, Cx.
[21] *byhuld*, γ.

hym ofte tyme, and by thouȝt hym ful ofte how he was warned som tyme and with [1] helde [2] the child wyth hym. But he that was holden the childes fader withseide hit alway. The emperor by hym silf by thouȝt hym ful ofte, how he myȝt destruye this child. Therfore he sente this child to the emperice [3] with lettres writen in this maner. Whanne the lettres were rad the child schuld dye the same daye. The child was herborwed in a nyȝt with a prest, that radde the childes lettres whanne the child was a slepe, and for this word schuld dye, the prest wrote schulde wedde oure [4] douȝter; and so it was doon. And thouȝ the emperour were evel apayde therfore, he bythouȝt hym that he was a gentil erles sone, and toke hit to liȝtloker [5] and bulde an abbay in the place of wildernesse there the childe was ybore; the abbay hatt Ursania.

Cm 19m.

Also this ȝere deyde the secunde Richard the ferthe [6] duke of Normandy. After hym his sone the thrid Richard was duke of Normandy. After oon ȝere of his ducherye his ȝonger brother Robart slouȝ hym with venym, and was duke after hym. But after the seventhe ȝere of his ducherie he was sory for his brother deth and went a pilgremage barfot [7] to Ierusalem, and deyde in Bithinia. Of him hit is said that he was myȝty and stalworth [8] in batayl, large and fre [8] of ȝiftes and of mete and of drynke. In a tyme it happed in a grete feste that knyȝtes offride atte masse, but oon of them offride nouȝt. The duke trowed therfore that he hadde nouȝt that he myȝt offre, and bade [10] ȝeve hym an hundrid pound. Anone [11] as the knyȝt had y-fonge [12] the hundred pound,[11] he leyde hem hollich [13] uppon the auter. Me axide hym why he dide so. For it was geven me for to offre, quoth the knyȝt. The duke herd that and ȝaf hym another hundrid pound to his owne use. In another tyme the same duke played at ches,[14] and hym was ȝeven a golden just wonderlich fair [15] arayed with perles and with preciouse stones, and he ȝaf hit anone to the clerk that playde with hym atte ches, and the clerke deyde anoon. Phisicians tolde the cause and seide that riȝt as the hert closeth for grete sorowe and is cause of deth but the hert be the sonner opened, also for grete ioye the hert openeth and is cause of deth but hit be

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[1] *with helde*] kepte Cx.
[2] *huld*, γ.
[3] *emperys*, γ.
[4] *ur*, γ.
[5] *toke it the lyghtlyer*, Cx.
[6] *vurde*, γ.
[7] *barvoot*, γ.
[8] *stalward*, γ.
[9] *vre*, γ.
[10] *hyt*, γ.
[11] *Anone . . . pound*] om. Cx.
[12] *vonge*, γ.
[13] *holelych*, γ.
[14] *chesse*, Cx., bis.
[15] *veyr*, γ.

the sonner closed. Also in a tyme oon brouȝt to duke Robart twey wel faỳr knỳves, and anone be bade geve hỳm an hundrid pound. And while he told the money, were twey gentil horses ȝeven to the duke. The duke ȝaf hem anone to hym that had ȝeven hym the knives. Whanne he had y-fong al this he spedde hym fast [1] his wey leste somme lette myȝt have y-falle. In the mene tyme the duke was ȝeve a cuppe of siluer, that is a vessel for to bere yn fruỳt, than he was souȝt that had brouȝt the knives and myȝt nouȝt be founden.[2] Thanne the duke made grete mone, and seide that he had y-fonge to sỳmple reward that had brouȝt hym the knives. Me seide of this Robart that al that me ȝaf hỳm, but hit were siche a ȝifte that schuld be ỳ-ete, he wolde ȝeve it to hỳm that ȝaf hỳm the firste worschipful ȝifte that day *Willelmus de Regibus libro* 2°. This Robart in a tyme passed by Phalesia a cite of Normandy, and siȝ a wenche that het Arlet [3] by hir name, a skinner's douȝter, daunce among othere, and had hir to his bedde a nyȝt and heelde [4] hir somdel longe tyme in stede of his wif, and gat on hir William the Conqueror. A swevene that his mother mette, bodede how grete he schuld be. For heo [5] mette that hir bowels were sprad into al Englond and Normandỳ. Also riȝt whanne the child was bore it happed that he touched the ground and toke bothe hys hondes fulle of the pouder of the pament, and constraỳned his hondes and helde faste the pouder. Therfore the mydwif tolde that the child schuld be a kỳng. The firste nyȝt that this [6] wenche Arlet [7] was brouȝt to duke Robartes [8] bed, heo to rent [9] hir owne smok from the chyn anone to the feet. The duke axide why heo dide so. Hit is nother skỳle nother curtesỳe quoth heo that the hemme of my smok that hath byclipped [10] my feet, schuld now [11] be turned towards my lordes mouthe. Thanne duke Robart went to Ierusalem, and had to-gidres alle the lordes of his lond at Fiscanum, and made hem swere [12] feute to his sone William, that was seven ȝere olde, and ordeyned erle Gilbert the childes tutor, and ordeỳned the tutor to be maỳntened by the kỳng of France. The lordes [13] helde [14] that feỳ to the child til duke Robart was ded. But whanne thei herde of duke Robartes deth, everech of hem toke heed [15] to hym silf and rouȝt nouȝt of the childe. Atte laste this Gilbert was slaỳn of oon Rauf [16] that was the

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[1] *vast*, γ.
[2] *vounde*, γ.
[3] *Arlett*, Cx.
[4] *huld*, γ.
[5] *Vor hue*, γ.; *she*, Cx.
[6] *þues*, γ.
[7] *mayde Arlett*, Cx.
[8] *Robartes*] om. Cx.
[9] *hue rende*, γ.
[10] *byclupped*, γ.
[11] *now*] om. Cx.
[12] *swerye*, γ.
[13] *The lordes*] They, Cx.
[14] *hulde*, γ.
[15] *hyde*, γ.
[16] *Raf*, γ.

childes eem.[1] There was fiȝtinge and manslauȝt, the cuntray was foule[2] yfare with, with strif that men hadde among hem silf. But William was ȝong in armes, and oon Gy a Burguynoun[3] was cause and maker of al that strif and tresoun; the whiche[4] Gy was Wylliams kynnesman of the secunde Richardes douȝter. But William toke him and dide hym to deth. And Odo, the kynges brother of Fraunce com agenus William, but William hadde the mastere[5] and chased Odo and made hym flee. Henry the kyng of Fraunce herde therof, and cam with a grete multitude and was dispitouslich and foulich ychased, but mediatours went[6] betwene and made pees, and the kynges men of Fraunce were delyvered that were take prisoners. Here take grete hede that this William fauȝt ofte with the kyng of Fraunce but never sodeynlich as oure[7] men doth now aday.[8] But the day of batail schuld be sett and he had ever the over hond. Thanne whanne the kyng of Fraunce was ded, he toke manlich the londes of Normandy, thouȝ the londes were longe tyme absolete, that beth the Counte Canonic,[9] and Litel Britayn that kyng Charles had ȝeve to Rollo with hys douȝter Gilla, this William wan hit manlich. Harol an Englisch man was in that batail as it schal be seyde with ynne. Duke Robart went to Jerusalem and passed by Burgoyne. There as he went out atte ȝate,[10] the porter smote hym with a staf. Anone he thonked God and forbede[11] his men, and het that noon of hem schuld take wreche of that dede. For ich am, quoth he, worthi to have wel more harme, ich love, quoth he, this stroke more than al Rothomage. Thanne he cam forto take the cros of the pope and dide his noble pal about the ymage of the grete Constantyn, and scorned[12] therwith the Romayns that wolde namelich oones a ȝere ȝeve her lord a clothe. Also he made to schoye[13] with gold his mule that he rode on and forbede alle his men that thei schuld nouȝt take up the schoon[14] whanne thei were a falle.[15] Also he cam by the emperor of Constantynnoble and while he spake with the emperor, he siȝ no bench[16] in al the hous, and sate hym doun uppon his owne pal in the maner of his owne cuntray and his knyȝtes dede the same. And as the duke had y-hote whanne thei arise thei lefte there her palles and seide that thei schuld nouȝt take awey

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[1] *unkle*, Cx.
[2] *voule*, γ.
[3] *Guye a Bourgyon*, Cx.
[4] *whoche*, γ.
[5] *maystry*, γ.
[6] ȝ*ude*, γ.
[7] *ur*, γ.
[8] *adayes*, Cx.
[9] *Counte of Canovic*, Cx.
[10] *and was þe laste of all þe pylgryms*, add. γ.
[11] *vorbud*, γ., et infra.
[12] *schornede*, γ.
[13] *made showe*, γ.; *shooe*, Cx.
[14] *shoes*, Cx.
[15] *avalle*, γ.
[16] *syȝ no beynch*, γ.

her benches. The duke was prayed of the emperor forto take moneỳ for his cost by the weỳe, and he answered and seide that he wolde in pilgrimage lyve by his owne, but whanne he com aȝen he wolde do the emperors wille. Thanne the kỳng forbede that no man schuld selle hỳm wode[1] to sethe[2] with his mete. Thanne the duke bouȝt notes and seeth his meet therwith. The kỳng wondred at the dukes manhed and made benches[3] in his cowrt afterwards in stede of the forseide palles. Here after the duke eveled[4] so in the wey that he myȝt nother go ne ryde. Therfore he huyred pore Sarsyns that schulde bere hym by daỳ in a litter on her schuldres,[5] and chargide a Norman that went aȝen into Normandỳ that to the Normans, that wolde axe tithingis of the duke, he schuld telle that he had seen feendes[6] bere the duke heveneward. He cleped the Sarsyns fendes and the Holy Land hevene. Thanne it was used that no Cristen men schulde come with ynne the holy cite without grete huyre. Thanne manỳ men herde of this dukes commỳng and come to hỳm and praỳed hỳm of help. And he swoor by the hert of his wombe, that while he had oon peny, he wolde be the laste that schuld entre. That noble Sarsỳn, the lord of the cite, herde[7] therof; and had also herde[8] of this dukes othere manlich dedes; and forbede anoon that no thinge schuld be take of hỳm nother of any man that com of his company. And het and comaunded also ȝeve to the duke al the offrỳng of a daỳ. He feng[9] the offrỳng and ȝaf hit anone to pore men, and deyde sone afterward in Bithinia as[10] is forseide.

C^{m} 20^{m}.

After Benet, the xx Joon was pope ix ȝere. Also this ȝere Marianus the Scot was y-bore, by his trauail that[11] cronyk is mych[12] y-hiȝt. *Mar'*. The men of Northwey, Noreganes, forsoke efte her holy kyng Olavus for his symplenesse, and toke Canutus in his stede; and he was cursedlich sleỳn the ferthe[13] ȝere after. Robert kyng of Fraunce is ded, his sone Hugus[14] was kyng after hỳm Also that ȝere Canutus went out of Denmarch to Rome, and ȝaf large ȝiftes to Seynte Petre, and made there the scole of Saxons fre of al maner tribute, and ȝaf large almes and grete in his commỳng aȝen

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[1] *fewel*, Cx.
[2] *suþe*, γ.
[3] *bynches*, γ.
[4] *evelde*, γ.
[5] *schulders*, γ.
[6] *a hadde yseye vendes*, γ.
[7] *hurde*, γ.
[8] *y-hurd*, γ.
[9] *vyng*, γ.
[10] *hyt*, add. γ.
[11] *þys*, γ.; *this*, Cx.
[12] *much enhaunced*, Cx.
[13] *fourth*, Cx.
[14] *Hugh*, Cx.

toward Englond, and payde grete raunsome for[1] passage of pilgrimes in many places, and purchased that the weyes were opened that were closed, and procred[2] the pope to relesche[3] the pris and the payment that primates of his kyngdom were wont to ȝeve and pay for to have the pal. Of alle these dedes thei sent a lettre to the lordes of Englond and chargide hem that thei schuld tofore his commyng amende alle trespaces and defautes. After Joon, the ix. Benet was pope eiȝt ȝere. but this Benet was put out of the poperich, and another that het Silvestre was put in his stede. But this Silvestre was put[4] out, and this Benet was restored aȝen. But ȝitt this Benet was efte put out aȝen, and Joon the archpretour of Seynt Joones place, that hatt ante portam Latinam, was made pope. Inner more this Joon is cleped the sixte Gregorye. This Benet for he was boystous of lettrure, whanne he had the poperiche, he ordeyned another pope for[5] the office of holy chirche. That maner of doyng displesed manẏ men. Therfore the thridde was brouȝt ynne, that schuld do the office for hem bothe. And so oon strof aȝenus tweyne, and tweyne aȝenus oon for the poperich. Then Henry the emperor, that had wedded Conradus[6] douȝter, and was his successour, put out these popes and brouȝt yn by strenthe the bischop of Ramberge that was cleped the secunde Clement. Of hym this Henry was crowned. Also this Henry compelled the Romayns to swere[7] that thei schuld never chese pope with out his assent. But this Benet after his deth, apperede to a man, in the liknesse of a wunder schape beest, with an asses taẏl, and a beres heed, and seẏde that he appered so riȝt as he was while he was alyve. This ȝere deẏde Robart duke of Normandy in pilgrimage. After hym his ȝong sone William was duke, of the which William it is seide toforhond. *Mar'*. This ȝere Canutus, a litel tofor he deẏde, made oon Suanus kẏng of the Noreganes, this Suanus was y-holde the sone of Canutus and of Elgiva of[8] Hamptoun. Som men seyede that this Elgiva ɱyȝt conceyve no childe by the kyng and therfore heo[9] toke that Suanus whanne he was newe bore of a prestes[10] wif, and leyde hir silf doun as it were a[11] child bedde and child by hir, and bigiled kyng Canutus and brouȝt hym in witt that it was sothe. Canutus made his owne sone and Emme sone Hardecnutus kẏng over the Danes. Kyng Canutus deyde at Septoun, that is Schaftesburẏ, and was buryed at

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[1] *raunson vor*, γ.
[2] *procrede*, γ. ; *procured*, Cx.
[3] *relese*, γ. ; *relece*, Cx.
[4] *ypot*, γ.
[5] *to do*, add. γ.
[6] *Canrodus*, γ.
[7] *sweryc*, γ.
[8] *of*] om. γ.
[9] *she*, Cx.
[10] *prustes*, γ.
[11] *a*] in, Cx.

Winchestre in the olde abbeẏ. *Henr'. libro* 6°. Me spekith of thre grete dedes that he dide. The first that he maryed his dou3ter to the emperor Conradus. The secunde that he went noblich to Rome and cam a3en and brou3t with hym a grete deel of owre Lordes cros. The thridde that he sett his seete on the see stronde while the see was flowing [1] and comaunded and het the see that he schuld nou3t come up [2] uppon his lond, that the see schuld nou3t wett his lordes clothes. But the see cam up as hit was wont [3] by his owne kẏnd and wett the kynges thyes. Thanne the kyng start [4] aweẏ and seide: Alle men schal wite and knowe that the power and my3t of kynges is vaỳn and vanẏte, and that noon is worthi to have the name of kẏng, but he that hath al thinge suget [5] to his lawes. And this kẏng Canutus bare never crowne on his hed after that tẏme, but he sett the crown on [6] the crucifixes heed at Wynchestre. Whanne Canutus was ded thanne was made grete strif at Oxenford who schuld be kẏng and his successor. For Leofricus, consul of Chestre, and other lordes of the northside of Temse, and the Londoneres also, toke Harold Harefote,[7] that was holde the sone of Canutus and of Elgiva Hamptoun, and made hym kyng, thou3 Godwẏn made hym bisy for Canutus. *Mar'.* Som men seide [8] that this Harold Harefote was a souters sone, and falslich anone as he was y-bore ybrou3t to the bedde of this [9] Elgiva, and leyde by hir as thou3 heo had y-bore hym, and brou3t hym forth, ri3t as Suanus was leẏde by hir somtẏme. But Harold was made kẏng and by-nam [10] Emma al the kynges riches and put hir out of Englond, but the erle of Flaundres feng [11] hir worschipfulich and dide hir grete favour. Ethelnotus archbishop of Caunterburẏ deyde, and sevene daẏes after hym deyde Ethelricus bischop of Winchestre. He had bisilich prayed God that he hym silf schuld nou3t long lyve [12] after Ethelnotus. Thanne Edsius, Haraldes prest,[13] was made archbischop of Caunturburẏ, and Stigandus, kẏng Haraldes other prest, was made bischop of Winchestre. There after he toke the see of Caunterbury wrongfullich after Edsius. This Harald deyde at Londoun after the ferthe 3ere of his kyngdom, and was burẏed at Winchestre. Whanne he was ded, the lordes of the lond sente for Hardecnutus, kyng of Denmarch, that woned thanne in Flaundres with his moder.

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[1] *vlowyng*, γ.
[2] *vp*] om. Cx.
[3] *as a was ywond*, γ.
[4] *strat*, γ.
[5] *subjette*, Cx.
[6] *oppon*, γ.
[7] *Harald Harevot*, γ.
[8] *sayen*, Cx.
[9] *þues*, γ.
[10] *toke fro*, Cx.
[11] *vyng*, γ.
[12] *lybbe*, γ.
[13] *prust*, γ, et infra; *chapelayn*, Cx.

Cm 21.

Hardecnutus come into Englond and regned thre ȝere. But he dide riȝt nouȝt that he was worthi to be praysed fore. For anone he sent Alfricus archbischop of ȝork with Godwyn to Londoun and made take up kyng Haraldes body out of the erthe for wreche of the wronges that Haralde had doon his moder, he made smyte of Haraldes heed that was ded toforhond and throwe the body into Temse, but afterward fischers[1] fonde the body and buried hit covenabliche. Also Hardecnutus made to pay to evereche rower of his navey eiȝt marc of silver of the tribute of the empire of Englond, and put al the rule[2] and governaunce of his kyngdom uppon the witt and counsail of Godwyn and of his owne moder. Whanne this kyng put[3] the emperial tribute uppon Englische men, tweyne of the kynges ministres, that were assentinge to that dede, were slayn at Wircetre. Therfore that cite was destruyed and sett a fuyre. *Willelmus de Regibus, li*° 2°. Also this kyng maryed his fairest suster Gunnilda to Henry the emperour. Gunnilda was the douȝter of Canutus and of Emma, and was toforhond wowed of many grete woweres in hir fader tyme. Whanne heo[4] had be longe tyme with hir husbond, heo was accused of spousebruche.[5] Thanne hir nory, that heo had brouȝt with hyr out of Englond, put hym to fiȝt in that querel with hym that had tolde that fals tale; thouȝ that tale teller were as huge[6] as a geaunt. Thei fauȝt togidres and Gunnildas nory karf the fals pelours hamme[7] and had hym doun and so, by vertue of God, he had the maistere. Thanne Gunnilda bigan to hoppe and daunce for ioye, and forsoke her husbond for evermore, and wolde never after come in his bed for no mannes prayer; but heo toke the holy veyl and bicam a monchon.[8] *Henr. li*° 6°. *et Mar*'. In this Haraldes tyme Elfrede[9] and Edward, the sones of kyng Egilredus and of Emma, after that thei had longe dwelled in Normandy thei toke with hem many knyȝtes of Normandy and come to speke with her moder at Wynchestre. Thanne Godwyn cast forto marye his douȝter to Edward as to the sympler and the ȝonger of the tweyne, and supposed that the elder brother Elfredus wolde dispise sich[10] a mariage. And Godwyn warned the lordes of Englond and seide that it was nouȝt siker that eny man schuld bringe into the lond so many men of strange and of gyleful nacioun, and therfore thei that were comen

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[1] *ryschers*, γ.
[2] *potte al þe reul*, γ.
[3] *all*, add. Cx.
[4] *hue*, γ., et infra.
[5] *spousebrehinge*, Cx.
[6] *houge*, γ.
[7] *homme*, γ.
[8] *meynchen*, γ. ; *nonne*, Cx.
[9] *Elured*, γ.
[10] *soche*, γ.

must paye the peyne.[1] For of the Normans that were b) forthe he slouȝ alwey nyne, and kept the tenthe. A) hym thouȝt that the tethinge[2] were to many ylefte teothed[3] efte the teothinge. In this maner he fastne(ends of the guttes[4] to stakes that were arered and piȝ the ground, and ladde the bodyes aboute the stakes forto t. the laste endes of the guttes come out. Elfredus was sent ı Hely after his blyndnesse, and lyved but a fewe dayes. Whanne Emma herde that, heo sent hir sone Edward hastilich into Normandy. Here after Godwyn was blamed of Hardecnutus the kyng and of other lordes for these dedes. Thanne he swoor that he dide never sich dedes but as he was compelled by strengthe of kyng Harald. Whanne Conradus the first was ded, the secunde Henry[5] that had weddid his douȝter, was emperour after hym. Of hym beth wondres red both here tofore and after in this boke. He regned xvii ȝere. This put alle glemen and mẏnstrals out of his court and ȝaf to pore men al that he was wont ȝeve to mynstrals toforhond. *Willelmus de Regibus, li*° 2°. Also this had a suster that was a[6] monchon[7] and loved hir so myche that he mẏȝt nouȝt suffre hir out of his company. In a tyme a clerk of the court had lay wiþ hir al a nyȝt anone to the morow tide, and the erthe was heled al with snowe. Thei toke hem to rede and the clerk made hir bere hym on hir bak out of the court. The kyng aroos to pisse, and syȝ that doyng and helde his pes, forto that a bischoprick was voyde, and thanne he ȝaf the clerk that bischoprick and seide: Loke that thou never after this ride uppon a wommans rigge.[8] Therafter voyded an abbay of monchons[9] and he ȝaf hit to his suster and seide: Take this and loke thou never bere clerk more ridyng on thi bak. Thei were thus aspied and absteynede afterward. Also in a tyme this emperor went in the Sonday, that hatt Quinquagesima, forto here[10] privyliche a masse in a chapel bisides the forest. There served riȝt a foul preste,[11] therfore the kyng by thouȝt and wondred in his hert, why God, that is so feyr, wolde suffre so foule a creature come neiȝ and handle his sacrementes. Whanne the vers of the tract was sungen, Scitote quoniam Dominus ipse est Deus, that is; wite ȝe that oure Lord is God, the preste loked on the emperour as it were blamyng the defaute of his clerk; and seide, Ipse fecit

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[1] γ. adds here: *þanne he slouȝ syx honderd men at Gildeford, vor of þe Normans, &c.*
[2] *tythyng*, Cx.
[3] *teþed*, γ.; *tythed*, Cx.
[4] *gottes*, γ.
[5] *Harry*, Cx.
[6] *a was wond*, γ.
[7] *menchyn*, γ.; *nonne*, Cx.
[8] *rugge*, γ.; *rydge*, Cx.
[9] *menchens*, γ.; *menchons*, Cx.
[10] *hure*, γ.
[11] *voul prust*, γ.

nos et non ipsi nos, that is; he made us and nouȝt we us silf. The emperour was meoved by that sawe, and made that prest a bischop soone therafter. This prest made the place and the gre honest with gode maner of lyvyng. For a rich man had lad awey a monchon,[1] and he departed hym from hir and restored the monchon to hir abbey aȝen. And afterward this rich man fil[2] into synne and he cursed hym with all that come in his company. And thanne he dwelled so in his owne orchard to his laste sekenesse, and thanne he prayed the bischop that he wolde hym assoile, the bischop answerde and seide, ȝif that cursed man wole leve that cursed womman, he schal be assoiled, and ȝif he wole nouȝt, this day a twelve monthe the same houre whanne y schal dye, he schal dye and answere for his dedes tofore the heiȝeste God, and so it was done: for thei deyde bothe the same day a twelve[3] monthe. The same kyng had in his chapel a clerk that had grete kunnyng of lettrure[4] and a fayre[5] voys, but the clerk was lecherous. The emperour bade him in a day rede the gospel and he wolde nouȝt for he had defouled hym silf with a strompet the niȝt toforhond. Thanne the emperour seide; Other rede the gospel other forsake my lond. Anone he trussed his fardels and arayed him forto go. The emperour had y-hote his servauntes that thei schuld go after hym privylich, and ȝif he wolde be ago, thei schulde brynge hym aȝen. Whanne that was doon, the kyng seide to hym y am glad of thi goodnesse, that thou dreddest[6] more God thanne the lesinge[7] of thi owne cuntray, and the wreth of hevene more than my manace.[8] Therfore forsake the wode love that thou usest, and y schal make thee a bischop. Also while this Henry was ȝonge in Conradus hous, he toke of oon a pipe of silver siche as children useth forto pley with, and he bihet[9] that clerk a bischopriche for that pipe, whanne he were emperour. Atte last he was emperour, and the clerk axide and had that was hym bihote.[10] Son therafter the emperour was smyten with a grevous sekenesse, so that thre dayes he feled nothing nother tasted mete ne drynk.[11] Atte laste by prayers of good men, that hym stode aboute, he cauȝt breth and sent for the clerk that was so avaunsed, and put hym doun by dome of counseil, and knowleched that he was alle thilke thre dayes tormented with fendes that cast on

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[1] *menchen*, γ., et infra; *nonne*, Cx., bis.
[2] *vul*, γ.
[3] *twellyf*, Cx.
[4] *in scrypture*, Cx.
[5] *veyr*, γ.
[6] *draddest*, Cx.
[7] *lusyng*, γ.
[8] *manas*, γ.
[9] *byhyȝte*, γ.; *promysed*, Cx.
[10] *promysed*, Cx.
[11] *mete noþer dryngke*, γ.; *mete*, Cx.

hym wonder hote brennyng lyȝe,[1] thurȝ the same pipe. In comparisoun to that lyȝe, oure fier[2] is but as it were wlache hoot. But there came a ȝonglinge with a golden chalys ful[3] of water, and aqueynt the stronge heete wit springinge of water. He seide that seynt Laurance was that ȝonglyng. Seynt Laurances chirche was alto falle for elde and feblenesse, and defaute of help; and the emperor hadde amended the chirche and yȝeve thereto a chalys. *Marcus.* In this Henryes tyme was [so][4] grete strif in the chirche of Rome that thre men were chose popes at ones. For a prest[5] that hatte Gratianus ȝaf money and had the poperich, but this Henry came to Rome forto ceese that strif. Gratianus profred hym a croun of gold, but for al that he was convict of symonye, and sett adoun and another made pope. Also in this emperors tyme Pallas body the geaunt was founden at Ryme[6] hool and sound with out rotyng with a chyne[7] of a wounde of foure fote longe and an half, his body in lengthe passed the heiȝthe of the walles of Rome. At his hed was a lanterne brennyng that myȝt nouȝt be quenched[8] with blast nother with moisture, er the eyr com yn at a lytel hole that was made under the leye.[9] On his tombe were these twey versus writen; Pallas Euanders sone, whom with his spere Turnus that knyȝt dide to deth, in his wise lith here. *Willelmus de Regibus, li°.* 2.° Y trowe nouȝt that these versus were made a Latyn whanne that geaunt was buried thouȝ Carmentis Evanders moder had found up[10] to forhond lettres of Latyn, but y trowe beter that thei were afterward made of Ennio, other of some other poet, but in tyme therafter that body was byspronge with water, and roted as othere bodyes doth, and the senewis[11] were to falle[12] and the skyn also.

C^m^ 22^m^.

After Benet the sixte Gregorye was pope about an[13] foure ȝere, and het[14] Gratianus toforhond. *W. de R'.* This man, of grete religioun and sternenesse,[15] had a batail somtyme with Henry the emperor. Also this fonde[16] the state of the poperiche of Rome so to falle, that unnethe he had oute[17] for hym silf and

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[1] *lyȝe*, Cx.
[2] *ur vuyr*, γ.
[3] *chalysch vol*, γ.
[4] From γ.
[5] *Vor a prust*, γ.
[6] *Rome*, Cx.
[7] *chene*, γ.
[8] *queynt*, γ.
[9] *leete*, Cx
[10] *vp*] om. Cx.
[11] *synewes*, γ.
[12] *to falle*] fallen, Cx.
[13] *an*] om. Cx.
[14] *hyȝt*, γ.
[15] *sturnes*, γ.
[16] *vond*, γ.
[17] *ought*, Cx.

the cardinals forto lyve by, but fewe[1] tounes nei3 the cite and the offryng of Cristen men. The other [del][2] was take awey other occupied by theeves, so fer forth that the offryngis were take awey from the auters under naked[3] swerdes, other robbede in the hei3 stretes and weyes. Therfore alle provynces lefte of and toke nou3t the wey to Rome by cause of theeves[4] in the weye and of othere theeves in Seynt Petres chirche. Gregory sy3 this, and treted with hem first softe and with faire speche, but whanne he sy3 that hit halp[5] nou3t, he cursed alle that dide so and departed hem from the body of holy chirche and alle that were assentynge to hem that so dide. Whanne the pope sy3 that that halp nou3t but brou3t hymsilf into peryle of deth, he wrote to the emperor that he schuld helpe holy chirche that was in poynt forto falle. The emperor excused hym by the werre of Wandalia, and prayed the pope that he wolde in his stede and at his cost put[6] to his hond. Therfore the pope 3af the doom that the iren of kitting[7] most be used and gat hym armure and horsemen in everech side, that drof awey first, other slou3 the theeves that robbede the offryngis of Seynt Petres chirche. Thanne the pope gate a3en and rekevered[8] the lond that he had lost long tyme. Thanne the Quyrites, that were wont[9] to lyve by theefthe and by robberye, cleped the pope a blode scheder, and a mansleer, and seide that he was nou3t worthi to do the office of the auter, so that many of the cardinals were assentyng to that menyng and demede that the pope schuld nou3t be buried in holy chirche In his laste evel[10] he was war therof and clepede the cardinals tofore hym and spake to hem in this maner. My bretheren[11] me wondreth gretlich that 3e demeth 3oure bischop so rabbischlich,[12] [I have lyved so that I have spente what I had in youre prouffyte: for your delyveraunce][13] ich have forgendrid and rou3t nou3t of the fame of this world. Therfore 3if other men make siche tales uppon me, 3e schuld stille the opynions of fooles in a beter maner menyng. Theeves hadde take awey 3oure lifblode[14] and that y my3t nou3t suffre, therfore ich werred with the theeves. Therfore siththe that everich mannes dede schal be demed by the entent of hym that doth the dede, as the gospel seith 3if thyn ei3e is symple, that is, if thine entent is ri3tful, al the body schal be bri3t and clere

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[1] *veaw*, γ.
[2] From γ.; *remenaunt*, Cx.
[3] *naket*, γ.
[4] *þueues*, γ.
[5] *helpyd*, Cx.
[6] *potte*, γ.
[7] *yre of kuttyng*, γ.
[8] *and rekeuered*] om. Cx.
[9] *wound þe mene tyme to*, γ.
[10] *sekenesse*, Cx.
[11] *brybern*, γ.
[12] *rabbyschlycke*. γ.
[13] From Cx.
[14] *lyflode*, γ.

that is, the gaderyng[1] of thi werkes. Som tyme ich ȝaf almes to the pore man, and he schewide my benefet[2] to the theef and to the robber. Therfore he was robbed and slayn. Schal ich be blamed for ich ȝaf almes to the pilgrime thurȝ the which[3] he had his deth, God hit forbede, for hit was covertise[4] of the theef that dide that cursed dede, and nouȝt my largesse and fredom. Also in the lawe the same is blamed and punysched, and praysed for dyverse entent. For the theef that sleeth in hidels[5] is punyschid, and the knyȝt is preysed that sleeth his enemy in batail. For the first sleeth the man for covetise and the secunde for the savacioun of the cuntray. Also the first pope Adrian was somtyme praysed for he graunted to Charles the investiture of prelates. Now beth[6] oure bischops praysed for thei doth the contrarie and bynymeth princes sich maner power. Thanne for somme maner causes hit was resonabliche[7] graunted that is now resonablich werned[8] and denyed. For thanne Charles soule was not infect with covetise, and the court of Rome was fer from the ellites,[9] and the prince was neiȝ and fest by, and wolde riȝt nouȝt do by covetise, but now covetise of prince hath schent[10] al. In this maner may my cause be take toward either side, and be apeyred other holpe, but ȝe seyn[11] it is nouȝt a bischops office to schede mannes blode, nother to make hit be sched, y graunte. Netheles it fallith to hym, ȝif he seeth[12] the innocent in peryl, to helpe and socoure[13] hym, with his tonge and wit hond. For Eȝechiel accuseth[14] the prestes[15] for thei withstode nouȝt nother made a wal for Goddes hous; twey persoones beth ordeyned in Goddes chirche, for[16] to distruye vices and synnes, oon that whetteth[17] the speche, and another that berith the swerde; ich take witnesse of God and of ȝou that ich armed the tonge aȝenus the enemyes of holy chirche as longe as ich myȝt profyte. And hym to whom hit bifallith to worche with the swerde y prayed thries by messagers, and by lettres that he wolde come and chaste[18] sich maner theeves, and he wrote aȝen that he was occupied in the werre of Wandalia, and prayede that ich wolde at my travail, and at his cost distourbe the theeves. What schuld ich do thanne whanne he had put his office uppon me? And y syȝ the sleyng of citesyns

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[1] *gaddryng*, γ.
[2] *benefeite*, Cx.
[3] *whoche*, γ.
[4] *covetys*, γ.
[5] *hudels*, γ.
[6] *be*, Cx.
[7] *resonhabelych*, γ., *bis.*
[8] *worned*, γ.
[9] *ellytes*, γ.; *ellysers*, Cx.
[10] *yschend*, γ.
[11] *suggeþ*, γ.
[12] *sue*, Cx.
[13] *socre*, γ.
[14] *accused*, Cx.
[15] *prustes*, γ.
[16] *for . . . synnes*] om. Cx.
[17] *weteþ*, γ.
[18] *chastyse*, Cx.

the damage of pilgrimes and the meschef of the pope and of the cardinals, and he that spareth the theef ȝeveth cause and occasioun why the riȝtful man and innocent is slayn. But on caas ȝe seyn [1] that it fallith nouȝt for a prest to schede mannes blode, y graunt, but ȝif he defouleth hym silf that berith doun the wicked man and saveth the man that is innocent and riȝtful, and thei beth blessed that kepith riȝtful doom and riȝtwisenesse. Phinees and Mathathias [2] beth praysed for thei sticked thurȝ hem that trespaced,[3] but we schal lasse suffre oure verrey holy thynges to be defouled, than thei her mysteries that were but schadowe in comparisoun to oure.[4] And Zacharie the bischop put kyng Oȝias out, for he wolde sense, and wit out drede he wolde have kilde hym nadde he go his wey, and ich [5] dide hem gode the which it semeth that y slouȝ, for the longer that the wicked man lyveth, the more he deserveth of blame and payne. Therfore he that schorteth the lif of sich oon, lasseneth [6] his blame and his peyne, and so he doth for hym and ȝeveth hym a benefice. *Treuisa.* Here war of the develes argument and of gyle. For be a man neuer so evel, ȝett he may amende, while he is alyve, and so dide Paul and Marye Maudeleyn,[7] and many othere, and so Crist meneth in the gospel in the ensaumple of whete, and of eur' [8] that som men clepeth darnel.[9] Thanne it folewith in the storye. Thanne the pope seide: that ich nother ȝe be bigiled in this doyng; takith my body, whanne ich am dede, and setteth tofore the chirche dores without, and doth that the dores be fast y-loke [10] and barred, and ȝif the dores openeth nouȝt by Goddes grace, and his vertue; doth with my body what ȝe wolleth.[11] Whanne it was ẏdo as the pope had yhote, there come a whirlewynde and brake up the dores and the barres and schufte in the body anone to the ynner wal of the chirche. Whanne this mẏracle was seen, the cardynals and the peple buriede hym in Seynt Petres chirche. Also this ȝere at a feste of a spousayl, at Lambeheth [12] besides Londoun, while kyng Hardecnutus was hool glad and mury, and stode and dranke, he fil [13] doun sodeynlich and werth [14] dombe [15] and deyde the eiȝte day of June, and was buried with his fader at Wynchestre. *Henr' li° 6°.* Me seith that he was so large and so fre of herte, that he woldė make aray kynges messes foure

[1] *seggeth*, γ.
[2] *Mathias*, γ.
[3] *trespast*, Cx.
[4] *of oures*, Cx.
[5] *ich*] he, Cx., wrongly.
[6] *lassyth*, Cx.
[7] *Magdelen*, γ.; *Magdalene*, Cx.
[8] *cockle*, Cx.
[9] *durnel*, γ.
[10] *loken*, Cx.
[11] *wol*, Cx.
[12] *Lambehyth*, Cx.
[13] *a vel*, γ.
[14] *wexe*, Cx.
[15] *dome*, γ.

sithes a day. For hym was lever that gistes schulde leve relef[1] thanne axe more mete. *Willelmus de Regibus.* Me sent anoon into Normandy for Edward schuld come and be crowned kyng, and plegges were yȝeve so that he schuld brynge with hym but fewe[2] Normans. Thanne halpe[3] Edwardes side, Leofricus erle of Chestre, Godwyn duke of West Saxons, and Livingus bischop of Wircetre. *R.* But Marianus seith that kyng Hardecnutus had sent toforhond for his brother Edward, and made hym abide with hym in his owne court. *Willelmus de Regibus et Mar'.*

Cm 23m.

Thanne Edward come into Englond and was crowned kyng at Westmynstre of Edsius archbischop of Caunterbury, and regnede about an xxiiii ȝere. This kyng wedded Goditha, Godwyns douȝter, and bylad hir by sich crafte so that he put hir nouȝt from his bed nother lay by hir fleschlich. Whether he dide hit for hate of hir meyne,[4] other for love of chastite, y knowe hit[5] nouȝt for certeyn, but that solempne doing is tolde of hym that he lyved alwey without gilt of womman. This kyng worschipped nouȝt his owne moder atte fulle nother schamed hir openlich, but by counseil of Godwyn, he toke of hir alle the precious thinges and iuwels[6] that heo[7] had. Other for heo had be to hard with hym somtyme, other for heo wolde ȝeve hym riȝt nouȝt. Also he had to hym out of Normandy somme that were familiar with hym there; for thei schuld be rewarded. Among the whiche he toke oon Robart Gemeticus a monk, and made hym first bischop of Londone and thanne archbischop of Caunterbury. The kyng was symple and dide so myche by this Robartes counsail that he awayted his tyme, and outlawed his wifes fader Godwyn and his sones also, and byname his owne moder al that heo had, and closed hir in the abbay of Werwelle, for suspectioun that heo was to homelich with the bischop of Winchestre, and prisoned the bischop Alwyn, but Emma was esily kepte[8] and somdel at hir large and wrote to the bischops of Englond in the whiche heo[9] had triste[10] of frenschipe, and seide that hit greved hir more the despyte that the bischop had, thanne hir owne schame and seide that heo was redy [to pruve][11] by Goddes owne dome and by the assay of fuyre[12] hote iren,[13] that the bischop was wrong-

[1] *relyf*, γ.
[2] *veaw*, γ.
[3] *helped*, Cx.
[4] *meyney*, γ.
[5] *hit*] om. Cx.
[6] *jewels*, Cx.
[7] *hue*, γ.
[8] *eselyche ykept*, γ.
[9] *whoche hue*, γ.
[10] *trust*, Cx.
[11] From γ.
[12] *fyre*, Cx.
[13] *vuyr hot yre*, γ.

fullich defamed. Thanne the bischops come y-fere[1] to the kyng, and schulde have had of the kyng al that thei prayed, nadde Robart the archbischop of Caunterbury spoke aȝenus hem. My bretheren bischops, quoth Robart, how dar ȝe defende hir that is a wilde beste, and nouȝt a womman; heo hath defamed hir owne sone the knyg, and nempned[2] hir lecherous lemman Goddes owne Crist, but be hit, that the womman wole purge the bischop, but who schal purge the womman that is accused that was assentynge to the deth of hir sone Egelredus,[3] and procured[4] venym to the poysenyng and deth of Edward; but be hit, that heo had auctorite and power uppon the condicioun of the proprete of kynde of maul other femmel,[5] ȝett ȝif heo wole go barfot for hir silf foure stappes and for the bischop fyve stappes, continulich uppon nyne solow schares brennyng and fuyre hote, thanne ȝif heo stapeth harmles over alle these stappes, he[6] schal be quyt and assoyled of this chalange. Anone the day of the assaye of this purgacioun was sett; to that day cam the king and alle the othere lordes out take Robart alone, but the nyȝt tofore the day of this purgacioun, the womman was in hir prayers at Wynchestre at seynt Swithynes tombe and was comforted there. Thanne amorowe hir eiȝen were hid[7] and heo passed the fuyre hoote solow[8] schares and ascaped[9] harmles. Thanne the kyng bigan to grone and axide mercy and was disciplyned of either bischop and of his moder also, and thanne he restored his moder of al that he had bynome hir toforhond.[10] Thanne queen Emma ȝaf seynt Swythyn nyne maners and the bischop ȝaf other nyne by cause of the nyne solow[11] schares that Emma had over passed. But Robart bischop of Caunturbury, flyȝ into Normandy. *Marianus.* Elfword bischop of Londoun that was som tyme abbot of Evesham, wax insuffisaunt for elde feblenesse and sekenesse to governe and rule so grete a bischoprich, and wolde have be abbot of Evesham aȝen but the bretheren[12] of that place wolde nouȝt assente. Thanne he toke with hym bokes and other thynges that he other his successours hadde ȝeve to the abbay of Evesham, and went hym to the abbay of Rameseye, there he deyde sone afterward and was buryed there. After hym cam Robart. *It' Marian'.* Kyng Edward gadered a stronge navey in the havene of Sandwyche, aȝenus Harold Harfager kyng of the Noreganes, that arayed hym forto come and werre

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[1] *togeder*, Cx.
[2] *nemnede*, γ.
[3] *Aluredus*, γ.
[4] *procrede*, γ.
[5] *male owther female*, Cx.
[6] *hue*, γ.
[7] *yene were yhud*, γ.
[8] *vure hote solouȝ*, γ.
[9] *schapede*, γ.
[10] *before*, Cx.
[11] *soloȝ*, γ.
[12] *brether*, Cx.

in Englond. But by the batayl that Suanus kyng of Danes ȝaf hym, al that purpos was lett. Me seith that in another tyme kyng Edward louȝ atte masse as he was nouȝt wont. Thei that were present wondride, and axide why hit was. The Noreganes and the Danes, quoth the kyng, were acorded forto come and werre in Englond, but whanne thei alle were arayed for to sayle, oon profred hem[1] a bolle with meede, forto drynke and prayed hem in a dispitous name, but ȝif thei wolde drynke. Thanne cam bolle after bolle and dronknesse turned into ianglinge, and ianglynge into strif, and strif into fiȝting,[2] and so thei beth departed and to schufte[3] atweyne.[4] And ich hope that in my tyme schal noon alyens werre in my lond. After Gregor, the tenthe Benet was pope about an two ȝere, he hadde bouȝt[5] the poperich, and therfore Henry the emperour put hym out, and brouȝt in the secunde Clement that deyde after oon ȝere, and Poppo was pope after hym two months. This Poppo was cleped the secunde Damasus. Whanne he was ded the ix. Leo was pope fyve ȝere. The forseide Harald kyng of the Noreganes was sent to Olavus his brother in the moder syde, he chased Suanus kyng of Denmarch, and made Denmarch suget to hym silf. Kyng Suanus, that was so put out, axide helpe of the kyng of Englond. And erle Godwyn was assentinge, but othere lordes counseilide nay, but kyng Harald dyed, and Suanus rekevered Denmarch aȝen. This ȝere Limugus,[6] the bischop of Wircetre, was ded. and Aldredus was bischop after hym. This Aldredus had be first monk of Wynchestre and thanne abbot of Tavestoke. Grete snow fil in the west cuntrayes of Englond, so that hit brake grete treen[7] of the wodes, and dured from the first day of Januare to seynt Patrikes day. Ther after fil grete pestilence of men and deth of bestes and liȝtnyng forscalded[8] cornes. This ȝere was a batail bitwene Henry kyng of Fraunce and the lordes of Normandy for thei wolde nouȝt fange[9] William to be duke. Whanne thei were overcome duke William outlawed somme of hem and heng somme of hem heiȝ[10] by the throte. About that tyme Herlewynus[11] a knyȝt of Normandy forsoke the worldly[12] chivalry, and builde an abbay at Beccun[13] in Normandy that ȝett hatt Becherlewyn. Hym schamed nouȝt abbot and ruler to bere stoon and morter to the werk and bake brede and do othere werkes of clennes and [of][14] honeste. God sent

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[1] *ham*, γ.
[2] *vyȝttyng*, γ.
[3] *scheft*, γ.
[4] *atwynne*, Cx.
[5] *yboȝt*, γ.
[6] *Lemugus*, γ.; *Lyvyngus*, Cx.
[7] *trees*, Cx.
[8] *vorschaldede*, γ.
[9] *vonge*, γ.
[10] *hyȝe*, γ.
[11] *Erlewynus*, Cx.
[12] *worlych*, γ.
[13] *Beccum*, Cx.
[14] From γ.

hym the twey lanternes of the worlde[1] to his helpe and counseil, Lanfranc and Ancelme twey men of grete clergie and lettrure. Eyther of hem was prior in that place oon after other and afterward archbischop of Cauntwrbury. *Marianus.* This ȝere pope Leo and Suanus kyng of Danes wente with Henry the emperour aȝenus Baldewyn erle of Flaundres, and Edward the kyng of Englond kepte the see with his navey forto the emperour had al his wille. Also this ix. pope Leo had a wemme[2] in his conscience for the emperour had made him pope som del by maystere; therefore he resigned the poperich, but thanne he was lawfullich y-chose pope aȝen. Also this ȝere the theeves of Irlond come into Sevarn see with help of Griffyn kyng of Wales and toke many prayes about the ryver Vaga. In the mene tyme Suanus, Godwyns eldest sone, that had som tyme lay by Edgiva the abbes of Leofmonaster, and cast forto wedde hir and forsoke his wife, therfore he come to Englond ȝif he myȝt have grace to make his pees with the kyng, but in his commyng, he slouȝ erle Beornus that was his cosyn, that was about to make hys pees with the kyng. Thanne he flyȝ into Flaundres, forto he was reconciled by help of Aldredus archbischop of ȝork and of Wircetre. *Marianus.*

Cm 24m.

Kyng Edward deschargide Englisch men of a grevous tribute that his fader Egelredus hadde made paye to the soudiours of Denmarch, and had tho dured xl. ȝere. This ȝere deyde Edsius archbischop of Caunturbury. And kyng Edward ȝaf the archbischopriche to his famyliare, Robart that he had made bischop of Londoun. Here after in the monethe of Septembre, Eustachius, erle of Bonoen,[3] come alond at Dover, he had wedded Godda[4] kyng Edwardes suster. His knyȝtes souȝt hym in innes unwiseliche and slouȝ oon of the citesyns and the citesyns slouȝ oon of his knyȝtes. *Willelmus de Regibus, li° 2°, et Mar'.* At last was stronge fiȝtinge, so that the citesyns slouȝ xx. men of the erles company and wounded so many, that me couthe nouȝt telle how many were wounded. The erle scaped unnethe with oon felawe and cam to the kyng at Gloucetre and meoved the kyng grevouslich aȝenus Englische men. Thanne Godwyn erle of Kent was somned[5] to court and y-hote that he schuld with oost[6] take wreche of the wrong that was doon to the erle. He syȝ that aliens were alowed with the kyng and wolde helpe to save the citesyns and his cuntray men, and answered

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[1] *worl*, γ.
[2] *wem*, γ.
[3] *Boloyn*, Cx.
[4] *Goda*, Cx.
[5] *sompned*, Cx., *bis.*
[6] *wyþ hys host*, γ.

and seide that it were skyle[1] that the wardeyns of the castel of Dover schulde be somned, and ȝif thei[2] couthe excuse hem silf thei schuld be harmles and elles do the erles gre[3] with her bodies and catel. The kyng semed that Godwyn sett litel by his heste. Therfore the lordes of the lond were cleped to gidres at Gloucetre and specialich Leoffricus erle of Mercia and Syward erle of Northhumbrelond forto withstonde Godwyn erle of Kent and his eldest sone Suanus and Harald also. For Godwyn had gadered a grete oost at Beverston, of his couutes of Kent, of Southreye, and of West Saxon, and Suanus of his countes of Barokschire and Oxenfordschire and of Gloucetreschire, and Harald of his countes of Estsex of Est Anglond and of Huntyndonschire. Thanne Godwyn was enpeched for he had gadered so grete an oost. He answerde and seide that it was do forto ceese the Walisch[4] men, but the Walisch[5] men made the blame turne aȝenus his owne hed. Thanne what litel accorde that ever was procred,[6] there was assigned a counseil at Londoun for the same dede. So that Godwyn and Harald schuld come to court al unarmed with twelve men and no mo, that thei schuld bytake to the kyng the knyȝtes service that was dewe to hem in al Englond. Thei seide that thei myȝt nouȝt without weddes and plegges[7] come to the counseyl of trecherous and gyleful men, and that they myȝt nouȝt without peryl and schame passe by the weye with so fewe[8] naked men and unarmed. In the mene tyme Godwyns knyȝtes withdrouȝ hem somme and somme, for dred of the kyngis ost. Thanne hit was openlich cryed by the kyngis criours, that Godwyn schuld come to court in the maner as it is seide, other voide out of Englond withynne fyve dayes.[9] Therfore Godwyn and his thre sones, Suanus and Tosti and Gurth, seylide by the ylond of Thorney[10] into Flaundres, to erle Baldewyn, for Suanus had spoused his douȝter Juditha. But Harald and Leofwynus seylide out by Bristowe into Irlond. Algarus, Leofricus sone, feng Haraldes counte, and reuled hit noblich and delyvered hit up to Harald with gode wille whanne Harald was comen aȝen, and axide it aȝen whanne Harald was turned to his fadres countes. Therfore kyng Edward in pleyn[11] parlement outlawide Godwyn and his thre sones. And put his owne wif Goditha, the queen, into the abbay of Werewelle without worschip, with oon[12] mayde and nomo. And so the fader and the sones were

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[1] *reason*, Cx.
[2] *ef hy*, γ.
[3] *pleasure*, Cx.
[4] *sese þe Walsche*, γ.; *Wallsh*, Cx., *bis.*
[5] *Walysch*, γ.
[6] *procured*, Cx.
[7] *pledgys*, Cx.
[8] *veaw*, γ.
[9] *vyf dawes*, γ
[10] *Chisney*, γ.
[11] *playn*, Cx.
[12] *o*, γ

outlawed two ȝere fulle and toke prayes in the marches of Englond and gaderide grete strengthe and[1] cast slyliche forto fiȝte with the kynge, but lordes ȝede bitwene and so pees was maad after two ȝere, and the queen was brouȝt aȝen. So that Wilnotus, Godwyns sone, and Hacun, Suanus sone, were plegges[2] leyde to wedde for surete[3] of the pees. Anoon kyng Edward sent hem to kepyng to William, duke of Normandy. Duryng the outlawyng, duke William of Normandy come with a grete multitude into Englond and had many grete ȝiftes and went aȝen to Normandy. And queen Emma, the kynges moder, deyde and was buryed at Winchestre. Also Marianus the Scot the ȝere of his age fyve and twenty forsoke the worde,[4] and went a pilgrimage and was schore monk at Coleyn a cite of Almeyn in the abbay of Scottes. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, li° p°. & Mar'.* This ȝere Godwyn and alle his sones were accorded with kyng Edward, out take his eldest sone Suanus, that was sory for the deth of his cosyn Beornus,[5] and went out of Flaundres barfot to Ierusalem. And went out of Ierusalem to Licia, and deyde for colde that he hadde take. Here after the Normans, that were the kynges counseilours, and hadde y-ȝeve hym evel counseil, were exiled, and specialich Robart archbischop of Caunterbury, that had luddere blowe his trompe aȝenus Godwyn and Englische men in that cause. This Robart dradde hym and wolde be war of peril and went to Rome and came aȝen with lettres of the pope and deyde in his abbay that hatte Gemeticum. After hym Stigandus was archbischop; he had lefte the bischoprich of Schirburne and take by strengthe the bischopriche of Wynchestre. This man used feyres of holy chirche thinges and was a lewed man and so were neiȝ alle the [oþere][6] bischops of Englond that tyme, but this was a myȝty man by money and by flaterynge. Therfore he was never worthi to have the pal from Rome, thouȝ there be grete sale that doth many maistries. *Willelmus de Pontificibus li°. 2°.* Thanne it was openlich songe in weyes, that he was nouȝt worthi a bischopriche, that couthe [noȝt][6] use the brag and the bost of this worlde the use of wodenesse the outrage of gloteny the aray of clothinge the fare of knyȝtes and the gaderyng of hors men, and thenke riȝt litel of profit of soules. ȝif me tolde hem that a bischop schuld be alowed by his holynesse and his clergy and nouȝt by covetise and[7] money, thei wolde answere by this metre. Nunc aliud tempus; alii pro tempore mores; that is, Now is other tyme and other maners used for the tyme. And

[1] *purposed slyly*, Cx.
[2] *pledyys*, Cx.
[3] *surte*, γ.
[4] *worl*, γ.
[5] *Berinus*, Cx.
[6] From γ.
[7] *and*] of, Cx.

so thei planed the scharpnesse of the doyng with liȝtnesse of the answere. *Mar'*. That tyme in Irlond a clerk Barbosus was a man of grete and of wondre religioun, so that he helde a grete scole of clerkes, of lewide men, and of wenches and for [he][1] schaar the wenches in the same sett[2] and maner of his scolers, he was y-put out of Irlond. *Willelmus de Pontificibus, li°* 2°. About that tyme deyde seynt Alfwold the laste bischop of Schireburne. He was firste monke at Wynchestre and thanne he was made bischop. He used brede and water among alle the grete festes, that were made in Englond after the commynge of the Danes. This man was devout at alle poyntes to oure[3] Lady and to seynt Cuthbert. After his deth no man myȝt greve his see, but he were punysched,[4] for he schuld be so fered with blak ymages in his slepe that he schuld starte. Also in a tyme was strif bitwene hym and Godwyn the erle and myȝt nouȝt be alayed atte day of acorde that was sett. Thanne the bischop was wroth and seide in his goyng awey, by seynt Marye my lady he schal fare[5] riȝt evel. And after that houre, Godwyn had never reste of gnawyng of his bowels, til he had[6] the bischops blessyng. In a tyme this bischop wente to Dirham and he dide a dede that semed of grete hardynesse for he torned awey the helyng of the body and spake to seynt Cuthbert as hit were to his owne frende and leyde there the ȝefte of love and went forthe his wey.

C^m^ 25^m^.

After Leo, the secunde Victor was pope two ȝere and six monthes. He made a synod at Florence in Italy and sett adoun many bischops for symonye and fornicacioun. *Mar'*. This ȝere Syward the noble erle of Northhumbrelond, by heste[7] of kyng Edward, bare doun Scotlond with an oost of horsmen and with grete gaderyng[8] and chased the kyng and toke Malcolyn, the kyng of Cumbres sone, and made him kyng of Scotlond. But in that batail Sywardes sone was slayn. Whanne his fader wist that he was dede of a wound that he had fonge tofore[9] in his body and nouȝt byhynde, thouȝ the fader were sory for the sones deth, ȝett he was glad that his sone was so herty and hardy. That ȝere deyde Wulsius bischop of Lichfelde, and Leofwynus, abbot of Covyntre, was bischop after hym. Also that ȝere at Wyndesore amorowe after Ester day, erle Godwyn sate atte kynges borde, and it

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[1] From γ.
[2] *seut*, γ.
[3] *ur*, γ.
[4] *a were ypunsed*, γ.
[5] *vare*, γ.
[6] *a hadde*, γ.
[7] *commaundement*, Cx.
[8] *gaddryng*, γ.
[9] *byfore*, Cx.

happed that oon of the children that served the kyng cam yn with the kynges cuppe, and stombled[1] with his oon fote and kepte hym silf with that other so that he shedde nouȝt of the drynke. Godwyn syȝ that and louȝ and seyde, now that oon brother hath holpen that other. Anoon the kyng answerde therto and seide, so my brother Aluredus wolde have holpen me ȝif Godwynus ne had y be. The erle understode therby that he had spoke more than ynouȝ, and understode that the kyng meved the bitraiyng of his brother. And seyde to the kyng: Sire, as y se it is tolde to thee that y schuld be about to sle thi brother and to bitraye thee, so mot ich savelich ete[2] this morsel, that ic holde in myn hond as ich[3] am giltles of siche dedes. And he was choked anoon. Atte kynges heste Harald drouȝ hym from under the borde, and he was buried at Wynchestre. *R.* But Marianus seith that Godwyn sate atte mete by the kyng at Wynchestre and was sodeynlich take with a sekenesse on Ester Monday and deyde the Thursday in the Ester weke.[4] Thanne Godwyns erledom was ȝeven to Harald, and Haraldes erledom to Algarus the sone of erle Leofricus. This ȝere kyng Edward sent Alredus[5] bischop of Wircetre to the secunde Henry the emperour praying that he wolde sende lettres to Hungarye and sende thenes[6] into Englond his cosyn Edward the sone of Edmund Irenside. The kyng had ordeyned to make hym his eyr in Englond. But the thridde ȝere therafter he came into Englond and deyde at Londoun longe tyme [þe][7] rather than the kyng. This Edward was the fader of Margret queen of Scotlond, and of Edgar Adelyng, but Margret had, by Malcolyn, David the kyng of Schotland[8] and Molde[9] the queen of Englond. *Mar'.* This ȝere kyng Edward outlawed Algarus the sone of Leofricus without gult. Anoon he was prayed and socyed[10] to Griffyn kyng of Wales, and destruyed the provynce of Herford and toke Herford and sett the mynstre afuyre[11] and slouȝ vii. chanouns, but erle Harald pursued hem that flyȝ and restored Herford aȝen, and wallide hit about and made her pees that were outlawed with the kyng. *Item Mar'.* Also this ȝere Syward the noble duke of Northhumbrelond deyde at ȝork in the flux[12] and was buryed in the mynstre[13] Galmanho that he had bulde. But er he deyde he made arme hym and sate upriȝt and seide; thus hit semeth a knyȝt for to dye, and nouȝt

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[1] *stomelede*, γ.
[2] *swolowe*, Cx.
[3] *ych*, γ.
[4] *woke*, γ.
[5] *Aldredus*, Cx.
[6] *þennes*, γ.
[7] From γ.
[8] *Scotlande*, Cx.
[9] *Mold*, γ.
[10] *ysocyed*, γ.; *associate*, Cx.
[11] *avure*, γ.
[12] *flyx*, Cx.
[13] *monasttere*, γ.

ligginge faynte as an oxe. And for his sone Waltef[1] was ȝonge and laye in his cradel, his erledom was ȝeven to Tosti, Haraldes brother, that was therabout an ten ȝere. *Item Mar'. & Willelmus.* Also that ȝere Herman of Flaundres, that was som tyme kyng Edwardes prest, and thanne bischop of Wiltoun, and Ramesbury, was at disese for defaute of catel and prayed the kyng and had hit almost graunted forto ordeyne his see in the abbay of[2] Malmesbury, but the lordes of the lond wolde nouȝt assente. Therfore Herman was wroth and lefte the bischoprich and went over see and toke monkes abyt[3] at Seynt Bertyn,[4] and lyved so thre ȝere and Aldredus bischop of Wircetre rulede[5] Hermans bischoprich in the mene tyme. But as hit fallith[6] ofte that thei that taketh religioun for siche hasty and sudeyn reses[7] haveth[8] no stidfast wille and devocioun for hit withdrawith and slakith atte laste, after thre ȝere Herman cam into Englond aȝen. The man that was wont al his liftyme to have likyng servise and plesinge at his wille thouȝt ful hevy and elyng[9] to leve it in his elde.[10] Also hit come to his ere that Godwyn was dede, that him had withstode and also that the bischop of Schireburne was ded and he had longe tyme thouȝt to oone[11] that bischopriche to his owne by olde bihestes of the queene. He helde[12] long tyme these bischopriches so ooned[13] with thre cuntrayes that longed therto, anone to the nynthe ȝere of Wylliam the Conquerour whanne he passed from Schirburn to Salesbury. *Willelmus de Regibus.* Also that ȝere the kyng was at an[14] feeste and Harald and Tosti pleyed tofore hym, and Harald drouȝ his brother by the heer[15] harder than the game wolde, and threwe[16] hym to the grounde and had wyried[17] hym with his hondes, nadde he be the rather delyvered out of his clowes.[18] Whanne the kyng syȝ that, he seide that grete strif schuld be therafter bitwene the[19] twey bretheren and that the[20] oon of them schuld sle the other. Erle Godwyns first wif was kyng Canutus suster, on hir Godwyn gate a sone that rode[21] on an hors unwiseliche y-priked[22] and the hors threwe hym into Temse and so he

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[1] *Waltyf*, Cx.
[2] *of*] om. γ.
[3] *habyt*, γ.
[4] *Bertines*, Cx.
[5] *rulede*, γ.
[6] *valleþ*, γ.
[7] *reeses*, Cx.
[8] *habbeþ*, γ.
[9] *elenge*, Cx.
[10] *age*, Cx.
[11] *one*, γ.; *oone and ioyne*, Cx.
[12] *huld*, γ.
[13] *y-oned*, γ.; *ioyned*, Cx.
[14] *a*, Cx.
[15] *heeres*, Cx.
[16] *þruw*, γ.
[17] *ywyryed*, γ, ; *weryed*, Cx.
[18] *clawes*, Cx.
[19] *tho*, Cx.
[20] *the*] om. Cx.
[21] *rod*, γ.
[22] *and spurred him*, Cx.

was adreynt. The moder was smyte with lyȝtnyng and deyde riȝt so, and it was no wonder. For heo toke fayre wenches[1] and sette them to hordome for heo[2] wolde gadre the more riches. After hir deth Godwyn wedded another wif and gate on hir sixe sones, Suanus, Harald, Tostius, Wilnotus, Gurth and Leofricus. How hem[3] spedde it is writen tofore and after in this Cronyk. *Willelmus de Regibus, li° 2°.* About this tyme a womman at Berkeley used evel craftes and was at a feste in a day. Thanne a crowe that heo had likynglich yfed[4] and norisched[5] creked ludder[6] than he was wont, the womman herde that, and the knyf fil[7] doun of hir hond and hir face wexe al pale.[8] Thanne heo bigan to siche and to grone and seide: this day is my solowe[9] y-come to the laste forowe.[10] Whanne that was seide, came yn a messagere that seide to the womman that hir sone was ded and al hir meyne alayde and afalle[11] and ded also. The womman lay seke anoon and sent for hir children that heo had alyve a monk and a mynchone.[12] Whanne the monke and the mynchone were y-come, heo spake to hem in this maner: ich am a womman [that][13] have used evel crafte and evel lyvyng. In veyn ic[14] hoped to be saved by ȝoure beddes[15] and prayeris. But now y pray ȝou that ȝe wole releve my tormentes and peynes for of the soule the doom is ȝeven. On caas ȝe mowe kepe my body ȝif hit is sewide[16] in hertes lether, lay[17] hit in a thorow[18] of stoon and heleth hit with a lidde of lede, faste y-bounde and barrede with iren,[19] and byndeth hit faste with thre iren cheynes. Makith[20] fourty synge salmes by nyȝt and as many masses by dayes, and ȝif ich lye[21] so thre nyȝtes, the ferthe day burieth the body in the erthe. But al for nouȝt, for twey the firste nyȝtes while the salmes were a singyng; fendes brake up the dores and twey the outmest[22] cheynes and that wonder liȝtlich. The thrid nyȝt about cokkes crowyng,[23] the place al to schoke and oon with a grislich face that was heiȝ of stature brake up the dores and het the body that hit schuld arise; y may nouȝt, quoth the body, for strong bondes. Thou schalt be unbounde, quoth he, but to thyn owne harme. And anone al that lette

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[1] *veyre weynches*, γ.
[2] *hue*, γ.
[3] *they*, Cx.
[4] *vet*, γ.
[5] *ynorset*, γ.
[6] *lodder*, γ.
[7] *vul*, γ.
[8] *palle*, γ.
[9] *solouȝ*, γ.
[10] *vorouȝ*, γ.
[11] *meyney allayd and offalle*, γ.; *leyde and fallen*, Cx.
[12] *meynchen*, γ.; *nonne*, Cx., bis.
[13] From Cx.
[14] *ych*, γ.
[15] *bedes*, γ., Cx.
[16] *ysuwed*, γ.
[17] *leggeth*, γ.
[18] *þrouȝ*, γ.; *trowh*, Cx.
[19] *yre*, γ.
[20] *Make ye*, Cx.
[21] *lygge*, γ.
[22] *otmest*, γ.; *uttermest*, Cx.
[23] *kokene crowe*, γ.

was to broke, and he toke hir out of the chirche and sette hir uppon a blak hors that neyȝede tofore the dores, and so he[1] went awey with loude cryes that were herde foure myle thennes. Thouȝ this be wonderful who that hath rad the ferthe[2] book of Gregories dialoge schal not deme that hit myȝt nouȝt be trowed. Therfore it is writen[3] that fendes cast out a wicked man that was buryed in chirche and so hit ferde of Charles Macellus[4] as it is seide toforhond.[5]

Cm 26m.

The thridde Henry the secunde Henryes sone regned amonge Duchys[6] men as it were fifty ȝere. Som tyme he distourbed holy chirche agenus pope Hiltebrand[7] and wolde ȝif he myȝt have put yn another pope; but he was ceesed at laste and went to the Holy Lond with the dukes Godefride and Beamund, as hit schal be seide ynner more. After Victor, the nynthe Steven abbot of Mount Cassin was pope eiȝte monethes. After hym the tenthe Beñet was pope nyne monethes. He cam yn by strengthe and resigned the poperiche afterwards. Agelricus, bischop of Durham, lefte his own bischoprich by his owne gode wille and went into the abbay of Burgh[8] there he was norisched and lyved twelve ȝere in pees and quyete. His brother Agelwyn was bischop after hym. *Marian'*. Also this ȝere the noble erle Leofricus, the sone of Leofwynus, duke of Mercia deyde in his own toun Bromleygh,[9] the last day of Novembre and was buryed at Coventre in the abbay that he had buld. Som tym by counseyl of God and of his owne wif Godgiva, that worschiped myche oure Lady, he amended and made riche the abbayes of Leoven[10] besides Herford, of Wenlok of Wircetre and of Evesham and twey chirches of Chester oon of Seynt Joon and another of Seynt Werburgh. While he was alyve his witt and his redynes stode in grete stede, to the lond of Englisch men. *R.* Also at a[11] busy prayer of his wif he made his toun of Coventre fre of al maner tol[12] out take the tol of horses.[13] For to have[14] the[15] fredom graunted his wife Godgiva the countesse rode naked thurȝ the myddel of the toun in a morowe tide nouȝt heled[16] but with hir owne heer. After the deth of Leofricus his sone Algarus had the erledome of Mercia, but the same ȝere he was convict of tresoun and

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[1] *hue*, γ.
[2] *vurde*, γ.
[3] *wreton*, Cx.
[4] *Marcellus*, Cx.
[5] *byfore*, Cx.
[6] *Duche*, Cx.
[7] *Hyllebrande*, Cx.
[8] *Bourgh*, Cx.
[9] *Bromley*, Cx.
[10] *Leonen*, Cx.
[11] *a*] om. γ.
[12] *tolle*, Cx., bis.
[13] *hors*, γ.
[14] *habbe þat*, γ.
[15] *the*] that, Cx.
[16] *in a morning not keuered*, Cx.

outlawed. But of Griffyn kyng of Wales he was underfonge as he had y-be toforhond and reconciled. *Willelmus de Regibus.* A ȝonge citesyn of Rome Lucianus by his name a riche man of catel[1] and of gold, a man of grete kyn, he wedded a wif Eugenia, by cause therof he made a grete feeste and went into the felde after mete, with other men to descharge the stomak. And this newe wedded man for he wolde playe atte bal, dide his spousyng ryng on the finger[2] of an ymage that was there fast by. And whanne he had pleyed and was hote he drouȝ hym first out of the game and went to fecche[3] aȝen his ring. But he fond the ymages fynger with the ring y-clyȝt into the pawme[4] of the hond. Thanne he bigan to wrynge and wraste[5] longe tyme but he myȝt nouȝt wrest of the ryng nother wreche[6] ne breke nother ryȝt up the fynger, thanne he went stillich[7] awey for his felawes schuld nouȝt wite[8] therof lest thei wolde scorne hym while he were there, other take awey the ryng whanne he were thennes. Thanne he cam thider with his servauntes whanne it was derk nyȝt and fond the fynger y-streiȝt out and the ryng awey and had grete wonder. Whanne it was tyme he arayed hym to bed with his wif and feled[9] a dym thing and a sad walwe[10] bitwene hym and his wif. And that spake to hym and seyde; Ly by me and dele with me for thou hast spoused me this day, ich am the goddesse[11] Venus. Thanne he was sore aferde and woke al the nyȝt; and so hit ferde[12] as it were everech nyȝt. Thanne his wif playned and chargide that he schulde warne his fader and his moder and so he dide. Thanne his fader and his moder warned Palumbus the prest[13] of the suburbes that was the grettest nigromauncer that was thanne alyve. He feng grete mede[14] and ȝaf the ȝonge man a lettre that he schulde take to hym that he mette last a nyȝt commynge aȝenus hym with a chare[15] in the metyng of twey weyes. The ȝonge man stode in the metyng of the twey weyes at nyȝt and syȝ a womman sitte on a mule arayed as a strompet[16] an hoore[17] and hir heer abrode with a chaplet[18] of gold on hir hed and a ȝerde[19] of gold in her hand. Thanne he toke his lettre to hym that cam laste rydyng. Whanne the lettre was rad that principal feende haf[20] up bothe hondes to hevene and seide; Almyȝty God, how longe schal the wickednesse of Palumbus the prest dure. Anoon his knyȝtes come

[1] *cataylle*, Cx.
[2] *vyngur*, γ.
[3] *vechche*, γ.; *fette*, Cx.
[4] *pame*, γ.
[5] *wreste*, γ.
[6] *wreth*, Cx.
[7] *stilleche*, γ.
[8] *wytte*, Cx.
[9] *velede*, γ.
[10] *walowe*, Cx.
[11] *godas*, γ.
[12] *vurde*, γ.
[13] *prust*, γ.
[14] *myde*, γ.
[15] *chaar*, Cx.
[16] *a strompet*] om. γ.
[17] *houre*, γ.
[18] *cheplet*, γ.
[19] *rodde*, Cx.
[20] *vend have*, γ.; *hafe*, Cx.

551011

to Venus to have the ryng, but heo wrenchide and blenchide [1] and strof longe tyme, but atte last the kny3tes wreste of hir the ryng and toke hit to the 3ong man a3en and so he had his wille and ioye of his love that he had longe desired, but Palumbus herde the fende crye of hym unto hevene, and kitte [of] [2] his owne lymes and knowlechide al his trespas to the pope in the presence and heryng of the peple. *Mar'*. Aldredus bischop of Wircetre made seynt Wulfstan [3] priour of Wircetre by leve of the kyng, and 3af the bischoprich of Wiltoun to Herman, that was com a3en from by3ond see. And Aldredus went over see and forth by Hungary a [4] pilgrimage to Jerusalem. Me redith of no bischop of Englond that so dide tofore that tyme. At Coloyn in Almayn twey abbayes of Scottes were brent with her owne fuyre. Oon Paternus [5] a monk that was there closed warned hem of that brennyng long tyme toforhond. But whanne the fuyre was y-come, he wolde out in noon maner wise but there he was brent for love of martirdom. *Trevisa.* In that doyng Paternus the monk semeth a lewide gost [6] that kouthe nou3t know the cause and circumstaunces of verye [7] martirdom, for there is no verye martirdom, but hit be for meyntenyng other for the feth [8] of truthe and withstonding of wronge and [9] of synne, but God graunt 3if hit is his wille, that Paternus be no3t dampned for his blinde devocioun. Thanne hit follewith in the storye. Abou̧t that tyme in the provynce of Apulia was y-founde an ymage of marbul, with an hed of bras and had a garlond in the whiche garlond hit was writen. The first day of Maij atte sunne risyng, y schal have an hed of gold. A Sarsyn,[10] that the duke of the Longobardes had take prisoner, understode what hit schuld meene [11] and come the first day of Maij and toke heede of the schadewe of the ymage in lengthe and brede, and fonde under the schadewe wonder grete tresour and payed hit [12] for his raunson. *Willelmus de Regibus.*

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[1] *blynchede*, γ.
[2] From Cx.
[3] *Wolstan*, γ.
[4] *a*] on, Cx.
[5] *Patronus*, Cx., tris.
[6] *lewde goost*, Cx.
[7] *verrey*, γ.
[8] *other for the feth*] om. γ.
[9] *and*] om. γ.
[10] *Sarasyn*, Cx.
[11] *what it meaned*, Cx.
[12] *hit*] om. Cx.

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